

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME XCIX.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CXCVII.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 197.—JULY, 1894.

ART. I.—THE BUCHANAN RECORDS.

IN the beginning of this century (1807-14) Dr. Francis Buchanan made a Statistical Survey of South Behar and North-Eastern Bengal. The districts visited and described by him were Shahabad, Patna, Gya, Bhagalpur, Rajmahal, Sonthal Parganas, Purniah, Maldah, Dinajpur, Rangpur, including an excursion to Kamatapur in Kuch Behar, and Assam as far as Gowalpara. He also made an excursion to Sonargaon in Eastern Bengal, and he ended his survey by visiting and describing Gorakhpur in the North-West Provinces.

Buchanan was a doctor in the service of the East India Company. He was born at Branziet in Shropshire in February 1762, received his medical education at Edinburgh, where he took his degree in 1783, and was appointed to Bengal in 1794. In a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in June 1821, and published in their Transactions in 1826,* he gives some account of his Indian travels. He tells us that immediately after his appointment he was sent with Captain Symes to Ava, and that in this way he saw in 1795 somewhat of the Andaman Islands and a good deal of the kingdoms of Pegu and Ava. For 1796-97 and part of 1798, he was stationed at Lakshmipur, † in the Noakhali District where he employed his leisure in studying ichthyology. In 1798 he went, at the request of the Board of Trade, to Chittagong, and on this occasion saw something of Tipperah. Then he was stationed at Barui-pur in the 24-Perganas, where he employed his leisure in describing fishes and in collecting plants for Dr. Roxburgh. In

*171. It is accompanied by a well-executed map showing India according to the Sanskrit divisions. Perhaps this is the first Western attempt to illustrate Hindu geography by a map. In the first edition (1795) of Colebrooke's Essay on Bengal Husbandry, reference is made in a note at p. 2 to a map showing the ancient divisions, but if this map was ever published, it is not now to be found in the copy in the British Museum. There is no reference to a map in the edition of 1804.

† The Luckipur of Rennell. It is at the mouth of the Meghna. Rennell mentions it as the scene of a very destructive inundation in 1763.

1800 he made a survey of Mysore, of which he afterwards published a valuable account. Thereafter he was appointed to Captain Knox's Mission to Nepal, and passed, by easy stages, and with many halts, through the ancient territory of Basala, now called Saran, and through a portion of Mithila now called Tirhut. "There I carefully examined and collected such plants as were in flower, and on 1st April 1802 I ascended into Nepal."* There he remained for a year and then returned to Calcutta. In 1803 he was appointed Surgeon to the Governor-General (the Marquis of Wellesley) and was chiefly employed in superintending the menagerie at Barrackpur, and in describing the animals there collected. In 1805 he returned to England with the Marquis, and in 1806 was appointed by the Court of Directors † to make "a Statistical Survey of the territories under the Presidency of Fort-William, usually in Europe called Bengal; but containing many extensive regions besides Bengal, taking that even in the most extensive sense of the Mogul province of that name." . . . "In Hindu Geography, Vanga, from whence Bengal is a corruption, is applied to only the eastern portion of the Delta of the Ganges as Upavanga ‡ is to the centre of this territory, and Anga to its western limits." He commenced his survey after the rains of 1807 with the district of Dinajpur. In 1808 he visited Rangpur and halted at Gawalpara in Assam. With the dry season of 1808 he recommenced the survey of Rangpur, and when the rainy season of 1809 approached, he "retired to a house near the town of Rangpur, and there continued in a situation not very favourable for a botanist, until I had time left only to convey me to Purneah before the dry weather of 1809 should commence."¶ During the rains of 1810 he stayed at Nathpur on the borders of Nepal, and in the same year he explored Bhagalpur, spending part of 1811 at Monghyr. In 1811-12 he explored Patna and Gya. In 1812-13 he explored Shahabad, and soon after the rainy season of 1813 had begun, he went up to Agra. Before the end of the rains he returned down the Ganges and ascending the Gogra, visited Gorakhpur, and remained there during the dry season of 1813-14. . .

"When the rainy season commenced, I again embarked and proceeded up the Ganges to Fatehgarh. . ."

"I was now exhausted by long continued exertion; the observation of plants making but a small part of my duty || and I required to pass

* Buchanan published his account of Nepal at Edinburgh in 1819.

† The Despatch of the Court was dated 7th January 1807. . .

‡ This name occurs in the *Vrihat Sanhita* of Varaha Mihira.

¶ The paper read before the Society was mainly a botanical one, and these introductory remarks were made to show, how he had acquired a knowledge of Indian botany.

|| As. Researches, V. 123. . .

the remainder of my days at peace in my native climate. I accordingly returned to Calcutta to prepare for my journey, and in the meantime, on the death of Dr. Roxburgh, took charge of the Botanical Gardens, having been appointed his successor by the Court of Directors. While preparing for my journey, I was deprived by the Marquis of Hastings of all the botanical drawings which had been made under my inspection during my last stay in India; otherwise they would have been deposited with my other collections in the Library of the India House. By this ill-judged act of authority, unworthy of this nobleman's character, the drawings will probably be totally lost to the public. To me as an individual, they were of no value, as I preserve no collection, and as I have no occasion to convert them into money. In February 1815, I embarked for Europe, and in September, presented my whole collections to the Court of Directors with an order from the Lords of the Treasury for their being delivered free from duty—an order which was granted with the utmost liberality and urbanity."

The above detail shows what a large experience Buchanan had of India, and the use which he made of his opportunities well entitles him to the appellation of "the unwearied investigator," which the great geographer Carl Ritter has bestowed upon him. Buchanan was not a scholar, but he was an active minded man, a naturalist and keen observer, and one who took an interest in everything, from Sanskrit inscriptions to silkworms. His first publication (after his medical thesis) seems to have been a short paper on the Launzan tree.* The next was on a philological subject, being "A Comparative Vocabulary of some of the Languages spoken in the Burman Empire."† The third was an elaborate disquisition on the religion and literature of the Burmas. Buchanan makes a slip in speaking of his having taken charge of the Botanic Gardens on the death of Roxburgh. Roxburgh left India for ever in 1803, and according to Chambers' Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotchmen, Buchanan was appointed his successor in 1807. Buchanan seems to have taken charge of the Gardens in 1814, and at all events he went home in February 1815. But Roxburgh did not die till 18th February 1815 (at Edinburgh) and of course his death was not known in India till many months afterwards. I am unable to say whether Buchanan's remarks about the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings are just or not, but if the Marquis's action was dictated by a desire to keep the drawings in India, and for the benefit of the Botanic Gardens, then I should be inclined to think that he was right in preventing their removal to England.

It appears from the Despatch of 7th January 1807, that Buchanan was chosen to superintend the survey on account of his having been employed by the Marquis of Wellesley in the survey of Mysore, and because the Marquis had confided to him the charge of the establishment which he had formed at

* As. Researches, V. 219.

† As. Researches, VI. 163.

Barrackpore for investigating the natural history of India. His remuneration was Rs. 1,500 sicca a month exclusive of the pay and *batta* of his rank, and he was also allowed an establishment of a pandit and draughtsman, &c. The whole expenditure on the seven years' survey came to about £30,000. The records of the survey were sent home in 1816, and then remained almost totally neglected for many years. From a paper by Colebrooke in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, it appears that Buchanan endeavoured to have his reports published, for we are told there that the Court of Directors had, at his instance, sanctioned a liberal communication of the information contained in them to the Society. Accordingly four papers were published in the first and second volumes of the Transactions on antiquarian subjects, *viz.*, on inscriptions upon rocks in South Bihar,* on Jain temples in South Bihar and Bhagalpur, on the Sravacs or Jains, and on the ruins of Buddha Gya. All these were edited by Colebrooke, but it does not appear that either he or his Society attempted to deal with the statistical portion of Buchanan's reports. It is much to be regretted that Colebrooke did not take up this subject. It lay in the direction of his own early studies, for his first work was on Bengal Husbandry, and it can hardly have been want of time that prevented him, for he lived till 1837. His latter years, however, were clouded by law-suits, by deaths of sons, and by ill-health.

It is perhaps singular that Buchanan did not make more persistent efforts to have his reports made use of. One thinks that if he had done so, he would have been successful. He survived his return to Scotland for many years, not dying till 15th June 1829. During most of that time he resided at Leny near Callander. We are told that he married late in life, and had children, and that he occupied himself in gardening. In the British Museum there is a letter of his in a feeble handwriting, dated Leny, 8th February 1820, forwarding a presentation copy of his *Genealogies of the Hindus*. This work, of which only fifty copies were made, was printed at Edinburgh in 1819. It consists of tables of Hindu dynasties extracted from the Puranas, &c., by his Pandit, and is accompanied by an introduction and an index in a separate volume. It would seem that the subject of Hindu genealogies set him upon thinking about his own family, for his last publication was, a "Claim of Dr. Francis Hamilton Buchanan to be considered as chief of the name as male representative of the

* I 201. Inscriptions upon rocks in South Bihar, described by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, and explained by H. T. Colebrooke, Director. Read December 4, 1821. Republished in Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, III. 256, ed. 1873.

family of Buchanan of Buchanan." It was printed at Edinburgh in 1826. Buchanan was the third son of Dr. Thomas Buchanan* of Spittal. After his return to Scotland he took his mother's name of Hamilton, and is often spoken of as Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton. It may be worth while noting that he was in no way connected with Claudius Buchanan, who was also a distinguished Scots-Indian, and a contemporary of Francis. But Claudius was the son of a schoolmaster and born at Cambuslang near Glasgow in 1766. Apparently he was one of the good fruits of the famous "Cambuslang Wark" of 1742, his maternal grandfather Claudius Somers having been an elder of the church there at the time of Whitfield's visit. Claudius Buchanan had an adventurous and useful life, and died at Broxbourne in Hertfordshire in 1815.

Apparently, it was in India that the first use was made of the Buchanan Records. In 1831 the manuscript account of Dinajpur was made over by Mr. George Swinton, the Chief Secretary to Government, to Captain Herbert, who, published it along with his "Gleanings in Science" and the Asiatic Society's Journal. The papers were then collected into a volume and published in 1833. In the preface it is stated that the original records of Buchanan's investigations, occupying twenty-five folio volumes, were sent to the Court of Directors, "a copy of the whole having been previously made and deposited in the office of the Chief Secretary at Calcutta." In fact, there are twenty-six folios in the India Office. That is, there are twenty-two volumes of MS. in one press, including a thin volume of statistics relating to Dinajpur, and in another there are four handsomely bound volumes of drawings, &c. The first of these contains the costumes of Bihar; the second, figures and architecture; the third, maps and plans, and the fourth, inscriptions. All the inscriptions are in Sanscrit† except the first, which is a Persian inscription from Gorakhpur, and relates to a mosque erected by the Emperor Babar. It was translated for Buchanan by a Mr. Moëdie, and bears the date 923 or 935 (1517 or 1529).

The important point in the Calcutta preface is the statement, that a copy of the reports was deposited in the Secretariat

* Buchanan's father was twice married, and Elizabeth Hamilton was his second wife. Buchanan's object in the pamphlet is to show that he is lineally descended from Walter of Spittal who was the son of Walter Buchanan, of Buchanan and Spittal, who lived in the year 1519.

† One from Buddh-Gya, and built into the wall of the Gossain's convent there, is supposed by Buchanan to be in Pali. It is No. III. It is much to be desired that the volume of inscriptions, and also that of figures, should be examined by a competent scholar. Book III contains plans of the Assam Valley by Ensign Wood. There is also a plan of Bankipore, with notes in Persian.

there. No doubt this is why the reports were not sent home till 1816. It is evident that the Calcutta copy was in existence, in part at least, up to 1832.

As the survey began with Dinajpur, it was probably intended that other volumes should be published afterwards. Unfortunately this was not done. But I beg to suggest that search should be made for the other folios. If not in the Bengal Secretariat, they may be forthcoming in that of the Government of India.

In 1838, Montgomery Martin published portions of the Buchanan MSS in the three volumes of "Eastern India." He has been blamed for substituting his own name for Buchanan's in the title-page. The procedure was foolish; but I do not think that Mr. Martin had any intention of passing off the books as his own, or of depriving Buchanan of the credit due to him, for, in his introduction to the concluding volume, he calls himself only the editor, and says that Dr. Buchanan's name will need no eulogy so long as such a monument of him exists as these three volumes of "Eastern India." He makes this remark *apropos* of his abortive attempt to procure materials for a Memoir of Buchanan. I may remark that such a memoir now exists in Chambers' Biographies of Eminent Scotchmen. Buchanan's name, along with that of Claudius Buchanan, is also to be found in the National Dictionary of Biography, though the writer (Sir Alexander Arbuthnot) is unaware of the existence of "Eastern India," and speaks of Buchanan's investigations having apparently been only made use of in the account of Dinajpur published at Calcutta! There is also a notice of Buchanan in Higginbotham's "Men whom India has known." Montgomery Martin has also been blamed for suppressing much of the MS. Of course he has abridged, for he has tried to put the substance of twenty-two folios of manuscript into three octavos.* But the omissions are less material than might be supposed. There is a good deal of repetition in Buchanan, and some portions of his folios are taken up with his journal, *e. g.*, his Bhagalpur and Shahabad Journal, which does not contain anything material that is not also in his report. The published report of Mysore is in the form of a journal, and it is the opinion of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, that the book would have been far more useful, if the journal had been recast and condensed. Much space is taken up in the folios with indices, and lists of words in the Bengali character. There is also an account of Nepal in the Purniah MS. Vol. III, which probably has been incorporated in his book published in 1819. On the whole, I have not found that Mr. Martin has suppressed

* Each page of Martin is equal to about three pages of the M.S.

much of value in the historical or antiquarian chapters. For instance, there are no suppressions in the account of Gaur, which by the way, is to be found in the Purniah volumes. The most serious omissions are in the accounts of Patna and Shahabad. There Mr. Martin has drawn his pencil through much interesting matter, though in not a few cases he has afterwards repented and written "stet." In all the volumes he has omitted a good deal of the descriptive matter, and he has greatly abridged the elaborate account of castes which occurs in the first of the three volumes relating to Purniah. Still one is disposed to feel grateful to Mr. Martin for having done something. He certainly did more to make Buchanan known and useful, than either the Calcutta Secretariat, the Court of Directors, or the Royal Asiatic Society. It was not his fault, perhaps, that he was not an Orientalist, and his happy audacity in undertaking the work has done more good, than the reticence of better informed and more cautious men. Where, however, he certainly failed in one of the elementary duties of an editor, was in not making an index. Owing to the want of this I have several times imagined that his omissions were greater than is really the case.

I do not suppose that Government would now incur the expense of publishing the whole of the Buchanan MS. Nor is it I think, desirable that this should be done. What is wanted is a new edition of "Eastern India." I doubt, however, if any editor working in England could be sure that nothing of value was omitted. If the manuscript is still in Calcutta, a good plan might be to send the volumes for each district to the local officers, along with the corresponding volume of "Eastern India," for correction and revision. There is much in Buchanan's account of the courses of the rivers, and of the parganas and estates, which can be appreciated and commented upon only by persons possessed of local knowledge.

I now proceed to give some extracts from the unpublished portion of the Buchanan MS. The first which I shall give relates to the discovery of two statues now in the Indian Museum. These have been described in Dr. Anderson's Catalogue* of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum, and in Sir A. Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XV, p. 1, but neither author was aware of the circumstances of their disinterment.

Patna M. S. vol. I, p. 122.

"In the Ganges opposite to the suburb above the town, I found a stone image lying by the water's edge when the river was at the lowest. It has represented a male standing, with two arms and one head, but the arms and feet have been broken. The face is also much mutilated.

* Part I. 151, Calcutta, 1883.

It is nearly of a natural size and very clumsy, and differs from most Hindu images that I have seen, in being completely formed, and not carved in relief with its hinder parts adhering to the block from whence it had been cut. On the back part of the scarf which passes round its shoulder, are some letters which I have not been able to have explained, and too much defaced to admit of being copied with absolute precision. Some labourers, employed to bring this image to my house, informed me that it had been some years ago taken from a field on the south side of the suburbs, and had been intended for an object of worship; but that a great fire having happened on the day when it was removed, the people were afraid, and threw it into the sacred river. They also informed me that in the same field the foot of another image projected from the ground, and that many years ago a Mr. Hawkins^o had removed a third. On going to the place I could plainly discover that there had been a small building of brick, perhaps 50 or 60 feet in length, but most of the materials have been removed. On digging, I found the image to be exactly similar to that which I found in the river, but somewhat larger. The feet are entire and some parts of the arms remain, but the head has been removed. On its right shoulder is placed something which seems intended to represent a Thibet bull's tail. This is an insignia of the Yatis, or priests of Jain, but in other respects the images have little resemblance to such persons, one of whom is represented in the drawing No. 132. I rather suppose that these images have been intended as an ornament to the temple, and to represent the attendants on some god whose image has been destroyed. In the drawing No. 2, the images have been represented with the inscription on the smaller; that on the larger is totally illegible."

This account takes us back to 1811-12, which was the time when Buchanan explored Patna. It also shows that the third statue had been removed many years before. All that Dr. Anderson's industry could discover in the records of the Asiatic Society was, that the statues had been presented to the Society in 1820 by Mr. J. Tytler. Mr. Tytler presented these at the request of his brother Robert Tytler, and mentioned in the letter, that he understood that, long before they came into his possession, they were dug out of a field near Patna, and that on the same spot there was a third image still unremoved. We now know that Buchanan had the merit of rescuing one of the statues from the Ganges, and that the third statue probably disappeared in the last century. Rajan Rajendra Lal Mittra furnished Dr. Anderson with a tentative translation of the inscriptions on the statues. Sir A. Cunningham has also a reading of the letters. In his opinion the statues are those of Yakshas.

There are drawings of the two statues in Book II. They are evidently the same as those figured in Vol. XV, Plate II, of the *Archæological Reports*. The drawing is endorsed No. 2, *Shaha-*

* It appears from Odwell and Miles, that a civilian named Francis Hawkins entered the service in 1783, and was Collector of Bihar in 1798, and Judge of Appeal at Patna in 1808. He seems to have remained there till 1811. Perhaps this was the Mr. Hawkins referred to.

bad, and also with the words "Images found at Patna." But it is not No. 2 in the book. It occurs just after the drawing of Ghyassuddin's Mosque, and is No. 39 in the order of drawings.

The drawing also gives a copy of the letters on one of the figures. Cunningham considers that the third statue is still lying at Agamkua; but this is disputed by Dr. Waddell.

The above quotation from the MS. should have appeared in Vol. I of Martin, p. 42. In the MS. it comes just after the words, "nothing has been discovered to indicate large or magnificent buildings."

The next extract also deals with Patna—

"In the suburbs, at a little distance from the eastern gate, are two heaps called Mathni, which are supposed to be of Hindu origin, but there is no tradition concerning the person by whom they were built, and their size is trifling. South from these heaps is a very considerable heap, which, with some small eminences in the neighbourhood, are called the five hills, and are attributed to the five sons of Pandu. But this is probably an idle fable. One is at least 100 feet in perpendicular height and has no hollow on its top, so that I suspect it to have been a solid temple of the Buddhas. The others are almost level with the soil, and have probably been houses for the accommodation of religious men. It is said by the peasants of the neighbourhood, that they consist entirely of brick, but the owner of the larger obstinately refused his consent to allow me to dig for its examination.

I cannot learn any tradition concerning the island Sambhalpur, opposite to Patna, having ever been a town, nor, as far as I can learn, are any ceremonies performed there, as Major Wilford had heard.† Then comes passage in Martin, p. 42 of Vol. I "It need not be wondered," &c.

The next extract refers to the temple of Pataneshwari, in Patna, and mentions the singular circumstance, that the idol worshipped there as a goddess is a Buddha. The passage occurs at p. 117 of the MS. corresponding to p. 42 of Martin's. After the words "or the son of Patali," come the words (not in Martin) "but I have not been able to learn anything concerning the time when Rajah Sundar Sen lived." Then follows the sentence: "The building is small but avowedly recent, and erected at the expense of the priests. Far from acknowledging the story of the Patali, they allege that their deity has existed here since the origin of things." The MS. then proceeds thus:—

"This, in India, is an usual pretence, but there is a circumstance attending the tutelar deity of this city, that in most parts is not so ordinary, although very much so in these districts. The image (see drawing No. 124) called a goddess, is a male, and is no doubt a representation of a Buddha, and probably of Gautama, as he has seated by him two disciples, as usual in Ava. Near the throne is placed a female

* The Panahpahari.

† Wilford does not say that any ceremonies of games are now performed on the island. He only speaks of past times. See *As. Researches*, V 275.

deity, but this is not the object of worship, and represents, I have no doubt, Semiramis seated on a lion, and on her knees holding the infant Niniyas (See drawing No. 125). The Pandas or priests are Kanauj Brahmans, and many goats are sacrificed on Saturdays and Tuesdays, but they have no endowment. The little goddess was placed in her present situation by Man Singh, while that noble Hindu had the Government of Behar. The temple is of no great consequence, but is much more frequented than that of the great goddess, and the priest, who is a Kanauj Brahman, is supposed to have very considerable profit. The Pataneshwaries are properly the gram-devatas, but as the worship of these deities is not fashionable in Bihar, this is considered by many as a term too degrading. Still, however, many are aware of the circumstance; but Guviya, Pir Dumurya, Ram Thakur Damvir, Sam Singh, Beni Madhab, Bhikari Kumar, Surya Devata, Kuruvir, Patalvir, Jalapa, &c., are all appealed to as gram-devatas."

The drawings Nos. 124 and 125 are in the book of figures and support the above description, though there is no name to support that the female is Semiramis.

"Near the eastern gate, in the suburbs, is a small temple at Gauri and Sangkar, but the image represents only the generative organs of these deities. Every Monday in Srawan from 1,000 to 5,000 votaries assemble and make offerings. The priest is a gardener. At the north-east corner of the city, at a place where some lady, name unknown, was burnt with her husband's corpse, 50,000 people assemble once a year and make offerings. On the great days of bathing in the Ganges most people cross to the junction of the Gandaki, but on a certain day about 10,000 women assemble and bathe at a ghat in the west end of the city."

This extract is followed by a description of the Sikh temple. The next extract relates to Gya. Mr. Martin has omitted a good deal of the report of this district. For instance, pp. 208-231, 278-306, 338-349 and 356-378 of the MS. have been almost entirely omitted. They relate to the places of pilgrimage at Gya, Buddha-Gya, Rajgriha, the tomb of Sharaff-ud-din at Bihar, the hot springs, &c. The account of Buddh-Gya, however, is to be found in the paper in the 2nd volume* of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. The following passage occurs in the account of the temple of Vishnupad at Gya, p. 209 of MS.

"Near this terrace is lying a broken pillar on which there is an inscription in an old character, of which a copy is given in Drawing No. 20. It seems to consist of two distinct parts. In one is mentioned a Javana Raja Deva, of a country called Khas† but he takes no titles to imply his having been a king. It is dated Samvat 1327 (A. D. 1270)."

* II. 42.

† Lassen I, 57 and 79 n., considers Khas as an aboriginal word, and points to its occurrence in Khasia, &c. Dera Khawaspur is the name of an island in the Ganges near Karagola. Tanda, too, used to be called Khawaspur Tanda. I believe that the name has been perpetuated in Gwás, which is the name of a large pargana in eastern Murshidabad. There was a General of Sher Shah called Khawas Khan.

There is a copy of this inscription in Book IV. It is No. 20, and is entitled "an inscription on a broken stone lying in the Court of the Vishnupad, near the Gangesa." At p. 213 of the MS., mention is made of an inscription of the date of the 15th year of Naya Pala Deva. A copy is given at No. 29.

In his report on Shahabad, I. p. 84, Buchanan describes three inscriptions. The account begins at p. 84 and then is continued at omission No. 1 after p. 307. The first is on a rock at Tara Chándi,* near Sassaram, and on the road from there to Rohtas. The second is on a rock in the Soan at Bandu Ghat near Rohtas, and opposite to Jápil. The third is in the same neighbourhood, and is on a rock above a pool sacred to Totala Devi. All these are in Sanscrit, and are Nos. 2, 15, and 14 of the Book of Inscriptions. No. 2 is the most interesting, and is the one of which Colebrooke has given a translation.† It appears that Buchanan's Pandit altogether misunderstood this inscription, and led Buchanan to suppose that it had been put up by the father of Vijaya Chandra, the king of Kanauj. In fact, Pratap Dhavala, the author of the inscription, was no way related to Vijaya Chandra. He was the chieftain of Japil and seems to have been a haughty and plain spoken noble, somewhat after the fashion of Gotz von Berlichingen. The object of the inscription, which is both in verse and prose, is to warn his descendants, that some thievish priests have no right to two villages. The prose part is as follows, according to Colebrooke's translation:—

"The feet of the sovereign of Japila, the great chieftain, the fortunate Pratapa Dhavala Deva, declare the truth to his sons, grandsons and other descendants sprung of his race; this ill copper (grant) of the villages of Kalahauti and Badayita, obtained by fraud and perjury from the thievish slaves of the fortunate Vijaya Chandra the king, sovereign of Kanyakubja, by Swallahariya folks; no faith is to be put therein. These priests are every way libertines. Not so much land as might be pierced by a needle point is theirs. Knowing this, you will take the share ‡ of profits and other dues, or destroy. (Signature) of the great Rajaputra (king's son) the fortunate Satrugna."

The other part of the inscription gives the date, *viz.* Samvat 1229 (1173 A. D.) Iyestha, Badli, 3rd Wednesday. Colebrooke mentions in a note at p. 462 of the Transactions, that Vijaya Chandra was the father of Jaya Chandra, the king of Kanauj, who was killed by the Muhammadans in 1194.

Inscription No. 14, *i. e.* the one near Totala Devi's pool, is still older, the date on it being 1215 (1158 A. D.). It also

* "In a narrow passage which separates the northern end of the hills from the great mass."

† Transactions, R. A. S., I. 201.

‡ It would seem from this that the system of a division of crops is of old standing in Bihar.

mentions Pratap Dhavala with the title of Naik (or leader) and gives the name of his wife (Sulhi), of another female (Somali) and of six sons and four daughters. His younger brother Tribhuvan is also mentioned, as well as the treasurer and the keeper of the gate (to Rohtas?). It seems that in the middle of the inscription there is a rude figure of Totala Devi, which purports to have been made by the family priest Viswampa. Colebrooke has given an abstract of the Sanscrit portion of the inscription, but Buchanan says that—

“Under it there are some inscriptions in a Nagari character abundantly legible, but in some language which is totally unintelligible to the Pandit of the Survey, and probably that which was spoken by the tribe to which Pratapa Dhavala belonged. Many of the names in this family are barbarous and are still in common use among the Rahtor Rajputs in the west, to which tribe it is indeed said this family belonged. Some persons of that tribe with whom I lately met, understood several words in the parts of the inscription, which to the Pandit are unintelligible, but, being all illiterate men, they could not explain the whole.”

The inscription is in the Tilotha thána at a place where the Tutrahi, a branch of the Kudra, flows down the hills.

It may be here noted that there is some confusion between inscriptions Nos. 13 and 14, and that Colebrooke has slightly altered Buchanan's phraseology. In reality there are two inscriptions at Totala Devi's pool. One is on the rock alongside of the old representation of the goddess, and is the No. 14 just described. The other is apparently No. 13, but, being very short, it is to be found in the Book of Figures, *viz.*, No II, under the drawing of the new image of the goddess. The drawing and inscription are given in Martin, Vol. I., but he wrongly catalogues it as Plate No. 9. It is No. 2 of Plate V, p. 456.

“The image and inscription are on a slab carved in relief. It represents Totala Devi or Bhawani killing a buffalo-demon (Moheshāsūr). The date on the inscription is 1389 Samvat, or 1332 A. D.”

Inscription No. 15 is, according to Buchanan, upon a rock or stone in the Sone, and not on its bank as stated by Colebrooke. It is situated near Bandu or Bandhu Ghat (also called Manda Ghât by Buchanan) near Rohtas, and apparently opposite to the confluence of the Koel and Sone. It is near a lingam known by the name of Dasasirsa.

Buchanan's description is as follows:—

“Another inscription illustrates much further the history of this family (Pratap Dhavala). It is found on a rock in the Son at Bandhu Ghat opposite to Japil, and in the country it is usually alleged, that, when any governor of Rohtasgar died, his name spontaneously appeared on the rock and formed the inscription of which a copy is given in the 15th drawing. It, in fact, seems to relate to the persons who have governed the fortress and the neighbouring country. At the top, this inscription mentions that Mahāraj Singjamata ° Raj, and

Colebrooke reads the name as Nyunata Rai, or Nyunta Raya.

* Maharaj Pratap Raj went to (here the M. S. turns back to p. 85) heaven in the year 1646 (1589) and that in the year 1626 (1569) they had been preceded by Pratapa Rudra. These persons being after the time when Sher Shah reduced Rohtas (A. D. 1539) are of little importance, and have no titles of consequence. As they are followed by a very different description of personages, I presume these three names have been prefixed in after times, and that the inscription originally commenced as follows."

Buchanan then gives a list containing the names of eleven Mahanripatis, the second of whom, Pratap Dhaval, is said to have reigned 21 years up to Samvat 1219 * (A. D. 1162). Then come the name of four Dwarpals or gatekeepers, whom Buchanan supposes to have been the wardens of the four principal passes to Rohtas. After them come the names of several Maharajas, ending with Mandau Singh, Samvat 1653, (A. D. 1596). There is also a reference to the mild government of Man Singh, and a list of priests, astrologers, &c.

Buchanan conjectures that the last of the eleven Mahanripatis, viz., Udai Chandra, may have been the prince from whom Sher Shah took the fortress by a treacherous stratagem. In the second volume of the report on Shahabad, pp. 162-64, Buchanan gives an account of a family which claims descent from Pratap Dhavala. Colebrooke describes it as the family possessing the principality of Bilonja.

I am not aware whether these inscriptions have been copied by Mr. Beglar, or whether they have been published. If they have not, Buchanan's copies in the India Office might be advantageously referred to. Mr. Fleet has noticed and described a seal-matrix of Mahananta Sasanka, which Mr. Beglar has discovered, carved on the rock at Rohtas. It has been supposed to refer to the Sasanka of Karna Suvarna mentioned by Hsien Tshang, but it may be as well to note that there was, according to Buchanan,† a Khatauri Rajah of Kharakpur, named Sasangka‡ who was put to death by his servants in 1503 (910 Fusli).

The Bhagalpur volumes contain the reports on Rajmahal and the Sonthal Pargana. There is much interesting matter in them, but most of it has been given by Martin. There is a curious legend about the origin of the name Teliyagarhi, which Martin has not reproduced, but it is too long for extract in the present place. The only extracts which I shall give are a short account of an old fort called Lakragar, and a reference to pargana Mangalpur. Lakragar was situated in the Rajmahal hills, and it seems to me very likely that it is the

* Colebrooke thinks that the date is probably 1229 (1172).

† This certainly may be the Sasanka of the tank in Bogra, if indeed Sosong Dighi means Sasanka's tank. Arch: Reports, XV. 102.

‡ M. S. Bhagalpur, I. 183.

Lakhnor of Minhajaddin which has so long been vainly sought for. See Cunningham, Arch. Reports, XV. 44, for an endeavour to identify it with Kākjol.* The passage in Bucharfa is Bhagulpore II., 296.

"The only antiquity in this division is Lakragar, an old fort in the central arable land, where a Rajah of the Nāt tribe, termed Duriyan Singha resided, and governed the mountains as well as the Nāts, some of whom remain in the vicinity, and seem originally to have been of the same race with the mountaineers. He was driven out by the Khatauris who now possess the country, and who had a fort at Majhuya, about two miles from the former. There they resided for some generations, until the father of the present Zamindār, being inflamed with jealousy, excited the mountaineers to murder a Mogal officer. After this, the mountaineers discovering the imbecility of Government, became too turbulent for the management of the zamindar, who was compelled to retire to the low country."

It may be noted that there is also a thana in South Bhagulpore which goes by the name of Lakaradiwani.

In the first volume of Bhagulpur, Buchanan describes pargana Mangalpur, in Sarkār Otambar,† and says that the original proprietors belonged to the medical tribe (the Seins) and that they had no doubt possessed it for a very long time, and that they claimed descent from the Hindu Kings of Bengal. "The present members of the family have become mere peasants, and in their accounts contradict all chronology and probability. One of them told me that he was the 25th in descent from Mangal Sen, who married a daughter of Lakhyan (Lakshman) the king. This Mangal having gone on a pilgrimage to Benares and other places, when he returned, found his estate in possession of a Tiya, whom he had left in charge, but who refused to deliver up the land to his master. On this Mangal applied to Husein (one of the last Mahamudan Kings of Bengal)."

No doubt if Mangal was the son-in-law of Lakshman, he must have lived long before Husein Shah, and the mention of his name is probably only an instance of the Bengal habit of ascribing every thing to Husein Shah. But the interesting thing is that, Buchanan's informant, Mañan Rai, gave a list of his twenty-four ancestors, and that their names are preserved in the Buchanan M. S. Another descendant of Mangal Sein told Buchanan that his ancestor received the estate in the 624th year of the Bengal era (A. D. 1217). Buchanan recurs to the subject in the second volume at p. 278, where he men-

* At p. 313 of 2nd Vol. on Purniah, Buchanan describes Kākjol, and says it originally belonged to two Rarhi Brahmans, Ganeshyam and Mohesh, and that the former having been deprived of his estate by his brother, went to Delhi and got a grant of 7½ parganas. He turned Muhammadan and took the name of Abdullah.

† This is the way in which Buchanan spells Sarkar Audambar.

tions "Mangalpur as having been the residence of Lakshman Sein's son-in-law.

I have looked to see whether Buchanan said anything about the ancient kingdom of Khajogara mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, and which Vivien Saint-Martin proposed to identify with the Cudjery* of Rennell. But I cannot find anything on the point. He however mentions a large tract of country, extending on both sides of the Gumani river, which is known, as Tappa Kangjiyali. This is the Big and Little Kangjiyali of Hunter,† and may be the missing kingdom. Buchanan also speaks of a river called the Kangjiya.

The following extracts are from the volumes on Purniah. The first is from addition No. II, to the topography of Purniah, page 353 of Vol. I, and relates to the Pal Rajahs :—

"There can, I think, be little doubt but that the Pal Rajahs possessed the whole of Mithila, and confined the Kirats within the limits of their mountains. The Brahmans of Magadha still form a considerable part of the agricultural population, and although there are no traces of works attributed to the Pal Rajahs themselves, there are many remains attributed to chiefs of these Brahmans, probably descendants of the nobles of the Pal Rajahs, some of whom retained more or less independence until a much later date, and after the overthrow of the dynasty of Adisur, seem to have recovered much authority."

Then follows, "in the confusion which immediately followed the overthrow of the Hindu kingdom of Bengal," as in Martin p. 46.

The next extract relates to the Muhammadan town of Tanda,‡ whose site has now been swept away by the river, but which lay in what is now the district of Maldah.

"The only ruin is that of Tāngra, a place of no considerable antiquity §. When the family of Sher Shah was deprived of the Government of India by the Mogul Humayun, the Kingdom of Bengal again threw off its suzerainty to Delhi, and the new dynasty left Gaur and retired across the old Ganges to Tāngra. The distance is so small that they could not be said to have changed the seat of Government, but only to have built a new palace or country residence, and,

* The chart of R. H. Colebrooke, Surveyor-General, in 7th Vol. of Asiatic Researches, is better than Rennel's. Colebrooke's survey was in 1796-97. He spells the name Cajuwah, and represents it as below Farrakhabad and on a char. I doubt its ever having been a place of importance.

† In the Sonthal Parganas.

‡ When Fitch visited Tanda in 1587, it was a league from the Ganges.

§ According to Wilford, Asiatic Researches, XIV, 419, it is old, and was the Tondola of Ptolemy. Wilford's conjectures are always interesting, and sometimes they seem very happy. His identification of Katapara with Katwa has been thought probable by Vivien Saint-Martin. In Asiatic Researches, V 269, he suggests that pargana Gankār, in Jungypur Sub division, is the origin of the word Gangaridae. Gankar is certainly a very old and large pargana, and Lassen does not believe that the word Gangaridae was coined by the Greeks from Ganges.

although Gaur is said to have been plundered by the first of these princes, it was by no means destroyed, nor did the people follow the Court to Tāngra, which would never appear to have been a large place. Nor are there any considerable ruins to denote that these princes lived in splendour or erected great works. Their government was indeed remarkably insecure, but they seem to have been men of vigour, and notwithstanding their want of security from the intrigues of their officers, resisted the efforts of the great Akbar for half his reign. The contemptuous manner in which the courtly Abul Fazl mentions these princes, is a pretty convincing proof of the vexation which they had given to his king. Tāngra stood west from Gaur, opposite to the suburb of Firozpur, and to the southern part of the city."

Buchanan spells Tanda *টান্ডা*. The extract is from Vol. I, p. 353, and is in the account of the division of Kalya Chak. At p. 250 of Vol. I, Buchanan notes that in his account of Rangpur, he has mentioned that Husein Shah, King of Gaur, was born in the division of Boda in that district. He then goes on to say that, immediately on the borders of that territory, but on the Purniah side of the Karatoya, there is a fort called Gāngrārigar (spelt in margin in Bengali as Gānrigur) which is said to have been built by Husein Shah's mother. The notice of Husein Shah's birthplace here referred to, is to be found in Vol. I, p. 215 of the MS. account of Rangpur, and has been published by Montgomery Martin, III, p. 448. It is to the effect that Husein Shah was born at Dev Nagar, about sixteen miles north of Kumarikoth. I do not know whether this statement has ever been properly noticed. If not, it is desirable that inquiries should be made about it in Boda, for everything connected with Husein Shah is interesting.* The statement in the Riyaz-us-Salatin, p. 131, is that Husein Shah, his brother Yusuf, and his father Saiyid Ashraf came from Termiz (a town on the Oxus, and north of Balkh) and settled at Chandpur (Chandpara) in the Rār country, i. e., in the Sub-division of Jungypur. But this does not absolutely contradict Buchanan's account, and may also be partially incorrect. According to Buchanan, Husein Shah's grandfather was Sultan Ibrahim, and was killed by Jallaludin. Relying upon the Riyaz, I formerly thought that this was wrong, and that the only Sultan Ibrahim was the ruler of Jaunpur. But it now seems not improbable that it is the author of Riyaz who is incorrect. It is certain that his chronology is at fault. The Jaunpur histories seem to make no mention of any attack on Bengal by Sultan Ibrahim, and the one which is referred to by Abd-ar-Razzak in the Matla-Assadin† as having been made or contemplated, seems to have occurred about 1440,

*The Dinajpur reports contain one or two notices of Husein Shah's sons-in-law.

† See Major's India in the 15th Century. c

and therefore long after the time of Rajah Kans or Ganesh, and his son Jallalluddin. The attack was averted by the intervention of Shah Rukh, son of Tajmur, and many years after the death of the saintly Nur Qutb. It is then possible that there were two Ibrahims, and that the one of Jallalluddin's time was Husein Shah's grandfather.

The next extract is from the long account of Castes in Vol. I, of the Purniah Report. It occurs at p. 370 and refers to the Sarvariya, a cast which sprung into existence out of the great famine of 1770:—

"In the terrible famine which happened in the year of the Bengal era 1177 (A. D. 1770) many Hindus, unable to resist the cravings of appetite, ate food from impure hands and lost caste. These and their descendants have now united into one tribe, which is called Sarvariya, *সরবরিয়* because, in every revolution of sixty years, a famine or some other great calamity is supposed to occur in the year called Sarvariya, as happened at the time above-mentioned. The Sarvariya amount to about 130 or 140 families, scattered in different parts of the district. They have instructors and priests of their own. They now follow the Hindu customs so far as *caste* is concerned, but eat everything else. They cultivate the land."

It would be interesting to know if this caste still exists. I have not found the name in the report on the Census of 1891. In his book on Castes, Mr. Risley has the heading Sarvaria or Saryapari, and describes it as a sub-caste of Kanaujia Brahmans and Telis in Bihar. This seems to be the caste mentioned by Buchanan, but its origin has probably been forgotten. The name comes from Sarvarin, which is the 34th year of the Brihaspati Chakra or Jovial Cycle. The cycle consists of sixty years, and every year has a distinct name. It appears from Warren's Kala Sanhita, that Sarvarin and Plava, the 34th and 35th years of the cycle, corresponded, according to the Bengal reckoning, to 1769-70 A.D. Sarvarin is probably an inauspicious year, for it is derived from Sarvari, meaning night, a word which is supposed to correspond to the Greek Cerberus.

THE KOSI.*

"The Kosi being near the mountains is very subject to sudden and great risings and fallings in its stream, and in summer its water, even at Nathpur, retains a very great coolness. On 12th September, although the river was then uncommonly low, I found its stream in the evening eight degrees of Fahrenheit lower than the stagnant waters in its vicinity. Early in the morning the difference would, of course, be more considerable."

H. BEVERIDGE.

* MS. additions to Topography of Purniah, p. 353.

ART. II.—THE UNKNOWN EROS.

BY COVENTRY PATMORE.

THERE was a time when we had the honour of being instructed by the late John Addington Symonds. We were not among his more favourite pupils, and perhaps scarcely realised at the time what a privilege it was to be instructed by him. But now we know that all the brighter part of our life—all our feeling for Art and all our taste in literature has been somehow influenced by him. And so it has happened that, reading in a magazine article of his, the praise of these poems called the Unknown-Eros—we have come to read them to know them, and to love them. It is true that the *Edinburgh Review*, after selecting one or two of the most obvious of them for 'faint praise,' has damned the rest of them. But this fact may inspire Mr Patmore's supporters with more confidence. For this Review seems always mindful of the old traditions of the time when it 'snuffed out' John Keats and failed to see any poetry in the 'Ode to Immortality.' And yet it may be said that, most lovers of poetry, if they had to make a selection, would select this ode as the greatest poem of the century.

As the poet of the domestic affections, Mr. Coventry Patmore has attained the dignity of being a classic in his life-time, and his two principal works, the 'Angel in the House' and the 'Victories of Love,' may be purchased for three pence each, at which price nothing that is not a classic can be sold. The 'Unknown Eros' finds a smaller audience and is not yet reduced to this price. It is also necessary to explain to those acquainted with the other volumes, that the poems collected under the latter title have no connection with them. The 'Angel in the House,' which ought to be and, perhaps, at its low price, is read by most at least of the couples engaged to be married, deals with the loves of one Felix, a small landed proprietor, and one Honoria, the daughter of a Dean. Everything is quite happy and simple. The 'Victories of Love' is a continuation of this. The aforesaid Honoria has a cousin called Frederick Graham, who was in love with her, but, finding that his affections are not returned, bestows them (he being a sailor) on his chaplain's daughter Jane. Considering how light is the touch, there is, no where, except in the 'Scenes from Clerical Life,' where a character has been so slightly yet so clearly delineated as this of love. As some of the poems in the 'Unknown Eros' treat of the same sort of subjects, we might expect that they would contain some reference to these people, but this is, we

believe, not the case. Some of the poems might, it is true, be written by any man to any woman, but the general theory of the personal poems in the 'Unknown Eros' is that the poet was first married to one Millicent, who died, and then that he married one Amelia. In the preface it is said that all the poems which are written by the author in what he called 'catalectic' verse, are included. This 'catalexis' means practically that the lines may be of any length that the poet pleases. And it has also suited him to arrange the poems without apparently any regular sequence, logical or otherwise. Those which are most generally interesting are the poems which are personal in character. There are certain 'words' of love addressed either to Millicent or Amelia, or to any one else. There are poems of regret for Millicent, and the gradual process of change by which the poet accommodated himself to the thought of marrying another. Then there is the poem which is called Amelia in which the courtship of the latter is described.

After the poem, in which the poet modestly says—

'Therefore no 'plaint be mine,
Of listeners none,
No hope of render'd use or proud reward
In hasty times and hard ;
But chants as of a lovely thrush's throat
At latest eve,
That does in each calm note
Both joy and grieve ;
Notes few and strong and fine,
Gone with sweet day's decline,
And sad with promise of a different sun.'

The other poems open with 'Saint Valentine's Day,' which states that the day of this saint which, as is well-known, is consecrated to love at firstsight, is properly kept in February, when the earth shows of its treasures only the snowdrop—the emblem of virginity—and so appears to be making 'the rash oath of virginity which is first love's first cry.' Even so a maiden may swear that she will never love any one at all, because she already loves some one too much. The 'Day After To-morrow' follows out the idea of Browning's 'Three Days.'

'One day's controlled hope and then one more,
And on the third our lives shall be fulfilled !
Yet all has been before :
Palm placed in palm, twin smiles and words astray,
What other should we say ?'

And there is a poem called 'A Farewell' in which the poet is bidding farewell to some one in the hope, or rather in the sentiment,

'We will not say
There's any hope, it is so far away,'

that, as they are going in opposite directions, they may meet at the antipodes.

These are the chief poems which treat of the affections in general. The death of Millicent is described in 'Departure,' which reproaches her because 'it was all unlike her great and gracious ways,' to go

' With sudden, unintelligible phrase
And frightened eye,
Upon her journey of so many days
Without a single kiss or a good-bye.

And in the 'Azalea,' the poet, in his dreams, confuses the scent of an Azalea at his window with the favourite scent of his lost wife, and awakes to find her absent, and a letter of hers which ends :

' So till to-morrow's eve, my Own, Adieu !
Parting's well paid with soon again to meet ;
Soon in your arms to feel so small and sweet,
Sweet to myself that am so sweet to you, '

Even the Edinburgh Review approves of 'The Toys ;' and, indeed, this poem has some of the elements of universal popularity such as attend the Pied Piper of Hamelin and the May Queen among those who may not love Browning or Tennyson. It describes how, after the poet had struck his little Loy and dismissed him 'with harsh words and unkind,' for disobedience, he went to see him in bed and found that—

' On a table drawn beside his head,
He had put within his reach,
A box of counters and a red veined stone,
A piece of glass abraded by the beach
And six or seven shells,
A bottle with blue bells
And two French copper coins, ranged there with careful art,
To comfort his sad heart ?

In 'Tired Memory,' however, the poet prays that he may be permitted to crucify himself by bliss in which his lost wife has no part. He knows it is treason, but cannot help it. And then, in 'Amelia,' he describes how he obtained Amelia's mother's permission, by promising to behave as though she were by, to take Amelia to the grave of Millicent. There he put a ring on her finger, and

' Nay, I will wear it for *her* sake, ' she said ;
' For dear to maidens are their rivals dead. '

And then he kissed her lips three times and her sandalled foot nine times before he determined to keep his promise to her mother. Yet, as a sequel to these, and to show that Millicent was not even then altogether forgotten, there are these lines :

' If I were dead, you'd sometimes say, Poor Child ? '
The dear lips quivered as they spake,

And the tears brake
 From eyes which, not to grieve me, brightly smiled,
 Poor Child, poor Child !
 I seem to hear your laugh, your talk, your song,
 It is not true that love will do no wrong,
 Poor Child !
 And did you think, when you so cried and smiled,
 How I, in lonely nights, should lie awake
 And of those words your felt avengers make ?
 Poor Child, poor Child !
 And now unless it be
 That sweet amends thence told are come to thee,
 O God, have thou *no* mercy upon me !
 Poor Child !'

So much for what we can gather of what may be called the personal history of the poet as disclosed in these poems. It is not at all in accordance with the theories which are elsewhere put forward. Those are called in one place *Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore*, or, 'delicate morsels of wisdom about love,' and may be described in one word as erotosophy. This word means wisdom as to love, just as theosophy means wisdom as to God. The doctrine laid down in the 'Unknown Eros' itself and in *Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore* is that, generally, it is better to burn than to marry, and that the highest crown of love is unfulfilled desire. Thus the perfect lover is described as :

'Ineffably content from infinitely far
 Only to gaze
 On his bright mistress's responding rays,
 That never know eclipse ;
 And once in his long year
 With præter nuptial ecstasy and fear,
 By the delicious law of that ellipse
 Wherein all citizens of ether move
 With hastening pace to come
 Nearer, though never near,
 His Love
 And always inaccessible sweet Home.'

And in a poem called 'The Contract' it is said that Eve warned Adam that their spousals should be virgin, and said—

'And when my arms are round your neck like this,
 And I, as now,
 Melt like a golden ingot in your kiss,
 Then, more than ever, shall your splendid word
 Be as Archangel Michael's severing sword !'

And the Unknown Eros itself 'the same tale repeats,' though in rather different tones.

Nevertheless there is another side to this 'Erotosophy.' In certain poems called *Eros* and *Psyche*, *De Naturâ Deorum*, and so on, there is a description of the loves of *Psyche* with a god scarce known to her as a god, and of her doubts as to her behaviour, and her visit to a Pythoness for advice. And she is advised by Eros himself—

'To lay her foolish little head to rest
On his familiar breast.'

'Feeling her nothingness her giddiest boast
As being the charm for which he loves her most.'

And by the Pythoness that Eros—

'Ever loves his little maid the more
The more she makes him laugh !'

This, it will be seen, gives quite a different view of the relations between the sexes. Woman is not to be the focus of an ellipse, not the distant object of admiration, but a mere play-thing.

There is still another view, more esoteric than these, in a poem called 'Sponsa Dei.' This begins by asking—

'What is this maiden fair,
The laughing of whose eye
Is in man's heart renewed virginity ?'

And proceeds in one of the most melodious passages of modern English verse :—

'What gleams about her shine
More transient than delight and more divine !
If she does something but a little sweet,
As gaze towards the glass to set her hair,
See how his soul falls humbled at her feet !
Her gentle step, to go or come,
Gains her more merit than a martyrdom ;
And if she dance, it doth such grace confer
As opes the heaven of heavens to more than her.
And makes a rival of her worshipper
To die unknown for her were little cost !
So is she without guile,
Her mere refused smile
Makes up the sum of that which may be lost !

And the answer is :

'What if this Lady be thy soul, and He
Who claims to enjoy her sacred beauty be
Not thou, but God ?'

Which means, apparently, that human love is an Avatar or manifestation of the creative spirit of the Universe : which also is not impossible. This theory would suit with either of the others, but it is not easy to reconcile the teaching, if so it may be called, of the 'Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore' with that of the 'Eros and Psyche' and the 'De Naturâ Deorum.' It may be, indeed, that in the former poem and those connected with it, the duty of man is suggested, while in the 'Eros and Psyche' group, it is indicated how women ought to behave. But we do not ourselves think that the same man who regards women in the higher chivalrous way which is elsewhere suggested, as :

'When to take her hand
Is more of hope than heart can understand ?'

or who thinks of her as :

- 'The tear-glad mistress of his hopes of bliss
Too fair for man to kiss,'

would find much delight in that sort of Psyche whose only care is to make him laugh.

And, in another passage which we have failed to find in any of the collected editions of the poet's works, but which is quoted in Mr. Ruskin's 'Sesame and Lilies,' he takes a much higher view of woman's mission :

- 'Oh wasteful woman ! she who may
On her sweet self set her own price,
Knowing he cannot choose but pay,
How hath she cheapened Paradise !
How given for nought the priceless gift,
How spoiled the bread and spilled the wine,
Which, used with due respective thrift,
Had made beasts men and men divine !'

But the truth seems to be that there is no intention to reconcile the theories. Indeed, the subject of love, is full of contradictions. We love woman for 'her great and gracious ways' and for her simplicity. We love her because she is like 'a bright particular star,' on whom we are content merely to gaze, and because 'she feels her nothingness her giddiest boast' and is ready—

- 'To lay her foolish little head to rest
On our familiar breast.'

We love her because she is 'too fair for man to kiss,' and because she permits us to kiss her 'sandalled foot.' We love her for her strength and for her weakness. We love her because we think that we understand her, and most of all, because we feel that we cannot understand her at all.

- 'For maidens shine,
As diamonds do,
Which, though most clear,
Are not to be seen through.'

And we think that Mr. Patmore has intended to exhibit the reflections from the facets of those diamonds in varying lights, rather than to focus them into one harmonious whole. So that the conclusion of the whole matter seems to be, that Eros is unknown because he is unknowable.

We have written so much about those poems which appear to have some connection with the title, that now there is little space left in which to discuss the others. Some of these are political, and some religious, and some represent various moods of the poet's mind. The political poems are written from the aristocratic point of view, and exhibit great jealousy of the modern democratic spirit. Thus the year 1867 is spoken of as :

'The year of that great crime
When the false English nobles and their few,
By God demented, slew
The Trust they stood twice pledged to keep from wrong.

The poem called 'Peace' is all in praise of war, as opposed to dishonourable peace, and in '1880-5' there is much praise of England in the past, before the era of the new democracy. In such matters poets are not fit subjects for criticism. They are to be forgiven because they love much, and because they feel for their country as Wordsworth felt—

'What wonder if a poet, now and then,
Among the many workings of his mind,
Feels for thee, as a lover or a child?'

More interesting than these, as they are certainly more difficult, are certain poems which appear to be attempting to solve certain psychical problems. In 'Crest and Gulf' it is stated that, whatever a man may do, it is quite impossible to tell what its result will be, and—

'Good or evil seed is like to grow
For its first harvest quite to contraries.'

So, in 'Let Be' we are advised not to interfere with other people, because we cannot tell what they are about, and 'grace may sometimes lurk where who could guess.' And in 'Faint yet Pursuing' thanks are to be given, because things though bad might yet be worse. On the other hand, in 'Victory in Defeat,' it is said that we should never relax our efforts, whatever the result may be, because—

'The man who, though his fights be all defeats,
Still fights,
Enters at last
The heavenly Jerusalem's rejoicing streets
With glory more, and more triumphant rites,
Than always conquering Joshua's, when his blast
The frightened walls of Jericho down cast;
And lo, the glad surprise
Of peace beyond surmise
More than in common saints for ever in his eyes.'

And in the last of this series, the doctrine of election seems to be inculcated. The poem is called 'Remembered Grace,' and it is said 'whom God does once with heart to heart befriending, He does so to the end.'

On the religious poems, generally, I shall forbear to touch. But there is one of them called 'Regina Coeli,' which will have a special charm for those who, at Dresden, have seen the picture of the Madonna whom San Sisto names. For this poem seems to translate into words the supernatural wonder in the face which lives for ever on Raphael's canvas:

'Say, did his sisters wonder what could Joseph see
In a mild, silent little maid like thee?

And was it awful in that narrow house
 With God for babe and spouse?'

• It will be apparent that there is too much sweet in some of the poems. The poet 'makes faint with too much sweet those heavy winged thieves,' words which are the thieves of thought. And some of them are difficult. For it is the practice of certain *fin de siècle* poets, of whom Robert Browning is the greatest, if not the first, to suggest rather than to state, and to appeal to the understanding rather than to the heart. But of such of these poems as are to be found in this volume, we may say, in simili, though not in pari materiâ, what has been said of Shakspear's sonnets:

"There are many that will not be understood without some earnestness of thought on the reader's part. But he is not likely to regret the labour."

H. F. T. MAGUIRE.

ART. III.—SONGS OF THE INDIAN STREET.

IT is a matter of regret, that a thick screen must often hang between the Englishman and the native of this country. Of course, there are weighty reasons why the native should find it difficult to make us his confidants. It has been well stated that the road to the heart lies through the stomach. So far, however, from dining in our company, the great mass of natives reject as utterly defiled the food on which even our shadow has fallen. In view of such feelings, there may be deference, and perhaps respect; but confidence must and will remain out of the question. The practical result is that the authorities cannot be in touch with popular feeling to the extent, which is possible to their compeers in Europe. The sources of information open to a police-officer in England are closed to the head of a district. Whatever information he receives, is stamped with the individuality of its bearer. The local paper probably echoes little beyond the murmurings of a handful of pleaders, and of discontented aspirants for the spoils of office. The police-inspector's position contains too much of the *imperium in imperio* to warrant him in giving away every item of information to his superior. He buckles on his sword, gives an extra twist to his turban, practises his salute before a mirror, and rehearses, for his visit, those *sesquipedalia verba* which sound well and mean little. In fact, should the right of interpellation ever become inconvenient, and should it become necessary to conceal, while professing to afford information, the members of his Honour's Council might well consider whether answers might not be given with advantage in the language of a police diary. Few persons, I suppose would have the hardihood to assert that they ever elicited information of real value from the well dressed visitor who, having politely listened to every topic of conversation, rises with clasped hands, and that unfailing watch-word, which might serve him for a motto: "*Ek 'arz hai*"

There exists, however, a source of information, to which hitherto no adequate importance has been assigned. The real feelings of the masses of the people are embodied in the ballads which are chanted to the tambourine by grimy and tattered singers, on the shady side of the street, or amidst the dust of the market place. It may be news, and possibly a shock, to many people, that every event of average importance in the district becomes the subject of such an unwritten ballad. This street-poetry is the press of the poor. It is not intended to flatter the holder of office. It criticises his words and acts with the utmost freedom. The singer wears his heart on his sleeve.

English officials, as a rule, know little and care less about him. Natives, if they condescend to notice him, accord him sallies a good-humoured licence, which finds its counterpart in the ribaldry of the Carnival. In these ballads, the native of the lower orders ceases to be the passionless and neutral-tinted creature that bows before us on the outer verandah with accents of the most unctuous respect. He is taken off his guard. He reveals a deep tenderness and pathos. He displays a keen sense of the ridiculous. He seizes on weak points with a humour for which we would not give him credit. To quote the old fable, he shows us the struggle of Hercules and the lion, as the lion painted it. For once he shows a side of human nature that laughs and weeps without reference to a Government circular. In fact, all the records of our offices, with their quarter-margins and their dotted i's and their crossed t's, are the veriest bare-bones of local history, which none but the street-singer, with his tattered cloak and his thrumming tainbourine, is able to enrobe in the forms of living flesh.

For purposes of illustration, I have selected a few out of the many ballads which were sung in the bazaars of Benares, at, and shortly after, the time of the memorable Water-works riot of 1891. Three years have now elapsed since those riots occurred; and it has been stated by high authority that all interest in the matter has passed away. Under these circumstances, they may serve, without objection, to indicate a source of information to the authorities in connection with those dangerous agitations which have lately simmered in the Eastern Districts. I have carefully suppressed those portions which, either by name or by obvious allusion, dealt hardly with particular persons. The residue I trust, can wound no man's feelings, and I can only hope with Fabian:

How with a sportful malice it was followed,

May rather pluck on laughter than revenge.

The briefest outline of the facts of the riots must suffice for the purpose of explaining the allusions. Above all, it is foreign to my purpose to discuss any matter which may fairly be regarded as debateable. At the beginning of the year 1891, the site of a temple of Ramchandra had been taken up by the Benares Municipality, under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, for the purposes of the Water-works, then in process of construction. The temple is situated in the Bhadeni quarter, near the confluence of the Assi with the Ganges. It faces the stables of a wealthy merchant, named Rae Sita Ram, and persons interested in disorder managed to spread abroad the idea that Rae Sita Ram had procured the destruction of the temple, in order to preserve his own stables. This rumour, following upon a wide-spread objection to polluting the sacred

river, and to apprehension of the proposed water-tax, worked up the Hindu public to fever-heat. On the morning of Wednesday, the 15th April, there was a meeting of the Municipality at the Town-hall; and, after it had broken up, about noon, a general impression was abroad that a secret resolution had been passed to the effect that the temple, or at least its staircase, was to be forthwith destroyed. An immense multitude, including Gopal Das and Ram Shar Datt and Lachman Das amongst its ringleaders, collected at the temple, where an agitator fired the mine by proclaiming that the destruction of the temple had been ordered. The crowd attacked and demolished the adjoining pumping-station of the water-works, flinging the engines into the river, and pulling from his horse the Sub-inspector in charge of the armed police-guard. The police-guard, hopelessly outnumbered, retreated inside a building, while the mob fired the stables of Rae Sita Ram, and plundered his dwelling-house, with the two adjoining, from top to bottom. After a few shots, blazed off at random by the police-guard, and wounding only one person in the heel, the multitude poured down the Bhadeni road, smashing street-lamps in all directions. A demonstration of debateable character occurred outside one of the two residences of Raja Shiva Prashad, C. S. I., wrongly stated in the ballad annexed to have been the *Barahdari*. This demonstration had the effect of drawing off the police of the adjoining station of Kalbhairo, thereby enabling a gang of marauders utterly to ransack the Government Telegraph Office. The Eurasian Telegraph Master was hustled and insulted; but his wife and children were fortunate enough to escape into the Kalbhairo police station, though, in the flight, a native nurse was brutally cut across the face with a cudgel. The mob thereupon attacked and plundered the City Railway Station, removing, amongst other articles, a chest of silver-bar, valued at some four thousand rupees. Shortly afterwards, the District Magistrate, having at last received information, arrived on the scene, with his Assistant and the Superintendent of Police, followed by the 12th Bengal infantry on foot, and a wing of a British regiment, conveyed, on account of the glaring heat, in four-wheelers.

The rioters had fled at the first rumour of the approach of troops. On the way home, Babua Pande, leader of a notorious gang of cudgelmen, attacked, more to frighten than to hurt, a head constable at the Dasawamedha outpost. On the same night, over two hundred prisoners, secured, in default of handcuffs, by huge ropes, were lodged in the Central Gaol. It is a matter of common notoriety that, for some days afterwards, the subordinate police were accused of practising the grossest oppression and extortion. A terrible incident occurred in the

course of their arrests. Hari Ahir was the door-keeper of a native princess, who was an ardent patron of the temple. On the morning of the 17th April, an attempt was made by two armed constables, aided by two outsiders, to arrest him at his post for having been concerned in the plunder of Rae Sita Ram's dwelling-house. Hari suddenly snatched up a sabre from behind the wicket, and, at one stroke, cut down the first constable. As the second constable was tugging away at the hilt of his rusty police cutlass, Hari all but slashed off his hand at the wrist. The two outsiders fled panic-stricken. Hari chased them down a lane to the banks of a large bathing-tank. The first, who turned to guard himself with a bamboo-pole, he simply hacked over the fingers, while the second he felled with a sword-cut over the back of his head, inflicting no less than ten slashes on his prostrate and helpless body. By little short of a miracle all his victims recovered. On the 19th, he was arrested without much difficulty, it is supposed, on the information of Hannu Sinh, who, by the irony of fortune, was imprisoned, some months later, as a professional extortioner. Matters soon settled down to the hum-drum business of trying the immense batches of prisoners. The gigantic trial of the ringleaders, and the appellate proceedings in the High Court, are probably still fresh in most people's recollection. It is interesting to observe, that the voice of the people, as represented by the ballad-singer, endorses the High Court's acquittal of Rameshar Datt with respect to a shawl which he claimed to have obtained as a present, but which he was accused of having received well knowing it to have been the proceeds of dacoity? .

The following is a paraphrase of some portions of a street-song, giving a bird's eye view of the leading facts as above described :

For Rama's sake in Kasi did a mighty riot rage ;
 That in Ind all men bethought them : 'Tis in sooth the Iron Age ;
 And, I trow me, goodly revels did our hallowed Rama hold,
 In a twinkling to the Assi as the frenzied masses roll'd ;
 Lamps smash'd—policemen scamper'd—o'er the engines waters swirl'd—
 Pipes burst—pumps flew to shivers—from his horse the Haib was hurl'd.
 In a cab drove up the Outwaul, but so warm a welcome found
 That his men went off on business, not a man that stood his ground.
 Then ev'ry purse-proud huckster Rama's foe the rogues declar'd ;
 Stalls b'az'd—steeds fled—and starvelings on daintiest comfits far'd.
 As 'twere their fathers' earnings with gems their arms they fill,
 And his wife the city left screaming, while he fought to save his till,
 When the whites received these tidings, each his wife and bairns 'gun hale
 To the box, to take a ticket to the nearest place by rail ;
 And he cried : " Let's quit Benares ! God send no mob our way,"

For Mussulmans and Hindus both for Rama fought that day.
 But a wondrous choice made Rama, when a human form he chose :
 For we saw but cut-throats scoundrels round the Jham's abode to close :
 Of the " Portals-Twelve " some shutters they broke, and freed some birds,
 And a cheap old curst plundered, ere the Post they storm'd in herds.
 I grant they snuff'd some lanterns, and they batter'd down a pole,
 And 'tis sure that each police man, they hunted to his hole,
 And the man of State they flouted, as the Master fled in fear,
 And their only thought was : " Bless us ! may the soldiers never hear."
 Thus the Station sought they, thinking ; " May no soldiers here alight."
 But they found some silver ingots, and—they filch'd the lot on sight.
 Yet for all this neither party got a scratch or bruise or seam ;
 For the folk were empty-handed, and just working off their steam.
 They were all at home by sunset, when the pale-face warriors came,
 And, by seizing harmless passers, proved them worthy of their name .
 The police, while work was toward, in a house lay close and still,
 But, whenever they met folks passing, then their pockets 'gan to fill
 For the wealthy they surrounded, and for bribes they storin'd and roar'd,
 And, what Kashi lost, our rulers by the money-orders scor'd.
 Aye, police misrule lay heavy, and the poor were sorely wrung ;
 For whoe'er had nought to pay them, rope-bound in jail they flung.
 On the weak their hand lay heavy, till our pray'rs took heaven by storm,
 And of Hari Gwal, the shepherd, Ramchandra took the form.
 Well, a catch-pole spake to Hari : " You're wanted. Come away ! "
 " I am guiltless ! and my duty's at the queen's house-door to stay,"
 So spake the god-man-bodied, " Come, seize me, if you dare,"
 For his heart was sick to witness, how they cuffed and bound men there.
 In wrath, his blade unbiring did he smite the catch-poles sore ;
 Half bled, half bit the green-sword, as he vanished through the door.
 Then peace reigned in Benares ! to their cabs the soldiers run,
 To save their fair complexions from the beating of the sun.
 First Hannu Singh informer 'gainst Hari bore the tale ;
 But his catch-pole friends for guerdon only sent him next to jail.
 Then they swore, the priest Rameshar had filch'd his king's gift-shawl,
 That Sita Ram and nephew never blush'd their own to call.
 Gopal and Lachman brethren ! both, I trow, are free from stain,
 Stout servants they of Rama, for they fought to save his fane.
 Woe worth these days, my brethren ! when the good are thus forlorn ;
 But for Rama's sake they suffer'd, and they laugh these woes to scorn.
 'Gainst none their wrath our rulers save Hindoos, have display'd ;
 For at sight of firm-knits Moslems sinks the Sahib's heart dismay'd.
 One boast is left us Hindoos, for all we've lost and brav'd :
 " Stout friends in need, these Moslems ! for their skins they all have sav'd.
 Then Dumpy spake : " Friend Swarthy ! hath not Babua earn'd a name
 As a rogue ? Come, let's embroil him, and win us lasting fame."

Such mangy curs at doorsteps still beg for odds and ends,

• They pick up scraps at banquets and—to Patna see their friends.

Well, high and low, of statesfolk from their senses all were scar'd.

The Judge, Collector, Council, and Chief Governor all declar'd :

“ No time is this for justice, else th' administration's bound

“ To be ruin'd ! ” they repeal'd it, and promotion earn'd all round.

Thus spake Baijnath, as listened all the world, and every face

Was shame flush'd — God protect me ! for his feet my arms embrace.

It will, I think, be admitted, that however poorly rendered, the above pasquille is a remarkable production for a Hindu beggar. There is a rugged independence in the manner in which the singer aims his cudgel-blows, in succession, at Hindus, at Mussulmans, and at Europeans. With a lightning sense of the humorous, he seizes on such points, as the action of the Cutwaul, and afterwards of the British soldiers, in marching off to suppress a rebellion on the benches of licensed hackney-cabs. He is quite ready to jeer at those Hindus whose courage consists in battling for their tills while they leave their wives screaming, or whose zeal for religion aspires no higher than to dub wealthy citizens enemies of Rama, and, on the strength of that title, to plunder them of their possessions. He scoffingly wonders why Rama, if in need of an incarnation to protect his temple, should have selected the form of cut-throats and marauders. As against all this play of light humour, however, it is a very remarkable, and a very serious feature, that he has nothing but contempt for the supposed timidity and injustice of Europeans. He records it as his deliberate opinion, that the Europeans were afraid to proceed against the Mussulmans ; and it is no light matter that, in the minds of the common people, such an impression should have arisen. It will further be observed that he extols the miscreant Hari as a hero, and as a champion of the liberties of the people. Still harping on the alleged cowardice of Europeans, he declares that Hari's act was necessary, to terrify them from their oppression. Unfortunately, there can be no question that this was the popular idea, as three ballads, devoted to the praise of Hari, will disclose. The first runs :

What man may do, full well thou didst, God knows ! . . .

When on each side 'gan hireling catch-poles close,

Outswept thy brand, and merry rang thy blows,

Hail, for our lives, with thine, thou from our foes

• Hast saved. Though cries of Spare him ! Spare him ! rose,

And though qu' Hari fell not Hari's aid,

“ See,” quoth Jageshar, “ not a scar he shows ! ”

The second runs :

When the catch-poles came to seize him, the Jād bespake them fair ;
But they gruffly cried, “ To the guard-house ! the Inspector wants
thee there.”

"Why, friends," he pleaded, "seize me, who in guilt have had no share?"

They heeded nought--In anger his brand the lad laid bare;
And across three wounded foemen soon gained the open air;
Now chief the world extols him of the men that do and dare!
"Like his blade's yageshar's roundel; for there's point and polish there!"

The third runs :

For Rama smite a blow! was the cry of high and low, as clash the
gongs and cymbals, and the merry shell-trumps blow,
Through the streets the tidings go, and with frenzy all aglow, on they
rushed to worship Rama in a goodly wise, I trow.
With a crash they smash the engines, o'er the pipes the waters flow,
And the bafker's locks are shivered, and his goods to sack delivered,
ere, I ween, the surging masses their burst of madness know.
Not a street-lamp burns to-night, and the Jain has had to fight,
And over they roll every telegraph pole and each constable chase out
of sight!
At the station, too, a raid on the silver-bar they made,
Why, look you, who's afraid? though the very deuce they play'd, not
a man was there that turn'd a hair with fright.
When the Judge and Magistrate heard that things were in this state,
with a company they rushed to keep the peace;
Then off the rabble scurried, but the bystanders were flurried, and they
stopped, and now—pray God for their release!
For now's the hue and cry and the searching low and high, for poor
devils, in whose house stolen goods they may espy;
For 'tis these they clap in jail, and to free them nought can vail—nought,
save when Hari gazeth with pity in his eye.

The ballads, which have been so far considered, are warlike and defiant. They view the riots from the stand-point of a man who has fought and suffered. They echo his exultation over his enemies and oppressors, who, though they may, by brute force, have crushed his revolt, have been thoroughly frightened by his outburst, and, after their experience with the gallant shepherd, are not likely to provoke a second encounter. The epilogue to one ballad indeed raises a pæan of triumph over the British. It runs:

EPILOGUE.

"Ah well, 'twas fate! we brook it so—though these streets ring shrieks of woe,
"Saved is Ram's temple from this blow!" so spake Jageshar, "thus, I trow
Ramchandra triumphs o'er his foe."

This is very different reading from the Government Resolution, in regard to the moral nature and the practical issue of the

rising. It certainly does not suggest that the Hindus admitted defeat, nor that the measures then taken will be likely to deter them from another rising.

I turn with some relief to the distinct order of ballads, in which the woman's version of the matter is represented. I annex two specimens, both intended to be sung by choirs of women at the Kajuri festival.

The first runs :

How'er I scold, my goodman will not heed ;
 Yet, as he goes, a hoding sneeze I heyr, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 All went, forsooth, the Temple but to see ;
 But wires and pumps they left of sorry cheer, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 Full many a prince and gentle was despoiled,
 That now to beg his bread is driven sheez, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 On Sita Ram they called at his abode,
 And with his gems made over free, I fear, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 Cudgels and staves were broken over backs,
 That never yet a wisp of straw did sear, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 Some seven long years in jail, and some fourteen,
 Must linger—Well, to death that brings them near, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 Though Ram Prashad this bonnie roundel sings,
 He, too, through prison-bars was made to peer, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !

The second runs :

What Destiny inscribeth, effaced hath never been .
 In the town-hall there had met
 A Committee, and, you bet,
 That in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green !
 Unto the Temple thronging, the surging crowds were seen,
 And that Temple but to save
 Ev'ry man his heart's blood gave,
 For in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green.
 There were thousands, coz, and thousands on the ground that day, I ween,
 Yet upon the heart of all
 Did a sudden terror fall,
 When in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green.
 My sweetheart, too, was taken, and to set him free I mean,
 Yet to whom, say, shall I go
 To pour out my tale of woe,
 How in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green ?

Why, not a single penny, not a farthing can I glean ;
 For without a hearth or home,
 My sweetheart, must I roam,
 Since in Ninety-one, at Kāshī, there were wigs upon the green.
 That's why this year my roundel is poor and weak and mean,
 For my heart from hour to hour
 Doth a raging fire devour,
 Since in Ninety-one, at Kāshī, there were wigs upon the green.

There is something very tender in the sad and sweet resignation, with which alone the woman contemplates the march of events. No note of defiance is sounded. She has no bitter reproaches for the British. There is no mocking sneer at their courage. The woman knows nothing about the causes of the riot. She knows merely that her husband, or her lover, went fourth to save the temple, and that he has been cast into prison. She has no feeling except sorrow for the prisoner. A somewhat similar spirit of resignation, from the man's point of view, is breathed in the annexed ballad :—

Such is the vengeance of the Lord !
 Mine eyes beheld what hears thine ear ;
 We went but in the dyke to peer,
 We came—and to the fane drew near,
 And thronging round the stair-case pour'd.
 Soon smash'd the engines (list my love !),
 Soon dyke and river overflow'd ;
 Town-wards the yelling plund'ers strode
 Mid flames from Sitā Kām's abode
 (Ah well ! he ne'er fear'd God above !)
 The station's won, the wires are torn ;
 To sack and plunder all's a prey,
 " We'll have a royal time ! " they say,
 Yet now, whoe'er was seized that day,
 His hearth-stone's cold and home forlorn,
 " The bairns are starving ! " sobs his wife,
 O God ! the luck of old renew,
 They only smash'd a lamp or two,
 And did no harm to me or you,
 Though every catch-pole ran for life.
 To ev'ry guard-house word was sent :
 " These did no harm to you or me,
 " From hell we're devils on the spree ! "
 But when they came the judge to see,
 'Twas " Fourteen years ! " and off they went.

How few will 'scape ? how many die ?

Peace, brother ! set thine heart at ease,
 These haughty Franks do what they please,
 Their home's not here, but over seas,
 And at their feet we commons lie.

'Tis God that lendeth them his pow'r,
 Thus doth Prashad his tale unfold,
 As though 'twere fashion'd in a mould,
 And yet in Ninety-one, I'm told,
 He play'd the duke for half-an-hour.

(*a constable passes.*)

Sugar-toys for sale ! two-a-penny ! two-a-penny.

Yet here the man's defiant spirit breaks through his resignation. There is a world of human nature in the exultant glee of the beggar, that, whatever else may have occurred, he lorded it with the best of them, if only for half an hour, while, with the rest of the mob, he had the sleek citizens of Benares trembling at his feet.

ART. IV.—THE GERMAN CODE OF JUDICIAL ORGANISATION.

(Independent Section.)

(Continued from April 1894, No. 196)

THE DISTRICT COURTS.

ABOVE the Court of the bailiwick is the District Court (*Landgericht*), which exercises civil, commercial, and criminal jurisdiction. It is divided into Chambers, and consists of a President, the necessary number of Vice-Presidents (*Direktoren*), and of judges (*Richter*). A *juge d'instruction* is attached to each Court (arts. 58-60). The President exercises general powers of direction and supervision. He presides over the general meetings of the Court, and over any Chamber (Bench) he pleases, and has other special functions. The Vice-Presidents preside over the Chamber to which they are attached, and act for the President in the case of his inability to preside. The President of a Chamber is not only charged with the direction of the trial, but gives all interlocutory decisions which it is necessary to give before a final judgment can be arrived at.

The District Court is the Court of Appeal from the Court of the bailiwick. It must have at least one civil and one criminal Chamber; but the number of Chambers can be increased according to the size and importance of the jurisdiction and the number of cases. When united in a general meeting, it is called to give, at the instance of Government, opinions in matters of legislation and judicial administration.

CIVIL JURISDICTION.

As a Court of first instance, the District Court decides all suits which are not within the competence of the Courts of the bailiwicks, that is to say, as a rule, cases in which the value of the subject-matter exceeds 300 marks. Besides, it has exclusive jurisdiction in cases concerning the personal status. Finally, certain suits of a special nature, irrespective of the amount of claim, go before them; notably, claims by retired Imperial officials against the Treasury of the Empire for payment of pension, and civil suits brought against such officials in consequence of acts done in the exercise of their duties. Local Legislatures can make over such suits to the District Court, if they are brought against the State, or officials of the State, and not against the Empire, or officials of the Empire. In pursuance of this principle, all States have made over such cases to the District Courts, and also claims for the suppression of privileges; and claims relating to the collection of taxes.

As a Court of second instance, the Civil Chamber hears appeals from the decisions of the Bailiwick Court, and applications for revision (*Beschwerde*). It is also a Court of revision in the case of decisions given by the Bailiwick Court in its voluntary jurisdiction. The District Court is generally the Court of discipline over attorneys, and can punish them even by deprivation of the right to exercise their profession.

The Civil Benches, whether in regular contested litigation or dispensing voluntary justice, are composed of three judges, comprising the President.

COMMERCIAL JURISDICTION.

The District Court takes cognizance of commercial cases of which the value exceeds 300 marks.

Consular justice has never occupied in Germany the important place it has in French law. The Commission of Justice suppressed it, quoting the example of England and commercial Holland. It was argued that consular Courts are exceptional Courts, which derogate from the principle of the equality of all before justice, and in fact suppress the judicial unity which the Code proclaims. Merchants have no right to an exceptional jurisdiction. Commercial Courts might have had their practical utility in past times when the commercial law was not codified, but rested on unknown usages and customs. But now a Code of Commerce is in existence, which is not the secret of merchants. Why should not the application of a written law be entrusted to the Magistrates, and why must one be a merchant to understand it? Will the commercial judge know the law and appreciate the facts better than the judge of common law? The law can only be well applied by those who know it well, and to know it well one must have studied it. Juridical study is a necessary condition for strong justice, but one cannot demand or expect such study from the merchant taken from his desk. Again, as regards the facts, his special competence is limited to the nature of his own business, and when the litigation goes beyond this narrow circle, he will be as inexperienced as the ordinary judge. It cannot be seriously contended, that the banker is well versed in all the secrets of the manufacture of industrial products, or that the manufacturer has any sort of aptitude for deciding the delicate questions raised by the constitution of banking companies. The commercial man knows the usages of his own industry and his own country, while the Court is expected to know the customs of all commerce and all countries; like the civil judge who decides satisfactorily all kinds of questions of agriculture, fine arts, construction, &c., the commercial judge too must have recourse to experts, and he judges the facts from the special light they are able to throw on them. Thus, neither in law nor in fact, can the superiority

of the commercial judge be established. On the other hand, frequently renewed, occupying their position for a short time only, commercial judges have neither the practical knowledge of judicial business, nor the general experience which time gives to the judges of the common law. Conscious of their inferiority, one will see them systematically follow the opinion of the civil judge who sits with them, or if they dispense justice alone, they will seek elsewhere from without for authority and support, and will demand an inspiration and a judgment, either from foreign jurists, or, as in Rhenish Prussia, from the clerk of the Court, who in their eyes will represent tradition and knowledge. Other difficulties may arise in the shape of frequent conflicts of competence between the two sets of Courts, leading to injurious delay in the despatch of business. The necessities of commercial life demand one thing only, a rapid procedure, and for the attainment of this, an exceptional Court is not required.

Such considerations as these induced the Commission to suppress the Commercial Courts. This decision aroused the keenest agitation and opposition in the commercial world. Addresses and petitions poured into the Federal Council from all directions. The Commission stayed its hand in the face of the general reprobation, and without re-establishing the Commercial Courts, voted by a majority of 16 to 12 for the optional formation of commercial chambers attached to the Civil Courts, and this decision was ratified by Parliament in its sitting of the 17th November 1876.

The Court of Commerce, then, as it exists in France, has not been introduced into the German judicial organisation ; commercial chambers can be established only in the District Courts, that is, in large centres where it may be rendered necessary by the necessities of commercial life. The rule is not uniform, and is not obligatorily imposed on the whole Empire, each State being left to appreciate the utility of consular justice, and to introduce it or not at its discretion (art. 100). The Commercial Chamber is not an independent Court, though it has a distinct competence and a special composition ; even though it sits in a different town, it forms one of the chambers of the District Court. Even so, the civil chamber retains full jurisdiction, and commercial suits are only taken before the special chamber on the formal demand of one of the parties. If the plaintiff makes no such demand, the case goes to the civil chamber, which can declare itself incompetent and send it to the special chamber on the representation of the defendant (arts. 102—108). The procedure before the commercial chamber is the same as that of the civil chamber, and the employment of advocates is obligatory ; but the period of adjournment is reduced from a month to 15 days.

The commercial chamber takes cognizance of all matters which constitute an act of commerce between the parties, and on the condition that the defendant is a commercial man. This general principle greatly limits the competence and confines it in practice to cases in which both parties are commercial men.

Commercial cases are only made over to the commercial chamber, when the value of the subject-matter of the litigation exceeds 300 marks, and there is thus no interference with the competence of the bailiwick court. The general principle is maintained that cases of comparatively minor importance require the simple procedure of the bailiwick court, and the expeditious and readily accessible justice of the judge sitting singly. Appeals from decisions in these cases lie to the civil chamber of the District Court.

As has been remarked, commercial courts are not universal throughout Germany; they are attached to only 61 District Courts out of 172. Fourteen States, mostly smaller States, have no commercial justice. The majority of the other States have established it only where the importance of commercial life rendered it necessary. Thus in Prussia only 25 out of 92 District Courts have commercial chambers attached to them, and in Bavaria only 16 out of 28. Only Hesse and the Hanseatic towns (Lübeck, Brême, and Hamburg) have one or more commercial chambers attached to each Court. Some District Courts have several commercial chambers; thus Berlin has 7, Munich 4, Düsseldorf and Hamburg 3 each. There are altogether 82 commercial chambers sitting in 67 different localities.

The commercial chamber is composed everywhere of a member of the District Court as President, and two merchants. The presence of a judge, a member of the permanent magistracy, accustomed to juridical difficulties, has always appeared indispensable to German legislators, in order to direct the procedure, to watch over the exact application of the law, and assure the good administration of justice. It has seemed to them that, composed exclusively of merchants constantly changing, the Court would be in a manner too moveable, too accessible to impressions of fact, too variable in the application of the law, and they have therefore decided that the presidency should be in the hands of a judicial magistrate, charged with the representation of tradition, jurisprudence, and law. Commercial judges have the same powers and rights as ordinary judges, and are subject to the same duties and discipline (art. 116). They take an oath on the assumption of their duties. They receive neither salary nor compensation,* their function being regarded as an honour.

* In Baden commercial judges, who do not reside in the place where the Court is held, receive the same travelling expenses as assessors and jurors.

The presiding judge is a member of the District Court ; but he may be, in exceptional cases, a judge of the bailiwick, when the chamber sits in the place where the bailiwick court is held. The commercial judges are appointed on the nomination of the Chamber of Commerce ; in Alsace, by the Emperor, in Prussia, Bavaria and Württemberg by the King, in Brunswick and Baden by the Sovereign Duke, and by the Senate in the Hanseatic towns. They are appointed for three years, and may be re-appointed (art. 112). The nominations are submitted to the President of the District Court, who transmits them with his opinion to the Minister of Justice. There are no capacity or property qualifications for a commercial judge ; the only conditions are, that he must be a German, must have completed 30 years, must reside in the jurisdiction of the commercial chamber, and must be, or have been inscribed on the register of commerce.

There are altogether 382 commercial judges in Germany, as follows ; 123 in Prussia, 118 in Bavaria, 35 in Saxony, 24 in Alsace, 20 in Hesse, 18 in Bremen and Hamburg, 12 in Württemberg, 6 in Lübeck, 4 in Baden, 2 in Brunswick and Coburg.

CRIMINAL JURISDICTION.

It has been seen, that the Courts of Assessors try those delicts the punishment of which is comparatively light. The Criminal Chamber of the District Court tries the more serious delicts, and all but the gravest crimes, which are reserved for the Court of Assize. To particularize, it takes cognizance of crimes punishable with a maximum of five years' imprisonment with hard labour (*Zuchthaus*), and of all delicts which are not within the competence of the Courts of Assessors, that is to say, delicts punishable with more than three months' imprisonment or more than 600 marks fine* (art. 73). Such is the general principle ; and it is between these two extremes, three months' imprisonment and five years' hard labour, that the jurisdiction of the District Court is to be found. Some delicts of a special nature are also reserved to the District Court, though the punishment is light. Besides the delicts punished by the Penal Code, the District Court has exclusive cognizance of some other delicts punished by the Federal laws, the punishment of which varies from a fine of 150 to 5,000 marks and from one month to one year's imprisonment. Among these it is interesting to notice the following : certain press delicts, such as a refusal to insert official corrections† or opinions (Law of the 30th November 1874) ; omis-

* These constitute the large majority of delicts, and it may be remarked that some of them are classed in the French Penal Code as crimes.

† There is no law in India by which a newspaper can be compelled to insert a correction. Is not such a law very necessary, and would it not, to some extent, put a stop to the dishonest, malicious, or subsidised defamation of Government officials ? There are some papers which will gladly insert attacks on officials, but will refuse to insert any reply or correction.

sion or false declaration of the name of the printer, editor, or responsible manager ; appeals to the public for subscriptions to pay fines of convicted persons ; * fraudulent usurpation of trade marks ; organisation of forbidden associations, &c.

In addition to the above, the Criminal Chamber takes cognizance of a certain number of crimes (specified in the law) which, though punishable with a maximum of ten years' hard labour, the legislature has, with the object of securing good administration and speedy justice, deemed it necessary to bring within the competence of the District Court. These crimes are : outrage without violence on the chastity of children under 14 years of age, aggravated simple theft after previous convictions, habitual receipt of stolen property and receipt of stolen property after previous conviction, cheating after previous conviction, and finally, all crimes committed by persons under 18 years of age. Though these are grave crimes, yet experience had shown that, by reason of extenuating circumstances, the punishment awarded had rarely exceeded five years.

It is thus apparent that the District Court is the ordinary tribunal for the trial of crimes, and that only crimes of exceptional gravity are sent to the Court of Assize. During the year 1881, 86 per cent. of all crimes were tried by the District Courts, and only 14 per cent. by the Courts of Assize.

The rule which confers jurisdiction on the District Court in the case of all delicts punishable with more than three months imprisonment, might lead to inconvenience and unnecessary waste of power, as many such delicts are of comparatively little importance, and might well be left to the Courts of Assessors. It is with the object of remedying this inconvenience that the Code gives to the District Court a sort of right of correction or redistribution in permitting it to send down to the Court of Assessors all delicts punishable with a maximum of six months' imprisonment or 1,500 marks fine, and certain other specified delicts, whenever it is of opinion, having regard to the circumstances, that the punishment should not exceed three months' imprisonment.† The order for sending a case to the Court of Assessors is passed by what is known as the Council Chamber, which must act, however, in concert with the Public Prosecutor. The Criminal Chambers freely use this right, and in 1881 about 70 per cent of delicts were sent to the Courts of Assessors.

* Some Counsel in Calcutta gave an opinion that an advertisement for such subscriptions was not illegal. I think the opinion was given in connection with the Sham Bazar Noting cases. Had the accused persons been fined by the High Court, would not that Court have treated such appeals as an external contempt of Court ? But the High Court is perhaps more prone to uphold its own dignity and position rather than that of subordinate Courts.

† A similar provision, but of a wider application as it applies to crimes, exists in the Belgian law.

Thus, side by side with precise rules based on the amount of punishment provided in the Penal Code, competence in the Criminal Courts of Germany becomes often a question of fact, and the same infraction of the penal law can, according to circumstances, be tried by different tribunals.*

The Code does not admit any departure from the principles laid down ; press and political delicts are subject to the same rule as delicts of common law, and are triable by the District Court. A single exception is admitted by article 6 of the law putting the Code in force, which permits those States to retain the jurisdiction of the Court of Assize for press offences in which such offences were being tried by jury before the promulgation of the Code. These States are the kingdoms of Bavaria and Württemberg and the Grand Duchies of Baden and Oldenburg. Throughout the rest of Germany, the District Court is alone competent to try press offences, and its competence cannot be modified except by a Federal law.

PRESS OFFENCES.

The question of the trial of press offences gave rise to the most ardent discussion in Parliament. It was urged by one party that in such cases the jury is the only impartial judge ; offences of opinion can only be properly judged by the representatives of opinion, that is to say, by juries ; otherwise there is a risk of a conflict between the Courts and public opinion, and such a conflict brings justice into discredit. It is often difficult to determine the boundary between justifiable criticism and prohibited attack, and a trial before the Court of Assize can alone secure liberty of thought and the liberty of the press. Judges, it was urged, are functionaries, servants of the Government whom they must defend ; they have not the necessary independence, and to leave to them the trial of press offences is to suppress the guarantees of justice.

Moved by these considerations, Parliament at first decided, by a majority of 122 to 105, to make over the trial of press offences to the Courts of Assize ; but it subsequently yielded to the stubborn resistance of the Federal Council, directed by Prussia. The Prussian Minister of Justice urged that the new code introduced unity ; it was desired to have the same law for all, and to give Germany independent judges universally respected. They should not introduce privileges, create exceptional courts, or discredit the new Courts by treating their judges with suspicion. "As a matter of fact," remarked the minister, "trial by jury for press offences is very

* To give an illustration : theft, when the value of the property stolen does not exceed 25 marks, is triable by the Court of Assessors ; when it exceeds such value, it is triable by the District Court, with a discretion to send it to the lower Court ; if the theft is aggravated, it is triable exclusively by the District Court ; if it amounts to robbery, it goes to the Court of Assize.

bad. ! It can only take place at periodical and distant sessions, and the punishment is only pronounced when the offence is forgotten. It is much too slow. It is necessary in the case of press offences that the punishment should swiftly follow the offence, and the condemnation is only effectual when the prosecution immediately replies to the attack. A criminal judge must be firm and impartial; juries will not have the necessary qualities or they will fall into a sort of political indifference and scepticism, and will practice the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and *laissez passer*, or, carried away by the dominating opinion, they will only listen to party hatreds. With them acquittals will be numerous and often scandalous, and the most honest and called-for prosecution will frequently become impossible. They are too liable to be carried away by political, national, or religious passions, too accessible to frothy declamations and sophisms, too ready to play the rôle of legislator or sovereign, that is to say, to reform the law or pardon the guilty person."

These arguments virtually prevailed and led to the above mentioned compromise. That is, the district court was given jurisdiction except in those few states in which press offences were already being tried by juries.

The Criminal Chamber is also a Court of second instance or appeal from the decisions of the Courts of Assessors; and as such Court, is composed of five judges, including the President. But appeals in the case of contraventions and prosecutions at the instance of the Civil party are disposed of by three judges.

As a Court of first instance, the Criminal Chamber is a sovereign Judge, and no appeal is allowed against its decisions. It is in the number of judges that the German Code places the guarantees of justice, and not, in recourse from one Court to another.

The Criminal Chamber is composed solely of judges, and the popular or laic element has no share in the administration of justice by the District Court. Great efforts were made before the Commission and in Parliament to introduce this element, but without success. Those in favour of it urged that it was inconsistent to admit the popular element in the lowest and highest rungs of the judicial ladder, and to exclude it from the intermediate jurisdiction. If assessors are good for the lowest Courts, they are also good for the higher Courts; if the system is bad, let it be altogether abolished. But in any case at least the same guarantees are necessary when the interests are higher and the decisions more formidable. These considerations triumphed at first, and a majority of the Commission voted for the amendment of H.H. Becker and Schwarze,

which created Courts of grand assessors, and composed the Criminal Chamber of two judges and three assessors. However the practical difficulties in the way of such an extension of the system were proved to be insurmountable apart from its demonstrable drawbacks and demerits. The mass of expert opinion was against it, for instance 24 out of 27 Courts of Appeal in Prussia, and 21 public prosecutors out of 27; in Bavaria 12 Courts of Appeal and public prosecutors out of 13. It was shown that the requisite number of capable assessors could not be found, and that the system would impose an intolerable burden on the people. It was, moreover, pointed out that the system of assessors was but an experiment in the lowest courts; and it would be madness, for the sake of symmetry and consistency, to jeopardize higher interests and compromise justice, before that experiment had proved a success. The amendment was accordingly rejected.

Other functions and duties of the Criminal Chamber of the District Court are set forth in the Code of Criminal Procedure.

THE PRESIDIUM AND ROTATION OF JUDGES.

The question of rotation or the formation of Benches is one of great importance. The German Code recognizes that to leave it to the President of the Court is only a degree less dangerous than to leave it to the administration.

The President of the Court selects each year, and for the whole year in advance, the Chamber over which he wishes to preside. He has not the right to sit in any other chamber, and therefore he cannot come at his will to preside in any particular case, and so bring his weight to bear on the other members, and compromise justice. The Vice-Presidents divide the other chambers amongst themselves in accordance with a majority (art. 61).

The actual rotation or roster of judges is fixed by the Presidium. The Presidium is composed of the President, the Vice-Presidents, and the senior judge (art. 63). Each year *before the commencement of the year and for the whole duration of the year*, it selects the judges for each chamber, and if the chamber contains more judges than are necessary for the validity of a judgment,* it fixes the order in which they shall sit. It also decides what groups of cases shall go to each chamber. The rotation and distribution can be modified during the course of the year in two cases only; when the file of a chamber is heavier than it can dispose of, or when a judge goes away or is for some time prevented from sitting. A proposal that the President might modify the *personnel* of a particular chamber for any grave reason was rejected on the ground that it would

* Three judges for a Civil and five for a Criminal Chamber.

leave him too much arbitrary power. There was always a chance that some President might be swayed by political motives* or influenced by feelings hostile to the Government; and that he might wish some particular judge of his Court to sit in some particular case.*

EXTENT AND IMPORTANCE OF DISTRICT COURTS.

Germany has 172 District Courts:† of which Prussia has 92, Bavaria 28, Württemberg 8, Saxony and Baden 7 each, and Alsace-Lorraine 6. Some states are so petty that for judicial purposes they are annexed to a neighbouring State, and comprised within the jurisdiction of a foreign District Court. Other States have joined their territories together, and have established one or more common courts (*condominatsgerichte*). This is a peculiar and interesting feature of German organisation; it is often a true judicial union, presaging possibly a political union. The appointment of judges and the expenses of justice are shared by the different States.

In almost all the States the seats and the jurisdictions of the District Courts have been fixed and can only be modified by a law.

It has been recognized that the District Court ought to have a considerable importance, derived from an extensive jurisdiction and a number of judges. The area of a District Court is generally very large, containing a mean population for the whole of Germany of 262,984‡ inhabitants per Court. The First District Court of Berlin has a population of 1,122,504, while that of Bückeburg, which comprises the whole of the State of Schaumburg-Lippe, has only 35,374 inhabitants. The average area of a District Court corresponds approximately to a circle having a diameter of 31 kilometres;§ so that, if the Court were in the centre of the circle, the mean distance of

* The Chief Justice* (President) of the Calcutta High Court exercises a power, (24 and 25 Vic. c. 104, s. 14) which in Germany would be considered very dangerous. He forms groups of Benches, and even changes their constitution during the year. Under the German system the *Bongobashi* case (to give an illustration) would have had to go to the particular chamber and the particular President specified before the commencement of the year, and therefore before the case had arisen. So as regards civil cases, the Bench for the Patna group or the Rajshahy group (under the German system), would be fixed before the commencement of the year and for the whole year, and the Chief Justice would have no power to put on the Bench any particular Judge he might, whether from proper or improper motives, desire to add to it. Under the German system, the Judges to preside at the different sessions in 1893 would be fixed in December 1892; so the Criminal Revisional Benches would be fixed for the whole year, and could not be altered.

† Some *Thanas* (Police Stations) in the Province of Bengal, have a population exceeding 300,000.

‡ A kilometre = about 1093 yards, 1 foot, 10 inches.

the various localities from it would be 22 kilometres. In jurisdictions so extensive there must be obstacles in the way of justice, owing to the inconvenience and expense of moving about accused persons and witnesses. To obviate these inconveniences, the Code authorizes the creation by administrative decision of detached Criminal chambers, which sit at the headquarters of a bailiwick Court, and have a separate jurisdiction; they are composed of judges of the bailiwick belonging to this special resort, or of judges delegated by the District Court. There are altogether 40 of these detached chambers, and they have only been established in five States.

Each District Court comprises at least one Civil and one Criminal Chamber; most Courts have more. In Prussia, for instance, 2 courts have only two chambers, 17 have three, 18 four, 20 five, 18 six, 7 seven, and 3 eight. The number of Civil Chambers in all the District Courts of Germany is 399, and that of Criminal Chambers is 323, the large majority of Courts having 2 or 3 Civil Chambers, and 1 or 2 Criminal Chambers. A *juge d'instruction* is attached to each District Court, the more important Court having several.

When the Court consists of several Civil and Criminal Chambers, the Presidium distributes the work according to geographical areas, or classes of cases; or one Chamber has original, another appellate jurisdiction. The distribution, as has been pointed out, is made beforehand for the whole judicial year, and cannot be altered.

PERSONNEL OF THE DISTRICT COURTS.

The *personnel* of the District Courts comprises for the whole of Germany 2,168 Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Judges. The number of Presidents is 171, of Vice-Presidents 335, and of Judges 1,661.

The number of judges attached to a District Court has not been fixed by law; but every Court must comprise one Civil Chamber, one Criminal Chamber, and a *juge d'instruction*. Moreover, as the *juge d'instruction* cannot sit as a judge to try the cases he has investigated, and as not more than two members of the Chamber of Council can make a part of the Criminal Chamber, it follows that a District Court cannot consist of less than 7 members, namely, a President, a Vice-President, and 5 Judges. In this case, two members of the Civil Chamber will form a part of the Chamber of Council, and a Civil Judge will make the preliminary inquiries. This number is generally found to be insufficient in practice. Only 5 District Courts in the whole of Germany have so small a number of judges; 78 Courts have from 8 to 10 judges, 52 have from 11 to 15, 27 from 16 to 20, 8 from 21 to 40, and one has 90 judges.

The Chambers are generally composed of the exact number of judges required by the law for the validity of judgments, 3, for civil, and 5 for criminal cases. The French institution of substitute* judges attached to each tribunal is unknown in Germany. If the President is prevented from sitting, he is replaced by the senior of the Vice-Presidents. The President of a Chamber is replaced by the senior Judge of such Chamber (art. 65). In this matter no initiative whatever is left either to the President or to the administration.† The Presidium, in drawing up the rotation and roster list before the commencement of the year, assigns to each judge a colleague whose duty it will be to sit in case the former is prevented from doing so.‡

It is only when the substitute is himself prevented from acting, that an extraordinary substitute can in exceptional instances be appointed by the President (art. 65). Every judge of a Court is thus not only a permanent judge, but also a substitute for one or more of his colleagues.

The above rules apply to accidental and temporary causes; but the inability of a judge to sit may be permanent and prolonged, by reason of his continued illness, or his election to Parliament. In Prussia more than 70 Judges belong to the Prussian Parliament, and 16 are members of the Federal or Imperial Parliament. In November 1875 about 250 Parliamentary seats were held by Assessors. Again a Court may have more cases on its files than it can possibly get through without such delay as is tantamount to a denial of justice. In such cases additional or auxiliary judges (*Hülfsrichter*) are added to the Court. They are appointed by the Minister of Justice, but such appointments can only be made on the formal demand of the Presidium, which alone is judge of the necessity and occasion for such appointments. The object of this proviso is to take away from Government or the President the power of appointing a particular judge to a particular chamber, or for the trial of a particular case.

* *Juges suppléants.*

† As an exception, the President selects the substitutes in Bavaria, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, and the town of Lübeck; while the Minister of Justice selects them in Saxony, Saxe-Altenburg and Reusz; and the Senate in Hamburg. It should also be noted that in Prussia substitutes for *juges d'instruction* are appointed by the Minister of Justice.

‡ To put this concretely, Prinsep and Pigot, J. J. are the Criminal Bench. Pigot, J. gets ill, or takes a holiday. Neither the Bengal Government nor the Chief Justice could direct Norris or Ghose, J., or any other Judge they might select, to act for Pigot, J. Pigot, J. would have had, before the commencement of the year, a substitute assigned to him by the Presidium, or in other words, by the whole Court sitting and arranging the roster by a majority of voices, and that substitute would take his place.

The following was the outturn of work of all the District Courts of Germany during the judicial year 1881

Number of cases decided			Number per District Court.		
Civil 1st instance	...	1,64,399	...	...	961
„ (contested	...	91,575)	...	...	536
„ appellate	...	36,175	...	...	211*
„ (contested	...	30,636)	..	...	179
Commercial	...	34,301			
„ (contested	...	10,598)			
Marriage	...	6,235	...	...	36
(relating to divorce)	...	5,523			
Applications for revision of decisions of the Courts of the	...				
Bailiwick	...	11,591			
Criminal, original	...				
crimes	...	31,116	}	...	280
delicts	...	34,031			
(accused persons convicted...	...	87,109			
„ „ acquitted	...	14,134†)			
„ „ appellate	...	32,456	...	...	189
(convictions confirmed	...	19,095)			
„ upset	...	13,361			
applications for revision	..	5,633			

H. A. D. PHILLIPS. "

* The mean number of appeals from each Court of the Bailiwick was 18. The numbers of contested cases are included in the numbers above them. Of the marriage cases, 3,942 were terminated by an order for dissolution of marriage.

† This means 1 acquittal for 460 cases and 723 accused persons. Appeals were instituted in less than half the number of cases, and the proportion of reversals was 1 for 235 appeals.

ART. V.—BOMBAY DOMESTIC ANNALS.

THE BOMBAY CHURCH.

ON the 19th June, 1715, Cobbe preached a sermon in furtherance of building a Church in Bombay, which fired the zeal of the community. After the sermon he waited on Governor Aslaibie, and here is Mr. Cobbe's own account of the interview:—

“ Well, Doctor, you have been very zealous for the Church this morning.”

“ Please, your Honour, there was occasion enough for it, and I hope without offence.”

“ Well, then, if we must have a Church, we will have a Church. Do you see and get a book made, and see what everyone will contribute towards it, and I will do first.”

The Governor subscribed Rs. 1,000, leaving a blank for the Company's subscription, which was afterwards filled in with Rs. 10,000. The Church was erected and opened in 1718. Very little change was made in its internal economy, and the pews and seats remained unaltered for a hundred years. In 1818, exactly a century after the Church had been opened for the first time, the pews were altered, and new chairs set down. Being entirely re-seated, the interior presented quite a different aspect, was much more comfortable for the worshippers, and more seemly for a house of God, inasmuch as some invidious distinctions between the well-to-do and common people had been abolished.

On Christmas day, 1818, it was re-opened with considerable éclat, when Archdeacon Barnes preached a splendid sermon. It was announced that Divine Service would be held at 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. every Sunday.

THE KIRK.

St. Andrews Scotch Kirk near the Apollo Gate was opened for public worship on the 25th April, 1819. The Revd. James Clow preached a sermon, and his text, taken from Nehemiah, was:—

“ And we will not forsake the house of our God.”

The Church, as a body, was in existence some years before this, and its beginning was in this wise. A small advertisement, in the most conspicuous part of the paper, appeared in the *Bombay Courier*:—

“ CARD.

“ Divine Service, according to the forms of the Church of Scotland, will be performed next Lord's Day in the Mess Room of the King's Barracks, at 10 a. m. Government House, 15 November 1815.

JAMES CLOW.”

Mr. Clow, no doubt, was a guest of the Governor. Here, then, in the barracks, for two Sundays, Divine Service was holden. But the place was found too noisy and otherwise unsuitable. After this the Church Services were held in the Court House, where, on week days, the Criminal Sessions took place—now (1893) the dining-room of the Great Western Hotel.

There was to be no excuse for want of psalm books, for Baxter & Co. advertise, that they had received a supply :

"IN METRE :

Translated and diligently compared with

THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

More plain, smooth and agreeable to the text than any heretofore allowed by the authority of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and appointed to be sung in congregations and families.

PRINTED BY AUTHORITY."

Between 1815 and 1819, the congregation had not been idle, for I read that on the 4th February 1816, after Divine Service, the following gentlemen were ordained elders of the Scotch Church. John Stewart, Hugh Stewart, John Taylor, M. D., and William Erskine. Erskine was Sir James Mackintosh's son-in-law, now, or shortly after, Master in Equity, and known in future years as the author of the Life of Baber and other works.

There had been great difficulties about a spire. The "powers that be" (Sir Evan Nepean, Governor, 1812 to 1819) objected to a spire. The matter had to go to the India House, and two years elapsed before authority was obtained to erect one. These were the days before the Queen worshipped in Crathic Kirk. At length the spire was finished. It was a great boon to the Master Mariner, for it competed with the tall bral trees on the castle bastion as a guide into Bombay harbour. The spire, like most Scotchmen in their early years, had a hard time of it, and, in its upbuilding, was a type of the progress of religious liberty, which, after getting many hard blows and knocks, still points the way to heaven. One night, in the year 1826, it was shivered to pieces by lightning; so its troubles were not yet over. Its enemies, of course, said that its promoters were punished for their audacity. The promoters treated the matter as a secondary consideration, compared with previous obstructions. Like Ajax, they could defy the lightning, but they dared not defy the India House. The Kirk's motto was, *nec tamen consumebatur*; so they built another spire, which remains to this day, unscathed by man or the violence of the elements.

Mr. Clow's portrait still hangs in the vestry. About thirty years ago, the native servants were beginning to hold it in such veneration as to do pooja to it, a proceeding, of course, most

abhorrent to the feelings of the then Padre—Cook, or Macpherson. A white sheet was hung over the portrait, which exorcised the evil spirit and put an end to the worship of the dead.

The apotheosis of Englishmen by natives of India is a curious subject. We all remember *Nicolseyn* and his saints. I am certain the natives will be doing pooja to Sir Albert Sassoon's equestrian statue of the Prince of Wales in another generation. Look at that statue almost any time of the day you like, and you will see a group gazing at it. They are much exercised to understand, why the Queen's statue is white (marble) and the Prince's black (bronze)!

I notice that Colonel Wallace's tomb at Siroor is, as early as 1818, decked with flowers. In 1840, when Nesbit was there, they were praying to his ghost, and the worship may still exist.

There is the very fine monument, in the Elphinstone Circle, to Cornwallis. Go when you will, you will see flowers placed on the open book, or garlands on the figures. This is not a new custom. In 1825, it was thought by the natives to be a place of religious worship, and they called it *Chota Dewal*. Government tried to stop this, and issued some vernacular notices that it was a mistake. But it was of no use. When these feelings take possession of the natives they are not easily eradicated.

I read that in 1852, an organ was in use in the Bombay Kirk. The Calcutta Scotch Kirk had one so far back as 1818—*Lux ex Oriente*, of which Scotland has tardily availed itself.

RELIGION AND PHILANTHROPY.

The arrival of Dr. Duff and Dr. Wilson in the next decade, 1820-30, gave an immense stimulus to Missionary enterprise, but the spirit was not dead, nor did it even slumber in this period, as the ample pages in the Magazines, devoted to Missionary effort, testify. In 1815, a branch of the Bible Society was started in Bombay. That Society had been founded in London in the year in which Napoleon had appeared on the war path; and now that his empire had been shattered to pieces, broke ground beyond the extremest limit of his conquests. In the same year, also, appeared the Bombay Society for the Education of the Poor. These two Societies, in 1815, are the only representatives of more than 100 educational and benevolent institutions which now (1892) crowd 58 pages of our Bombay Directory.

I have always understood (Dr Wilson was unwearied in his praises of him) that James Farish was a man who, amid good and bad report, and in these troublous times of grim warfare, kept alive the spirit of religion, and, by a consistent life,

vindicated its claims to the attention of mankind. His name has almost faded into oblivion; but it is worth remembering that, though he had acted as Governor, he did not disdain to keep a Sunday School in the Town Hall. He retired in 1841.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

As a rule, Births, Marriages and Deaths have been announced in this sequence. Occasionally "Christenings" and "Baptisms" are, in the period under notice, substituted for the first, and "Interments" for the last, but these vagaries speedily disappear, and we do not meet with them much after 1818. One jungle-walla takes exception to the priority of "births," and adds to his announcement of "a son and heir, the unequivocal word, "legitimate." In 1822 an obituary notice closes with "an amiable and beautiful young lady, aged 20." And of a marriage, it adds "the bridegroom will come to £10,000 a year," and of the bride "a beautiful and accomplished lady." Anything *outré* seems to be put in to attract the *insouciant* reader. The following belongs to *fin de siècle* the 18th century: "At Tranquebar, H. Meyer, Esqre., aged 64, to Miss Casina Couperas, a very accomplished young lady of 16, after a courtship of 5 years."

BIRTHS.

For nearly the first half of the nineteenth century the announcement of births was in this wise:—

"The lady of John Smith, Esqre. of a son."

There was, however, a social boundary line, and below it all announcements were—

"The wife of John Smith, of a son."

or Mrs. John Smith, of a son. One fine day, however, in "the fifties," the whole Anglo-Saxon world changed its mind on this subject. "Wife" drove out "lady," and ever since has been paramount in all birth notices. In this Presidency, about the first example of the change was on September 14th, 1840. At Poona, the wife of the Rev. George Candy, of twins, a son and a daughter. Henceforth the custom ran like wild fire. "Lady" was ousted by "wife," as gentlemen are now by "the men" of fashionable society. The "men," in our young days in the Highlands, were the "unco guid."

Dr. Wilson, who was a model of correctness in everything he printed, thus announces his own marriage.—

12th August 1828,—Cotton Bank, Edinburgh, Rev. John Wilson, Missionary to Bombay, to Margaret, daughter of the Rev. K. Bayne, Greenock."

* On the dedicating of the fund which now constitutes the "Wilson Philological Lecture," in the getting up of which I had a small hand, he insisted more on the word "Missionary" being on the inscription, than the much coveted F. R. S.

OBITUARIES.

When the rich man died he had always a special paragraph to himself, *i.e.*, Nisbet of "Nisbet Lane." repute, and on August 14th, 1841, Dr. Milne is thus signalised. "One of the oldest and richest inhabitants of India; a misanthrope; wrote in the *Gazette* articles against Missionaries and against Government." This, no doubt, from the opposition paper.

AN EAST INDIAMAN.

The Commander of an East Indiaman was, of course, king on his castle: a great man and not to be trifled with. Sometimes an overbearing manner degenerated into sheer brutality. In 1818, a ship arrived in Bombay, having a passenger on board who had been in irons, and deprived of his servant, for a period of 21 days! He had hummed and whistled (it was a low whistle) in the presence of the Captain on the quarter-deck, and he continued to do so after he had been told to desist. The Captain threatened him with imprisonment, and he, the whistler, a young Lieutenant in the army, told the Captain that, if he put him in irons he would lose his ship. All this, no doubt, was very exasperating to the Captain, but could not justify such savage procedure. So the jury in Bombay, before whom the case was tried, gave the Captain their sense of his conduct by fining him in Rs. 5,000. Exchange was then 2s. 7d.

BUNGALOWS.

To speak of the names of the Bombay bungalows of this period is like raising the dead: *Westfield*, *Lowji Castle*, *The Beehive* and *Apollo House* still assert their existence under the same names in the end of the nineteenth century, as they did in the beginning of it. *Belvidere*, *Tarala*, *Non Parell*, *Randle Lodge*, *Ridgway Cottage*, *Huntly Lodge*, *Somerville Lodge*, *Prospect Lodge* have disappeared.* I imagine I have seen the *Hermitage*, *Storm Hall* and the *Mount*, which sheltered the Persian ambassador. The *Retreat* I have seen on the map. But where were *Belmont*, *Belleville*, *Breach House*, and above all, the *Parsonage*? Did it abut on our Cathedral? Or was it that tall house overlooking Sonapore Churchyard, which was called by the sailors, Padre Burrough's compound, and no wonder, from the fact, which he stated in 1818, that he had been Resident Chaplain in Bombay, 42 years!

In 1820 assistance was advertised to be given to cholera patients at *Malabar Point Bungalow*. *Parell* was of course Government House, and it still stands (1892), like a ghost in a garden of many memories. Will it be converted into a cotton mill?

* *Randle Lodge* was on Breach Candy, the *Beehive* and *Tankerville* are still visible. In the "*Parsonage*" are now (1894) the offices of Mr. Roughton, the solicitor.

MALABAR HILL.

Except the Governor's Bungalow, now-a-days at Malabar Point, the impression seems to be that there were no bungalows for European residents on Malabar Hill, till about 1840. This must apply to the west side, as we meet with an advertisement, headed Malabar Hill, under date of 4th December, 1816, of a house on the *East* side for sale, which had been built eight years previously, say in 1808. The compound contained 3,345 square yards, and the auctioneer describes it as a "beautiful country residence." It belonged to the deceased General James Douglas, with whom the undersigned regrets he cannot claim kindred, or otherwise score himself heir to the owner of the cognomen. We mention these particulars so that future antiquarians may be able to identify the plot, and mark down the spot where the Douglas first broke ground in this bosky wilderness. Possibly it may be the "Wilderness" itself, a bungalow of storied renown, which, by its honorable host in "the sixties," was often filled with the youth and beauty of Bombay in those days, when Fitzgerald, the gay Governor, led off the ball.

MAZAGON RESIDENCES.

The first birth recorded on Malabar Hill is on the 18th January, 1837.

"At the Craig,"* Malabar Hill, the lady of Charles Ducat, M. D. of a son."

Then follows, 12 November, 1841:

At Malabar Hill, the lady of George Coghlan of a son, and 14th October 1842, at Malabar Hill, the lady of J. P. Laikins, Esqre., of a daughter.

Sir Robert Grant, the Governor, died at Dapoorie, near Poona, on the 9th July, 1838, of apoplexy. The cause of his death was reported to be, that he rode out in very heavy rain during the monsoon. On October 11th, Lady Grant was confined of a daughter, born after the death of the father, at Malabar Point. In 1837 several of our merchant princes, such as Harry George Gordon, lived at Mazagon; he became Chairman of the first Oriental Bank. At Mazagon, also in 1840, lived John Skinner, first Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and subsequently partner of Jardine, Skinner & Co. In 1840 to 42, Robert Wigram Crawford's bungalow, was the "Wilderness."

CORYGAUM.

In the heroic defence of Corygaum, where 500 kept at bay 25,000 men, Dr. Wyllie, a Scotchman, did some good work,—

* Dr. Smytten gifted his Malabar Hill bungalow to Dr. Wilson. Dr. S retired 28th December, 1838. Dr. Wilson called his bungalow "*The Cliff*," and was said to have been offered a very large sum of money for it during the Mania. "*Craig* may have been altered to "*The Cliff*."

I mean, "threw physic to the dogs," and, sword in hand, cut up the enemy hip and thigh. How he earned his guerdon on that immortal day, was often told in after years, by camp fire on Dekhan hill, or in the grey metropolis of his native land. It earned him the soubriquet of "*The Fighting Doctor*." The emergency was there, and he, like Wilson, another assistant surgeon, who saved the life of the Duke of Cambridge in the Crimea, was equal to the occasion; but unlike Wilson he carried his honours with a steady head. Wyllie's valour was not a myth. It is written that he acted "a most distinguished part at Corygaum," and the document is signed:—"F. F. Staunton, the hero of Corygaum, Seroor, 25th January, 1818." Dr. Wyllie belonged to the Madras Artillery, and a story illustrative of his bonhomie, was told to me in 1869 by General Stretton, then one of the oldest officers of the Indian Army. It belongs, I think, to 1824, the cholera year, when within a very short time the Chief Secretary to Government of Madras, a Judge, and the President of the Medital Board, were all cut off suddenly by the fell disease.

"THE FIGHTING DOCTOR."

Scene—Artillery Mess, Madras. During dinner, a note is handed to Dr. Wyllie, who rises abruptly, begging to be excused.

Commanding Officer to the Doctor, in a low voice, as he is taking his departure—"I hope, Doctor, there is nothing wrong?" Nao thing pertikler. Mrs. Smith has a wee touch of *coalara morebus*. We'll ga her a peel, and she'll, sure be a' richt the morn."

This, no doubt, to put the party off the scent, as it was announced next morning that Mrs. S. had been safely delivered of a son! Next evening, as the dinner party were unfolding their table napkins, the Colonel, with a twinkle in his eye and full of humour, reconnoitred the sapient son of Esculapius thus, in the Doctor's accent—"Any more cases of *coalara morebus*, Dr. Wyllie?" And the plague was stayed.

DINNERS AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

I am sure the men of this period were able to eat and drink more than we do, or could do with impunity. Take Malcolm for example, in October, 1811. On the 12th, there was a dinner to Mackintosh in the theatre; on the 16th, a dinner to Charles Forbes; and on the 19th, a dinner to Rickards, a civilian of 26 years standing. Malcolm presided at the two last, and was the Japiter Tonans of all three. Here were three great public entertainments in eight days, speeding the parting guests from our island. Could any man among us do this now-a-days with impunity? I trow not.

During this decade, there were many big dinners. Malcolm was a better diner-out than Elphinstone. There was a Commemoration Dinner at Poona (of the Battle of Kérkee) on November 1818. I should like to have seen Elphinstone on that occasion rise to propose "The immortal memory of Burns," and hear him add the words: "Success to his offspring," for a son of Burns was there, and sung one of his father's blythest lays.

There is a Madras notification of February 1811, that, Mr. William Nicol Burns,* having produced requisite certificates of "his appointment to be a cadet on this establishment, the Government in Council is pleased to admit him in that capacity, and promote him to the rank of an ensign, the date of commission to be settled hereafter. Was this the man, born in 1791, "the wee rumble gumption urchin of mine whom I named Willie Nicol, after a certain friend of mine," or was it he who stood of most interest, a man of pale face and gray hairs, at the Burns festival—Colonel James Glencourse Burns? Both these appointments were due, in the first instance, to the Marchioness of Hastings.

Sometimes a round of amusements lasted from daylight to dusk, or even far into midnight, and yet people carried their drink with surprising discretion. The strongest of our latter day good livers, I imagine, would think twice before gulping down all the good things contained in this invitation to the elite, for Saturday the 9th March 1811.

PRO NIC.

Meets at gunfire this morning on the Byculla Course, where the hounds will throw off a numerous field, and great sport is expected; afterwards Bobbery Hunting, &c., until breakfast, which has been ordered for 50 at the stand at 9; the party will then proceed to Lowji Castle, where various Hindustanee gymnastics, wrestling, pigeon shooting, juggling and tumbling will be exhibited till 4 o'clock, when a dinner, in the best English style, will be served up for the same number as at breakfast. The sports of the day to conclude with music, fireworks, &c.

The men of this decade (1810-20) were a sober and righteous race; but they were men. At a great entertainment given to General Abercrombie, son of the hero of Alexandria, on May 25th, 1811, to celebrate his conquest of Mauritius, it is recorded—and you will please remember the date, for there are no hotter nights in Bombay than in the end of May—:

"After supper the dancing again commenced and continued to a late hour, nor did the brilliancy of the scene lose any effect, until the rising sun began to eclipse the minor artificial illuminations of the night."

Ten years later on, the 2nd May 1821, the first General Meeting of the Bombay Highland Society, established for the cultivation of Caledonian proclivities, took place at Parell,

* 1828, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, Madras Army.

under the discreetest of men, Mountstuart Elphinstone, on which the '*Courier*' remarks: "Various other excellent songs were sung, but latterly the recollection of our friend was not quite so clear as in the early part of the evening to detail particulars."

Nothing now remains of this august Celtic Corporation (it died out about 1840) but a black-faced sheep's head mull, or Highland snuff box, silver and cairngorm mounted.

The entertainment given to Sir John Keane by Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy was the first occasion on which Parsee ladies appeared in public. Sir Jamsetjee left the room, and his temporary absence caused a feeling of suspense among the guests. Then the door suddenly opened, and Sir Jamsetjee made his appearance with his wife leaning on his arm, followed by his sons and their wives and his daughters. This was about 1841.

EDUCATION.

The following advertisement, dated 18th February, 1811, and signed John Forbes, we give, because it illustrates three things:

1st.—That Bombay did not confine its benefactions to local schemes. The subscriptions to this one already amounted to Rs. 7,224.

2nd.—That the Forbeses had already produced a strong Aberdonian feeling of clanship in the island.

3rd.—That the schoolmaster was abroad.

"Aberdeen Society, for the benefit of children of deceased clergymen of the professors in the University of Scotland."

Some of the confusion here may be owing to the printer's devil. Charles Forbes's speeches in the India House, and his Bombay letters, are models of perspicuous English. Manockjee Cursetjee, who must have been at school about this time, had a fair education, which enabled him to hold forth to kings, and even to the Pope. I asked him about his teacher. His reply, that he was a Mr. Mackay in Mr. Joliffe's school near St. Thomas's Church, though of date 1822, shows that there was good education in Bombay about this period.

PINDARRIES.

The Pindarries were a never failing source of anxiety at this time. The Bombay *Courier* of 4th January, 1817, announces that communication from Siroor to Poona, and from Poona to Panwell, is unsafe without a guard; and no wonder, for reports came in on the 22nd February, that a body had appeared before Des-gaum, after having plundered Mhar, and that 700 of them were seen in the neighbourhood of Panwell, and made tracks in a northerly direction. Here follows how they harassed our soldiers.—

"On 27th, 4th December, 1861, the Native Cavalry, under Major Lushington, marched from 1 a. m. to 6 p. m., 70 miles after Pindarries, killed and wounded 7 to 800, and then by easy stages, made their way to Ahmednagar. Captain Drake was killed by a spear wound."

1816. The Bombay Marine Battalion was raised.

1817. The Poona Horse was raised, Siroor became their locale, and a pleasant habitation it is.

MERCHANTS.

On the 20th May 1818, appeared the following advertisement in the *Bombay Gazette*. —

"Messrs. Ritchie, Stewart & Co. have the honour to announce this establishment as a Mercantile House, the partners of their firm being
James Finlay & Co. Glasgow,
H. J. and R. Barton, Manchester,
Mr. James Ritchie and
Mr. John Robert Stewart.

This rivulet of type represents the fountain-head of a great firm which had much to do in moulding the destinies of Bombay during the next fifty years. Harry George Gordon, a partner in this firm, was, in 1838, voted first Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, while another, Michael Scott, was the wizard of 1864. Both these men had great talents, and the pale and classic features of the latter, with hair black as the raven's wing, will live in the memories of all who have seen him, and live in local history also, as the most conspicuous character of these enterprising and anxious and exciting times.

Panmure Gordon, writer and London financier (1892), is a son of the first, while Dr. Scott, the well known author of "Tom Cringle's Log" and the "Cruise of the Midge," was the father of the second.

On April the 9th 1831, on board the "Upton Castle," off the Cape of Good Hope, John Ritchie, Esq., 35, of Messrs. Ritchie, Finlay & Co.

1842, March 4th, died at Castle Tower, E. Argyllshire, Kirkman Finlay, Esq., late M. P. and Lord Provost of Glasgow, founder of the firm.

GLOBE TROTTERS.

Part of this decade was very awkward for globe trotters. On April 1818, Government issue a notice that passports were necessary for all Europeans, and any vagrants of this race found prowling about, were to be taken to the nearest English official, and if I remember right, a reward was offered for their apprehension.

The war correspondent also was at a discount. Archibald Forbes would have been a voice crying in this Dekhan wilderness; for the Bombay papers, by a Government Notice, dated December 25th, 1819, inform them that, during the Mahratta war, every article must be submitted to Government before publication. All which regulations were, no doubt, just and proper at the time.*

* Bombay was sometimes near enough to the seat of war. In January 1818, the firing of the guns was distinctly heard at the taking of Kurnalla (Funnel Hill).

RACES.

The Bombay Races and Hunt were in this decade (1810 to 20) in the full blush of prosperity. They took place in February; began with daylight, and ended in a big breakfast, which, most probably, before it was ended, annexed itself to a tiffin. The Races of 1819 are a fair sample. Mr. Remington's Cup was presented to the victor by Lady Grant Keir. The Forbes Stakes, £100,—which are still (1892) run for,—won by Mr. Warden's Arab horse *Hapoorie*, beating *Guzerat* and *Hots-pur*. The Ladies Purse, Rs. 400, with 5 five gold mohurs each, was run for by *Clan Alpin*, *Speculation* and *Grey Beard*.

4th Day.—The Malet Stakes.

5th Day.—The Bachelors Purse, Rs. 400 with 5 gold mohurs each.

6th Day.—The Gold Turf Cup, value 100 guineas, given by the Turf Club in 1802, and now in possession of Mr. De Vitre.

In 1816, for the purpose of attracting the fair sex, the Bombay Races were held no longer in the morning, but in the afternoon, a custom from which there has been, we believe, no departure.

The period, 1820-30 was an era of decline for both Hunt and Races. On 1st February, 1828, it is noted: "Bombay Races are not remarkable enough to be recorded." The following wail had appeared in the *Bombay Gazette* in 1827:—

"Twas in the olden time our Bombay Races
Commenced at day-light, spite of fog and dew.

The Bobbery Hunt's Delight or Garry Owen,
Was sure to set the nimble feet agoing.
All's over—early rising—breakfast—all
Yet what mementos do the names recal
Of spirits—blotted from the things that be,
Gone like the "Bobbery Hunt" and "Sans Souci,"
For though the Bobbery, when in search of game,
Were terrors to old crones and yelping pyes,
Convivial friendship will preserve their name
As those who bade the brightest fires arise.
And but once more to hear their bugle strain
Bombay might rouse thee to be gay again.

This spirited piece was headed "Lost Gaiety of Bombay."

In 1815 the races had been changed from the morning. Hence the allusion in the opening lines. Poona, this year, seemed more vigorous, and received from England eight couple of hounds in the highest condition, with four couple of whelps produced on the voyage. Calcutta up to 1840 held their races in the morning. The hunt there also involved a start at 4 A.M., and for this reason seldom more than 15 gentlemen responded, and the ladies, at both hunt and races, were very few.

THEATRE.

During the cold seasons of these eventful years (1810-20) the Theatre was in evidence, the actors being all amateurs. Many of the play bills lie before us. Some of the pieces were the *Road to Ruin*, the *Heir at Law*, *Old Mother Goose* and the *Wheel of Fortune*; and on one occasion, we observe, the whole is to conclude with a recitation of the celebrated poem of *Glenfinlas*, a piece which, at the moment, we cannot recal to memory. All these fancies were bodied forth in the old Theatre; but in 1818, after our great successes in Europe and the Dekhan, a bran new theatre was constructed. Doors open at 4, performances to begin at 7 precisely. Tickets for box and pit Rs. 8, and we observe (1811) no tickets were to issued for the gallery. Doubtless a select audience, and the proceeds for some charitable object.

Gentlemen, unless actors, were on no account to enter the green room, or go behind the scenes, and all gentlemen without ladies were earnestly entreated to make their way to the pit, leaving the boxes to the ladies and the gentlemen who escorted them.

1820-40—In August 1828, we read: "The Bombay Theatre is now a desert," and the writer attributes its decay to "the march of morality, the want of money, the growing love of early hours, fashion, and the progress of fastidiousness."

11th July 1829.—"The Bombay Theatre is now consigned to such ignoble purposes as the reception of Gogo cotton and Gunny bags, once fertile in good performers, as in the age of the Brooks, the Bellasis, the Stanley's and the Bells." 1831—Arrangements to open the Bombay Theatre which has been long suspended. 1834.—March 13th.—Theatre half filled. "We may now sing a requiem over the drama in this Presidency." 1835, July—Bombay Theatre offered for sale. "After Mr. Newnham left last year, there was hope for it." John Peter Grant was also a steady supporter of the drama, both in Bombay and Calcutta. 1835, October—Theatre sold to Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy for Rs. 50,000. 1807—"Theatrical displays are scarce worth attending." 1840, July 24th—A petition, signed by 425 inhabitants for a new theatre in Bombay. These notices sufficiently disclose the state of the theatre in Bombay, and its decadence for a dozen years.

From some observations we gather that the Native Theatre was not extinct, and what was called the "Legitimate Hindoo Drama," in Poona, in Sir Philip Woodhouse's time (1872-7), which flourished unabashed in its travesties of the English, until it was suspended by authority. The following refers to something similar; satirizing our noble selves. The time is 1830-40, scene the a Mofussil Court House. We merely give a

petit morceau before the curtain fell. As the case proceeds, and the time approaches for the midday meal, the butler comes in and announces to the Judge: "Tiffin tyar hi." This, of course, he does with joined hands and obsequious deportment. The Judge immediately stops the case, and is proceeding to leave the Court-room, when he is accosted by the officers of the Court, with "Pray, your lordship, what shall we do with the prisoner?"

Judex exit, with "D—n his eyes, hang him."

PRESS.

The *Gazette* and *Courier*, established about 1790, the latter by Mr. William Ashburner of the Civil Service, continued to be weekly papers for about forty years. Both then merged into bi-weeklies, and the *Gazette* in its daily form "died about 7 years ago" (1843). The *Star*, the *World*, the *Herald*, and *U. S. Gazette* were short lived papers. The *Courier* and *Gazette* were in shape something like the size of the (1892) *Overland Times* and *Gazette*, with not a twelfth part of the printed matter. In 1820, both the *Gazette* and *Courier* were flourishing.

On the 30th December 1821, at Poona, died Adolphus Pope, late sheriff of Bombay, and editor of the *Bombay Gazette*. In 1822, the Indian Press was much hampered by inland postage. A notice published in England states that the Post Office in India, will not deliver a newspaper at any distance under half a rupee, or 1s. 3d.

1825, the "*Bombay Courier*" published on Saturdays, the *Gazette* on Wednesdays, the *Weekly Gleaner* on Sundays. Only native paper, *Samachar Chandrika*, weekly. There were three dailies in Calcutta, the "*John Bull*" "*Scotsman in the East*," and *Hurkaru*."

Bombay Civil Servants were not seldom proprietors of papers. Col. M. Stanhope, at the East Indian House, March 21, 1827, stated that, though Mr. Fair was the nominal owner of the *Bombay Gazette*, Mr. Francis Warden, Chief Secretary, was the real proprietor, maugre the threat of the Chief Justice, September 16, 1826: "I will punish the editor and proprietor both with fine and imprisonment." As late as 1841, the proprietors of the *Bombay Courier* were Humphrey Francis Boaden, Jamsatjee Jejeebhoy, Henry Fawcett and Robert Wigram Crawford; and of the *Times*—Messrs Skinner, Gordon, Stewart, Dawson, Cardwell, Richmond, Mackie and Russell, all well known partners of leading firms in Bombay.

A writer in 1840 tells us of a catastrophe which took place in these unwholesome days. Three journalists died in as many months, Mr. Rousseau, sub-editor of the *Courier*, of cholera; Mr. Callum, editor and proprietor of the *Gazette*, of cholera,

aged 29; Mr. Brennan, editor of the "*Times*," and Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, of apoplexy, 36. The *Bombay Iris*, a weekly paper for Government servants, had a short life. Dr. Wilson's *Oriental Christian Spectator*, a monthly, begun in 1827, lasted until 1856, and comprehends 27 volumes.

Occasionally there were trials for libel. In June 1833, Mr. R. X. Murphy, editor of the *Gazette*, challenged Colonel Vans Kennedy. The Colonel refused to accept the gage of battle, whereupon the editor, in his paper, denounced him to the public and the army as a slanderer and a coward. Murphy was sentenced to pay Rs. 500. The same year, Captain Morley sued R. C. Money and Dr. Wilson for some printed matter in the *Spectator*, anent a tomb at Ahmednagar, which had been raised to a native mistress and converted into a Hindoo temple, and obtained damages, Rs. 350.

LAWYERS.

No names were more widely known in legal circles in the times in which they lived than Henry Forrester Constable. He was Solicitor to the Company, Captain of the Bombay Fencibles, had been 28 years in Bombay, died in 1802 at the age of 42, and was buried with military honours. John Henry Stephenson held the same office, and died in 1816 at Bussorah, aged 38. On his monument, in the Cathedral, may be found these halting lines,—

Bombay admired, bewails thy short career
And o'er thy ashes sheds a grateful tear:
What nobler monument can marble yield,
What brighter trophies deck the blazon'd shield.

In September, 1834, died James Morley. He had been a barrister in Bombay for fifty years.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

A great deal has been written on the wanton acts of the Portuguese in destroying the sculptures of Elephanta. We have not been blameless in this matter ourselves; Hector Macneil, writing from Bombay (*Archæologia*, Vol. VIII) in 1783, boldly charges "those heroes who grace our fleets and armies in India," with the spoliation. I dare say it was the fashion of the day, witness James Forbes and the Gate of Diamonds at Dubhoi. There is ample evidence of the truth of Macneil's assertion. In *Archæologia*, Vol. VII, 1785, there are three magnificent plates of heads brought by Sir Ashton Lever from Elephanta, and, that there may be no doubt regarding the extent of the plunder, the same Journal adds,—“The Society are possessed of a drawing of another group of figures from the same quarter by Captain Allen of His Majesty's ship *Cumberland*.”

So late as 1840, a correspondent of the "*Asiatic Journal*"

writes, that he saw persons in Elephanta break off pieces of the statues to sell to visitors. In the *Bombay Gazette* of 1822, there is the following notice of what the writer saw in the Canara Caves in Salsette, some part of which, but not much, may still be visible.

"We observed very distinctly the vestiges of fresco painting, representing, in simple colours of red and blue, single figures of the Hindoo deities."

Charles Bonne, Governor, 1724-31, notices also the red and blue paint on the statues at Canara (*Archæologia*).

GAOLS.

* During the first two decades of this century, the gaols were worth looking after. Some local Howard was abroad, for in 1821, the Grand Jury of Bombay told the Judge that the prisoners for minor offences ought to be separated from those of deeper dye.

In 1823 one debtor had been in gaol 9 years, and if the creditor made an allowance, the debtor might be detained all his life. All kinds of prisoners were mixed, for minor and heinous crimes, those convicted, as well as those waiting their trial. In 1827, an Englishman died in the Calcutta gaol. He had been in prison for debt for nine years, and on 7th August 1827, died at the great gaol of Calcutta, Mrs. Mary Moore, wife of Mr. Robert Moore, who had been imprisoned for debt, for upwards of 12 years. The number of executions had very much decreased, compared with old times. Mackintosh tells us that, in Bombay, from May 1736 to May 1763, there were 141 capital convictions and 47 executions; from May 1804 to May 1811, there were 109 capital convictions and no executions. A man executed on 20th July 1811, was the first European executed for 25 years in Bombay.

HIGH COURT AND SIR EDWARD WEST.

It was a great day for Bombay when the Supreme Court of Judicature was substituted for the Recorder's Court.

On the 8th day of May 1823, at a few minutes past 10 A.M., the new Charter of Justice was read and proclaimed, after which Sir Edward West took his seat as Chief Justice. On the publication of the Charter, a royal salute of 21 guns was fired, and, upon the Chief Justice being sworn in, 17 guns. The echoes had scarcely died away, when an event came upon Bombay like a thunderclap. The Chief Justice dismissed William Erskine from his office of Master in Equity and Clerk of the Small Cause Court. He next suspended five barristers, including the Advocate General (August 1823) and thirdly, but not lastly, he deported Fair, the editor of the *Gazette*. The fire did not burn low in these times.

WILLIAM ERSKINE.

Erskine did not kill himself, as James Outram's brother did under a somewhat similar charge. He died peaceably at Bonn, in 1851. The Advocate General did not kill himself, though a Solicitor took his place; and editors have nine lives, and never suffer death from any amount of persecution. I cannot imagine a case, though all these men are now in their graves, that is calculated to awaken deeper sympathy than that of Erskine. Any man, wounded in the tenderest part, and the object of unfounded suspicion, may be as true a martyr as ever died by stake or faggot. The flames are not material, but they burn nevertheless. Erskine's case was that of a sick man whose subordinates in his absence, allowed the affairs of his department to drift into confusion, and startle the auditor with a balance on the wrong side. When under examination, Erskine replied to the charge that "these irregularities were totally unknown to him, and that he had never knowingly derived any profit from them." That might have been sufficient, but he might have as well appealed to the winds. Erskine's probity was undoubted; but it was in vain that he had served under six Recorders, that he had been asked by the Royal Asiatic Society to sit for his portrait; that he was Mackintosh's son-in-law, that he was an Elder in the Kirk. The enemy blasphemed, and the Judge was inexorable. The enemy wrote that "Mr. Erskine's robberies on the public exceeded Rs. 2,000 monthly." "Erskine is condemned by implication, if not in express terms, of being guilty of fraud, oppression, extortion and corruption;" and the Judge refused to allow him to quit the country, unless he found two securities for Rs. 50,000 each, and his own personal bond for Rs. 100,000. Here was the sequence. Sir Edward West bestowed the office of Master in Equity on his nephew, and we are not surprised to read that, when he retired in 1829, "he left his own arena of exertion—unregretted by a mortal." But Erskine was like his native heather, which, though burned to the ground in one season, springs up the next.

AMUSEMENTS.

Bombay and Poona (1820-30) were not without their amusements. In connection with the revival of Cricket in 1825, we read:—

"There will be tents for the ladies, and as the cricketers are all to be dressed in an appropriate uniform, we anticipate one of the most gay and animated scenes that has ever graced our island."

"We feel infinite pleasure, in announcing amusements which tend to counteract the effects of this enervating climate, by raising the spirits from apathy, and the physical powers from

that feminine indolence which is generally rewarded by premature old age, skin hanging in drapery, and muscles reduced to pack thread."

This same year, on 28th October, there was a very big dance in Poona, in honour of Sir Charles Colville, Commander of the forces, and 200 were present on the eve of his departure. There was a suite of tents, and his great battles were blazoned in letters of light—San Domingo, Martinique, Egypt, Badajos, Salamanca, Victoria, Nive Nivelles, Waterloo.

There were country dances, quadrilles, succeeded by waltzes, and Spanish dances till 12. Then followed supper. Then they danced till dawn, when the morning gun was the signal for departure.

BOMBAY, 1823.

We get a glimpse of the state of Bombay in 1823 from a Calcutta visitor. The people were less cringing and subservient than they were in Bengal. The climate was preferable. A great paucity of punkahs even in the best houses. A dirtier town than Calcutta, and he adds—"The olfactory horrors of the Bombay bazars may possibly be equalled; they can be exceeded in no part of the world."

Wages, 4 palanquin bearers, Re. 1 per diem, table servant, Rs. 10 to Rs. 16 per mensem. Ayah, Rs. 12. House rent, half the Calcutta rate. A family mansion obtainable at Rs. 200 per mensem. Saw one of very large size that let at Rs. 300. *Parell*, the country house of the Governor, can only be equalled in the bad taste of its architecture, by his residence in the Fort. "Also a pair of tigers guarding the gate of an elegant villa (Juganath Sunkerseth's) in Gorgaum," still to be seen (1892). Parties not so agreeable as in Calcutta. In Calcutta you call on people. Here you must wait until you are called on.

In Bombay every article of European produce and manufacture is double the price of Calcutta. Fish delicious; bread excellent; good water is scarcer than good wine. Here we "see ourselves as others see us." We will now hear what Bombay has to say of itself.

In the same year (1823) a Bombay man speaks more hopefully: "Owing to some big fires, Government wish the cotton bales removed from Bombay Green, and have appropriated a portion of the Esplanade near the Apollo Pier for the purpose."

And here follows a glowing anticipation of the Elphinstone Circle, built 1854-65. "The great square of the Fort, which we hope on some future day to see surrounded with buildings worthy the good taste and public spirit of the people."

This was the vision when the Town Hall had just risen above its foundation. The Town Hall took 15 years in building, and was finished in 1834, costing 5 lakhs.

The year 1826, opens with great changes and substantial progress. "Population has increased as if Cadmus had sown dragon's teeth," mercantile houses have multiplied, charities have been founded, public tanks have been enlarged so as to afford a constant supply of water, the ways have been elegantly lighted, the Esplanade has been levelled and cleared, roads have been made, and edifices have arisen, designed with architectural taste and executed with masonic skill, and the Governor is congratulated on opening a sally-port through the ramparts, which has been so useful to the inhabitants of the Fort in getting water both by day and night, and by repairing old wells and making new ones in every part of the island."

HORMASJEE BOMANJEE.

Hormasjee Bomanjee, the most prominent native citizen of Bombay, during the first quarter of this century, died on the morning of the 8th March 1826, in the 60th year of his age.

He was for more than 30 years associated with Forbes and Company. He left 3 sons and 2 daughters. He was the youngest and surviving brother of builder Jamsetjee Bomanjee, and the celebrated merchant, Pestonjee Bomanjee, head of the Wadia family.

He was succeeded in his *station* by his nephew Naurojee Jamsetjee, head of the Parsee Punchayat, the respected head builder in the naval yard. When the news reached England, it was said "he died worth two millions." Though this was a great exaggeration, the family held a strong position, and dispensed festivity at Lowji Castle from early times. So shortly before his death as the 3rd August, 1825, Hormasjee Bomanjee gave a splendid entertainment at Lowji Castle, which was long remembered by the European inhabitants. His son Ardaseer upheld the position and dignity of the family far into the eightys. He, too, was of dignified deportment.

ROBBERS.

One of the roads referred to by the writer on Bombay was the beach road to Sewree, which was finished in 1825. The Colaba Causeway was projected, but, still a work of the future: what need there was of lighting the streets, is apparent from the number of robberies.

In 1827 the robbers actually entered the house of the Chief Justice after he had publicly denounced their depredations. And in the same year Mrs Sparrow, wife of a member of Council, when returning from church, was attacked by an Armenian on horseback in her carriage, who seized the horse's reins and shot away the coachman's ear. About this time a gentleman was deterred from buying the "Wilderness," be-

cause it was so remote and exposed to the attacks of robbers. The island was infested that year with a number of audacious villains with swords, who hacked at whoever came in their way, sahib or servant. Numbers of palanquins were stopped on the Parell Road in 1826, and their occupants plundered. The same year, while attempting to enter the house of the Commander-in-Chief, a sentry, while loading his musket, had a stone thrown at him to his hurt.

In addition to the insecurity of property there were three great plagues. There was the plague of beggars; the lame, the halt and the blind, and the armless flourishing their stumps. There was the plague of pariah dogs infesting every street in the fort, and every lane and road on the island, endangering the lives of those on horseback. There was the plague of hamuls, that rascal multitude who carried on the business of locomotion, bearing and overbearing, insolent as the buggywallahs in the sixties, and levying black mail and sometimes black death on whoever entered their dirty and infection-carrying palanquins. It was in vain that the Grand Jury proclaimed the ill-regulated condition of the palanquins and those who plied for hire. They were masters of the situation. If they struck, there was an end of all juries and dinner parties. The only owners of palkies are now (1893) the solicitors. And there was the plague of late Judges.

Fancy at such a time as this men's minds being exercised with the problem :—Who was entitled to the affix of "Esquire?" Whether the servant of a Knight or Magister was the greater?

It was left to the genius of Lord Clare (1834) to solve this knotty question and a minute of council was issued that the following gentlemen be addressed as "Esquire."

Jugganath Sunkersett.

Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy,

Dadabhai Pestonjee.

Dhakjee Dadajee.

Bomanjee Hormusjee.

Fiamjee Cowasjee.

Nowrojee Jamsetjee.

Cursetjee Cowasjee.

Cursetjee Ardaseer Dady.

Mohamed Ali Rogay.

Cursetjee Rustomjee.

Mohamed Ibrahim Macha.

Hormasjee Bhicajee Chinyoy.

This is a leaf from the Golden Book of Bombay which some of our golden youth (1893) may be pleased to look at.

From these troubles and tomfooleries, relief came to Bombay from an unexpected quarter. As early as the 20th May 1826, Mahableshwur had been pointed out as a suitable hill station, and on January 24th, 1829, a Parsee opened a shop there.

So the lieges found that the best way to make the most of Bombay, was to get out of it and recline their wasted minds and bodies on the Mahableshwur Hills.

HILL STATIONS.

The settlement on this hill widened the horizon and expand-

There had been watering places where people went for change of air in the hot season. But Bankote and Gorabunder (the Hippocoura of Ptolemy?) are quite as hot as Bombay. Vizrabhai, the Lady of the Thunderbolt, with its hot springs once quite fashionable, was, on the discovery of the new hill station, at once relegated to the natives, whose resort it has been ever since. It has not a few military memories, and its neighbourhood was once well ploughed up by field artillery. Here are a few lines redolent of feeling albeit destitute of poetic fire, culled from an old album, and dated 1786, on Vizrabhai.

"Hail sacred spring salubrious fountain hail !
Not far removed is that illustrious spot,
Where dearly bought the gallant *Hartley* gained
Increased renown, where with a faithful few
He bore the onset of a numerous foe.
Whose chief, unlike his dastard kindred, shew'd
The path to glory, and pursued the way,
And there the generous *Goddard* pressed with speed
(His fresh earn'd laurels blooming on his brow)
To share his partner's toils."

Matheran was not yet dragged from its obscurity; but a gleam of light flashes on its darkness in 1822

Col. Delamain writes, "very rich scenery. In every direction noble mountains. To the north, Mathé Ram, bearing at first view a stupendous square fort on the top, but it is natural. It was however fortified."

This last is a hard nut for the topographer to crack.

OVERLAND.

On the 12th July, 1823, the first steam ship, the "*Diana*" was launched at Kidderpore, and had a splendid trial trip "velocity perfectly astonishing." On the 22nd January 1825, the steam ship "*Enterprize*" was launched in England to run to India. On the 24th November 1824, £10 000 was voted by the merchants of Calcutta to the first person who would navigate a steam ship to India. On the 16th August 1825, "*Enterprize*," of 500 tons, and containing 20 cabins, leaves Falmouth for Calcutta. On the 30th July 1828, Mr. Thomas Waghorn, of the Pilot Service in Calcutta, proposes to bring out the mails to Calcutta in 70 days, *via the Cape*. On the same day, Mr. G. A. Prinsep states that a letter might be carried from Calcutta to Coëseir in 29 days, and thence to London in 25 days.

On the 12th March 1829, the "*Bengal Chronicle*" styles Waghorn, "this intelligent, active, and enterprising individual." 15th November 1829, first steam ship to start from Bombay to Suez. Waghorn's services in opening up the overland route are matter of history. Not until this was secured, was Bombay called "The Rising Presidency."

Government advertise the fare Rs. 1,200, independent of the table. Servants, European, Rs. 150, natives, Rs. 75. The total expenditure of each traveller from Bombay to London was £300, which included the Rs. 1,200* passage money by the "Hugh Lindsay," from Bombay to Cosseir. We learn incidentally that in Calcutta in 1822, Rs 800 sicca were paid for a second class passage home by sailing vessel. A single letter Rs. 2-6, double Rs. 5, for postage.

MAILS.

1825—The Madras Mail to Calcutta, by land was done in 10 days 17¾ hours.

1826—From Bombay to Calcutta, an express Mail was done in 1½ days.

COLABA.

In 1826 we read that "Colaba is becoming celebrated for unaffected and social intercourse, that scarcely a week passes without some particular manifestation of it."

The suspicions that it was unhealthy in the years which followed, took tangible shape in 1840, when it was announced, to the dismay of all concerned, that Colaba, having been pronounced by the Medical authorities a most unhealthy station for European troops, is to be forthwith abandoned as a military station. And in 1841, a Medical Board find that a deadly malaria is caused by the mangrove trees on the western shore, and the sea washing thereon twice in 24 hours. Colaba would have soon justified its name of "Old Woman's Island," had not the two Napiers, Charles and Robert, stepped in successively to avert this disaster. The spade and the hatchet were the remedies.

Bombay itself must have been bad, if we can believe the *Gazette* of 4th June 1841 :—"Calcutta is bad enough, Madras worse, but, with six times the native inhabitants, Madras is a Belgravia Square compared with Bombay."

Though the Colaba Causeway, connecting it with Bombay, was projected as far back as 1820, it was not actually commenced till 1835.

BANKS.

In August 1835, a Bank of India was projected in London with a capital of five millions. Though Baring Brothers were among the promoters it came to nothing.

On the 20th March 1838, a meeting, at which Sir Charles Malcolm presided, was held to establish a "Bank of Bombay," and on 1st October, a Charter was obtained from the East India Company. John Stewart a shrewd, solid, sagacious man, without the least touch of dash or cleverness, was Manager.

On the 12th March 1840, among the official directors appointed by Government, were—James R. Crawford, Accountant General, Lestock Reid, Secretary, Financial Department, and among those elected were the well-known names Harry George Gordon, James Wright, Framjee Cowasjee.

In 1840, their notes being depreciated in the bazaar, the Directors offer to discount them. In February 1840, W. W. Cargill, afterwards Secretary, (living 1893) signs a paper connected with this Bank, and it is a curious circumstance which we heard from one who was present, that Mr. Cargill, in 1865, was the first to make the Viceroy aware of the deplorable condition of the Bank of Bombay. It was in an after dinner conversation with Sir John Lawrence at Simla. Sir Bartle Frere at the time was blamed for tardily withholding this information.

ASIATIC SOCIETY.

In 1829, the Royal Asiatic Society removed their Library and Museum to the north rooms of the Town Hall which they have since occupied.

In 1832, several meetings were held to put an end to scribbling on the books of the Library. "Colonel Welsh's Memoirs," seems to have been well annotated.

Under 10th June 1833, we read, "Manockjee Cursetjee, a Parsee of some distinction, was proposed as a Member. The President supported his pretensions, and proposed that all natives, who sit on Grand Juries should be eligible. Dr. Wilson objected because it will give a preference over their countrymen of the highest literary attainments to those whose only literature was their acquaintance with the English language. The ballot showed 14 black balls against him."

In 1836, however, Manockjee was elected a non-resident member, and on 29 January 1840, was elected the first native member of the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society.

Since that time there has been a gradual accession of natives who are now a preponderating element in all the meetings of the Society.

And the Asiatic Library was not to be sneezed at. In 1839 Principal Mill of Calcutta, said to Dr. Wilson: "There is nothing like this on the banks of the Ganges." At the beginning of 1810, it consisted of 2,000 volumes, and the Society had an income of £400 to be devoted annually to the purchase of books. The Library was housed in Meadows Street, and the meetings of the Society were at this period held in the Theatre. No books were issued the last week of the year, when all books were ordered to be returned, and a searching examination was made as to their condition. Sir James Mackintosh advertises three times for people to return his own

books. Bombay then, as now, was in no hurry to return borrowed books.

There were some dungeons of learning, like Vans Kennedy, its Secretary, in the "Asiatic," but after Mackintosh left, Elphinstone held up the blazing torch, which illuminated his sphere of action with the light of day. Contributions came in from many quarters. Rich discoursed on Babylonian bricks, and another son-in-law of Mackintosh, to wit William Erskine, discussed on Elephanta, and Frank, the ill-starred brother of James Outram, produced a new theory of perpetual motion, and Malcolm, like Saul among the prophets, when he did manage to attend its meeting, stood head and shoulders above all the people at the meetings in this decade (1810-20). The natives were conspicuous by their absence.

But it is pleasing to record that no long time elapsed before they took their part both as hearers and as speakers, in the proceedings of this learned Society.

BIG INDIAN HOUSES.

The following were the leading Indian Firms in London on 18th February 1828 :—

Messrs. Bazett, Colvin, Crawford & Co.	Messrs. Finlay, Hodgson & Co.
" Cockerell, Trail & Co.	" Macaulay, Macintyre & Co.
" Fletcher Alexander & Co.	" Zachary Macaulay & Babington*
" Farlie, Bonham & Co.	" Small, Colquhoun & Co.
" Palmers, McKillop & Co.	" R. Scott, Fairlie & Co.
" Inglis, Forbes & Co.	" Gregson, Melville & Knight.
" Rickards, Mackintosh & Co.	" Hunter & Co.

THE UPPER TEN.

Hormusjee Jamseetjee Jejeebhoy Cursetjee and Jehangier Ardaseer, Davidass Hurjeevandass and Cajee Golum Hossein were conspicuous natives in 1823.

This year the Grand Jury consisted of the following names—

Benjamin Norton.	W. T. Graham.
W. Mainwaring	T. Crawford.
William Nicol.	S. D. Beatty.
J. Saunders.	W. C. Bruce.
D. Seton.	William Peel.
A. Inglis.	J. Forbes.
J. Fawcett.	T. Riddock.
E. Elliot	A. Mackintosh.
F. Bouchier.	P. H. Hadow.

This is the earliest appearance I can find of the founder of the great firm of William Nicol & Co., which was almost an institution in Bombay for 50 years. He lived to a great age, and, though a little man in size, was in his time one of the biggest merchants in Bombay. His portrait as an old man is in possession of the Parsee Lady Mithoraine Batlibhai.

A meeting of the Asiatic Society in August 1823, at which

* No doubt the origin of the prenomens Thomas Babington Macaulay.

the Hon'ble M. Elphinstone presided, consisted of the Arch-deacon, Messrs. Wedderburn, Farish, Henderson, Lieutenant-Colonel H. Blair Gordon, Kemball, Norris, Macleod, Captain Bruce, Dr. Sproule, Norton, Fawcett, D. Malcolm, Elliott, Harlow, Waddington, Ogilvie, Prinsep, J. R. Stuart, Brydon, Ritchie, Arbuthnot, Bruce and the Secretary General Vans Kennedy.

LONGEVITY.

There were two patriarchs of Bombay who disappeared in this decade. In 1815, died General Kenneth Macpherson, who had fought for Prince Charles at Culloden. His home was near Sion, on the Tanna road. Everybody knew and respected him. On the 9th May 1818, died George Dick. He had come out as a writer in 1759. He had never been out of Bombay except an occasional trip to Barcoot, for nearly sixty years. He died in Byculla, and his name may be seen in the list of the Governors of Bombay in 1795. He was universally respected and there is a tablet to his memory in the Cathedral. 1834, 15th May, at Madras, died General Sir Andrew McDowall, K.C.B. He had been 51 years in the country without going home. At his funeral 15 men of the 63rd regiment fainted, having walked four miles in the hottest time of the day, leaving their barracks at 4 P.M., of whom one Sergeant and two corporals died and were buried next day.

Charles Crommelin, Governor of Bombay, 1760-67. "Served the Company 35 years, returned to England in 1757, suffered greatly in trade, returned to India in 1772 as a free merchant, and now (1777) resides at Canton." He had joined the Company in 1732. James Forbes saw him at Goa in 1784 when he was acting British Consul.

Can this be the same man whose tomb in the Presidency graveyard at Kasimbazar, Morshedabad, is described by Mr. Beveridge, in the Calcutta Review, July 1892?

The inscription—

C. Crommelin, 81. December 25, 1788,
seems to indicate that he may have wandered there at last.
Requiescat in Pace.

EXPORTS.

The Bombay exports, in the three years ending 1815, amounted *ad valorem* to 45 crores. With the advent of machinery, England now exported, instead of importing cotton goods—which leads a merchant to exclaim, in 1819: "Who could have imagined fifty years since, that Manchester and Glasgow would send muslins to Bengal?" The tide had completely turned. One can scarcely imagine the horror with which people contemplated the spectacle of an East Indiaman loading coals for the East. And as for freights, one groan must suffice.

1817—"Freights have fallen from £8 to £6 per ton, which can never pay even the expenses of the voyage. What would have been thought of 15s. per ton? However, throughout most of this decade, exchange was 2s. 6d. and 2s. 8d.

EXCHANGE.

The reason of such a high exchange in India at this time is not far to seek. The whole Peninsula was swarming, in 1819, with armed men. War and tumult filled every corner of it. In such times there is no need to ask where money goes. It simply disappears.

The English Government were in great want of the sinews of war in India, for I think I am within the bounds of truth when I say, that the army of the Dekhan, with its subsidiary forces, numbered 100,000 men. Those men required to be clothed and fed, and the money somehow had to be found. Given time, the resources of England are always equal to any emergency, and bullion came out and exchange dropped and dropped, until, in 1824, it reached 1s. 8d. In 1816 it had been 2s. 8d. When the rupee reached its lowest depth of degradation, I cannot find a single groan. There were certainly no petitions, no meetings, no letters in the newspapers or journals. The situation was accepted, and men made the best of it.

A nephew who had gone home, recounted to his uncle the great improvements in Bombay. "I don't want to hear of your improvements. Give me back 2s. 8d. and 10 per cent." was the reply.

1817—6 months' sight, or 12 months' date, Bills on London 2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d. per Sicca Rupee.

1823—November 10th, 6 months' sight Bills 1s. 8d.

1824—April 5th ditto 1s. 10d. to 1s. 10½d.

" June 19th ditto 1s. 8d.

1825—July 2nd ditto 1s. 10d.

1826—January 11th ditto 1s. 11d.

COUNCIL BILLS.

1843—January. The Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, "complains of evils and grievances to which trade is subjected by the extraordinary fluctuations and uncertainty in the rates of Exchange, caused by the mode in which the Court of Directors at present provide themselves with the funds required for the home charges.

"Prays that the Exchange operations between the two countries may be placed on a sound and proper footing and be conducted on some fixed, just and well understood principles."

In May 1837 Sterling Bills were ... 2s. 3d.

In July " ditto ... 1s. 9½d.

In Sept. " ditto ... 1s. 9d.

BULLION.

The shipment of bullion to India was attended with some risk. Angria's fleet and the Barbary Corsairs were by this time pretty well disposed off, and war risks were covered by Insurance. But what about your own flesh and blood, when a man's enemies become those of his own household?

One looks for piracy on the high seas, but not at Greenwich or Blackwall. Read the following: The year is 1816. Fairly & Co. despatch 13 chests of dollars (£13,000) to Calcutta, intended for the "Lady Campbell" lying at Greenwich. They were put into a hoy which proceeded down the river. Darkness came on. During the night a small craft hailed them and came alongside, apparently with two men only on board, to ask some questions. The sudden drawing aside of a tarpaulin revealed twenty men, who at once scrambled into the hoy, armed with pistols and cutlasses. "Your money or your life," was the question. They broke into the hold, and took seven chests, each containing four bags of 1,000 dollars each.

Some of the robbers with their plunder, were caught in the Essex marshes. Thinking it was low water, they sank three chests in the sand, meaning to recover them at their leisure. But when the tide went out, one of the box ends cropped up, and their purpose was baffled. The robbers were veritable pirates and were called the "Blackwall Gang."

INDIAN WHEAT.

I dare say, in these days, the export of wheat to England was deemed by most men chimerical. Lord Dalhousie gets the credit of having been the first to point out the advantages of an Indian wheat supply for England. But in September, 1818, H. T. Colebrooke, President of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, anticipated him by nearly forty years. Here are his words:—

"That India is capable of supplying wheat, and that the difference of the usual prices there and in England is amply sufficient to defray the charges of importation, and leave an adequate profit, has elsewhere been intimated."

Not until early in "the fifties," however, was anything done, when three cargoes of wheat found their way to London, to the infinite regret and loss of those who had the doing of it. I am within the bounds of truth when I say, that it took the importers *years* to get quit of it. There is an Italian proverb: "He that deals in corn shall die on straw." The importers nearly realised the truth of it. It was in the face of such difficulties that attempts were made to open the wheat trade.

ART. VI.—“IN THE DAYS OF VLADIMIR SUN-BRIGHT.”

PROLOGUE.

“A giant oak upon a headland,
A golden chain among the leaves.
Where, day and night, a cat of learning
Along the chain a circle weaves.
And on the right, he sings a legend,
And on the left, a story tells
There marvels are :—The wood-sprite wanders :
A water-witch is weaving spells.
Among the trees, on sightless pathways,
Are tracks of monsters seen no more.
A hut, on crooked claws uplifted,
Without a window or a door.
Through wood and vale, dim voices rumble :
And, at the dawn, the billows tunable
Along the rugged rocky coast ;
And thirty knights, in armour shining,
Step forth across the waves inclining,
Before their sea-weed bearded host.
A princess in a dungeon weeping,
A grey wolf near her, vigil keeping,
And there a king's son, as he passes,
Takes prisoner a horrid fear.
Among the clouds, before the masses,
Above the woods, along the sky,
A wizard and a hero fly.
Yaga within her bowl of stone
Goes tumbling onward all alone.
King skull lies gasping on his gold,
There breathes the life of Russia old.
There was I led ; drank draughts of mead ;
And saw the oak upon the headland ;
Beneath it sat. The cat of learning
His wondrous stories told to me,
One I remember, as he told it,
To all the world I now unfold it.”

PUSHKIN,

Ruslan and Ludmila.

IN the throne city 't was, in Kieff ; in the city of Prince Vladimir Sun-Bright. A festival, a day of honour for princes and warriors ; for strangers in the city and merchants ; for all who happened to the feast. When the guests had eaten at the long tables ; when they had drunk green wine and mead ; filled with feasting, they began to boast. One boasted of his might in war. One boasted of his noble birth. Another, of his swift horses. Another, of his silken cloak.

But among all assembled, Stavyor Godinovich alone, the young merchant guest from Chernigoff, ate not nor drank not ; nor broke the white swan's flesh ; nor boasted of anything.

To him through the hall came Vladimir Sun-Bright ; to Stavyòr spoke words like these :—

Nay, then, young Stavyòr Godinovich, why'sittest thou, eating not, nor drinking, nor feasting ; nor breaking my white swan's flesh, nor boasting of anything ? Or haply the men of Chernigoff have nought to boast !

When Stavyòr Godinovich made answer :—

Little need have I to boast among you. If I boasted,—should I boast of my father's name ? But my father and mother are dead and gone. If I boasted,—should I boast of my golden wealth ? But my golden wealth is safe enough. Little gains and little coins, I keep not. If I boasted,—should I boast of my flowered robes ? But my flowered robes are hardly worn. I have ever thirty youths in my house ; thirty youths, all master tailors. They sew me new castans and cloaks. A day I wear them ; two days I wear them ; then bring them to the booths on the market place ; to your princes and your warriors I sell them, and take the full price unbated.

Or should I boast of my leathern shoes ? But my leathern shoes are little used. I have ever thirty youths in my house ; thirty youths, all master shoemakers. They sew me leathern shoes all new ; a day I wear them ; two days I wear them ; then bring them to the booths on the market place ; I sell them to your princes and warriors, and take the full price unbated.

Or should I boast of my swift horses ? But my swift horses,—I hardly ride them. I have thirty mares of golden sides that ever bear me unblemished foals. The best of them I ride myself ; the worse I drive to the market place. To your princes and warriors I sell them, and take the full price unbated.

Little cause have I to boast among you. Or should I boast of my new-wed wife ? Of Vassilissa, Mikùla's child ? Of her forehead, whiter than the moon ; and her hair that glimmers like the stars ; and her brows blacker than the sable fur ; her eyes are brighter than the swift falcon's wing. She would buy and sell you, princes, warriors ! and for thee, Vladimir Sun-Bright, she would make thee mad !

The faces of the guests grew black ; and his boasting pleased not Vladimir Sun-Bright. And Vladimir, full of anger, spoke words like these :—

My servants all ? my faithful servants ! Seize young Stavyòr Godinovich ! By his white hands seize him ; by his fingers with their golden rings ! Hale him away to the chill prison, for this boasting of his, and words of little courtesy. Feed him there on bread and water, nor for less nor more, but for six full years. There may Stavyòr win back his senses ; there let him

find his wits again. For we would see how Stavyòr's new-wed wife may draw her boaster from the dungeon; how she buys and sells you, warriors, princes; and for me, Vladimir, how she makes me mad! And the servants, hearing, seized Stavyòr Godinovich; by his white hands seized him; by his fingers with their golden rings. And they carried him to the chill dungeon, buckled with bolts of steel, and locked with bars of iron, giving him for food bread and water.

Then sent Vladimir Sun-Bright a stern envoy to Chernùgoff, the city of Stavyòr Godinovich: to set a seal upon his house, to bring his new-wed wife to Kieff.

At that season, to Stavyòr's young wife, to Vassilissa, Mikùla's child, came the joyless tidings of her well-loved husband Stavyòr Godinovich; that by Vladimir Sun-Bright, Prince of Kieff, he was cast into the dungeon of the prison; nor for more nor less, but for six full years.

Then Vassilissa thought within herself:—To ransom Stavyòr with money?—nay, I may not ransom him. To save Stavyòr by force? nay by force may I not save him. Haply I may win Stavyòr from the dungeon by woman's wit and woman's craftiness.

Went then Vassilissa, Mikùla's child, through her long white halls of stone; and Vassilissa cried aloud in tones most pitiful—Come! hasten hither, my faithful servants! cut off my chestnut hair; bring me an envoy's dress; saddle me a war-horse fit for heroes!

And her servants, obeying, hastened to her, cut off her chestnut tresses like a man's; brought her such dress as envoys wear, and saddled her a hero's horse. Vassilissa, clad in the envoy's robe, called herself envoy of the golden Horde; the stern envoy, Vassili, Mikùla's child. Then gathered she brave comrades, forty youths, strong wrestlers; forty youths, skilful archers, and came thus as envoy toward Kieff, the city of Prince Vladimir Sun-Bright.

And they were come already halfway, when a stern envoy from Kieff met them. Then the envoys rode together, and greeted as great envoys are wont; joining the hands with courtly kiss. The Kieff envoy questioned them:—greeting to you all, good youths from far? whither journey? where does God lead you? And they answered to the envoy words like these:—

From distant lands are we; from the golden Horde; from the dog, fierce Kàlin, the Taitar king. We journey toward Kieff, the throne-city of Vladimir Sun-Bright; to receive from him the unpaid tribute, nor for more nor less, but for twelve full years; for every year three thousand pieces. Then the Kieff envoy bethought him; bethought him, and spoke in answer:—

I also, a stern envoy from Kieff, journey to Chernigoff, the city of Stavyòr Godkovich ; to set a seal upon his house ; to bring his new-wed wife to Kieff.

Then the brave youths from far addressed him :—

We ever made halt there, but now, passing by, we halted not. For the doors were closed, and Stavyòr's young wife was gone to distant lands, to the golden Horde.

Quickly the Kieff envoy turned him back, and journeyed to the city of Prince Vladimír Sun-Bright. Told to Vladimir secretly that, from distant lands, from the golden Horde, a hard ambassador was come toward Kieff ; from the dog, fierce Kàlin, the Tartar king. And Vladimir was troubled ; and haste and hurry were through the city, to sweep the streets and deck them with pine branches. Before the gates they waited for the envoy, from the dog, fierce Kàlin, the Tartar king.

The stern envoy Vassili, Mikùla's child, riding not to the city Kieff, spread his white tent in the open ; at the white tent leaving his companions, rode alone to Kieff, to Vladimir Sun-Bright.

The envoy rode forward to the gates ; then sprang from his battle horse, and struck the lance butt in the ground ; hanging the reins on a golden nail. Asking not those that waited without, entered straight the walls of stone. Mounted the stairway in silence, crossing the ante-chamber, entered the Prince's banquet hall. Then crossed himself by scripture ordinance, bowing to all by rule of courtesy. Bowed before Vladimír and his princes ; and with signal honour to the prince's niece, young Zabàva Putyàtina.

Then spoke Vladimír to the stern envoy :—

Hail to thee, envoy of the golden Horde ! Be seated with us at the oaken tables ; rest thee of the weariness of thy journey.

But the stern envoy made answer :—

Nay, Vladimír of Kieff ! not thus may envoys rest, not for this are envoys sent. I come from the dog, fierce Kàlin, to claim from thee the unpaid tribute ; nor for more nor less, but twelve full years, for every year three thousand pieces. And for me, the envoy, Vassili Mikùla's child, I would receive in marriage thy well-loved niece, thy niece Zabàva Putyàtina.

Then spoke Vladimír, Prince of Kieff :—

Be it so, Vassili, Mikùla's child. But I would weigh the matter with my niece. And, leading her forth, Vladimír questioned her, and took counsel with his niece :—

Answer me, well-loved niece ; wilt thou wed the envoy ? wilt thou wed Vassili, Mikùla's child ?

But Zabàva answered him secretly :—

Nay, uncle well-beloved, what perverse purpose is thine ?

What is this thou hast dreamed of? wed not a maiden to a woman, nor make the laughing-stock for holy Russia!

Then spoke Vladimir, Prince of Kieff:—

Nay, but well-beloved niece,—why should I not wed thee to the stern envoy; to the envoy of the dog Kálin, the Tartar king?

But Zabáva answered him:—

Nay, is this no envoy, but a woman! For the signs of womanhood I know them. As a swan swims, she walks the high way, and mounts the stairs with little steps, seats her on the bench with knees together, glancing hither and thither under her eye-lids. Her voice sometime piping like a woman; and her waist is slender like a woman, and her hands are pliant like a woman; and her fingers taper like a woman, and the wedding ring marks still upon them! Nay, such a pair of us wed, would die of weariness!

Then Vladimir Sun-Bright of Kieff made answer:—

• I go to make trial of the envoy; if he be no youth, but a woman, then will he not wrestle like a man.

• And Prince Vladimir chose out seven young wrestlers, brothers five, Prichteuca, and the two Khapyloffs. Brought them forth to the wide court-yard, went then to Vassili, Mikùla's child, speaking to him words like these:

Young Vassili, Mikùla's child, wilt thou make thee pastime with the wrestlers, to contend with them on the broad court-yard? Answered Vassili, Mikùla's child:—

Nay, I have none to wrestle with them; my wrestlers are waiting in the open. Or should I vie with them myself?—for from a child I played by the highways, joining me in the children's battle games.

And so went forth to the wrestlers in the court-yard, where they stood in the midst of it, young Vassili, Mikùla's child.

Grappling with his right hand three wrestlers; grappling with his left hand three wrestlers; hurled them together and cast them from him, and the seventh overwhelmed beneath. And the seven lay, and rose not again.

Then Prince Vladimir spat, and so returned. Nay, foolish Zabáva, scant of wisdom, though thy locks are long, thy wit is short. A woman! thou sayest, of such a hero as was never seen in embassy!

But Zabáva bent not to the Prince's words:

Nay, Prince and well-loved uncle; no stern envoy this, but a woman; with all the signs that women show!

Then spoke Vladimir of Kieff:—

Once more I make trial of the envoy; if he be no youth but a woman, then will he not bend the tough-bow.

And so chose forth twelve archers, famed all, and great warriors; and came to Vassili, Mikùla's child:—

Young Vassili, Mikùla's child ! wilt thou make thee pastime with the archers to contend at a verst off, with the tough bow ? Answered Vassili, Mikùla's child :—

But I have none to vie with them For my archers are waiting in the open. Or should I contend with them myself ?—for from childhood I played by the highways, and with the others bent the tough bow !

Then the twelve archers going forth, bent their tough bows against an oak, striking the oak from a verst off. But from their keen pointed arrows, and from their shooting worthy of heroes, the oak shivered only, as though the wild winds were abroad

Spoke the envoy Vassili, Mikùla's child :—

Nay, thou Vladimir, Prince of Kieff, not for me the bows of thy heroes ! Bid rather to bring mine own bow, that follows me ever from distant lands.

Swiftly went the brave youths ; under one end of the bow, five youths ; under the other end, other five. And thrice ten youths bore the quiver, and the arrows of hardened steel. Then spoke Vassili the envoy to Vladimir :—

Now, Prince, my turn to make thee pastime ! And his left hand grasped the arrow of hardened steel, and drew the tough bow to his ear ; and the silken bow string sang aloud to the tough bow, and the arrow of hardened steel cried shrilly. The strong, mighty heroes were smitten down with the wind of it ; and Prince Vladimir fell upon his knees. And the arrow lashed upon the oak, and rent the oak into knife handles, and the envoy Vassili spoke words like these :—

Sad pity for the knotted oak, but more pity for my arrow-head. For never may I find'tt in the open !

But Prince Vladimir spat, and so returned ; and Vladimir spoke within him words like these :—

Shall I myself make trial of the envoy ? And so bid them to bring the chess-board, and to set the golden pieces ; and to the envoy spoke words like these :—

Young Vassili, Mikùla's child, wilt thou make trial with the chessmen, as they move the pieces in foreign lands ?

And Vassili, Mikùla's child made answer :—

But my skilful players are in the open. Or should I vie with thee myself ?—for from a child, I have ranged the chessmen, and checked the others, and checkmated them ! Come then, thou skilful player Vassili ; stake thy unpaid tribute on the issue ; and I, the Prince stake my city Kieff !

Then the two began to move the pieces, ranging to and fro across the board. In the first, the envoy had advantage ; yielding not to the skill of Vladimir Sun-Bright. At the second, put the Prince in check ; yet another, he won the game. Check, and mate, and all the pieces fallen !

Come, then, Vladimir Sun-Bright, thou hast lost to me thy city Kieff!

And Vladimir, the Prince made answer:—

Take rather, envoy, my head and my princess? But the envoy answered words like these:—

Nay, I need thee not, nor thy princess! Thy Kieff, too, I need not! give me rather to wife thy niece Zabàva Putyàtina!

Then Vladimir, joyful, speaking no more with Zabàva, consented to the wedding of his niece, and the stern envoy of King Kàlin:—

All praise to thee, Vassili, Mikùla's child! Forthwith, if thou wilt, the wedding and the festival!

And they prepared and made ready the festival; and the day of honour for the wedding. And the third day of the feast was come; and to-day they should go to the church of God. But the envoy was cast down, and sad of face; and Prince Vladimir thus addressed him:—

Nay, but young Vassili, why art thou not merry? Why dost thou droop thy dauntless head? And Vassili the envoy answered:—

Something in my heart hath made me sad! Or my father lies dead at home; or my mother has entered her long rest. Hast thou by thee merry zither-players, skilled to play the twisted zither? And to sing of new days that are with us, and to sing of old days that are gone.

Then brought forth Vladimir skillful zither-players; and they played, but not merrily, nor could they cheer the envoy. And Vassili, the envoy, spoke again to Vladimir:—

Hast thou, Vladimir of Kieff, none amongst thy prisoners here, who are skilled with the zither?

And Vladimir brought forth prisoners to play upon the zither. Played all, but yet not merrily. And the envoy Vassili spoke again:—

Is there not among you in Kieff, a merchant guest from Chernigoff? One by name Stavyòr Godinovich? For a fame of him is abroad, that his skill surpasses with the zither; and to sing of new days that are with us, and to sing of old days that are gone.

And Vladimir Sun-Bright spoke within himself:—

If I loose Stavyòr, I lose Stavyòr. If I loose him not, I loose the envoy's wrath! But Vladimir dared not loose the envoy's wrath; but sent to bring Stavyòr Godinovich. They brought Stavyòr forth from the dungeon, and led him to the feast of honour. And the envoy rose swiftly to his feet, and set Stavyòr beside him on the oaken bench. And Stavyòr began to try the zither, and to twang one string to another. And one string he had from the city Kieff; and one string from

Chernigoff town ; and the third from the Emperor's city, and the Bosphorus. And he began a holy and mighty chant, in honor of the prince and of the princess. Then sang he songs from across the sea ; and the princes and warriors marvelled ; and the envoy fell into a dream. Then the envoy addressed Stavyòr, and spoke to him words like these :—

Hail to thee, merry zither-player ! Can it be, Stavyòr Godinovich, that thou knowest me not ?

But Stavyòr Godinovich answered :—

Nay, and how should I know thee ? Then the envoy spoke words like these :—

Vladimir Sun-Bright, I need not thy unpaid tribute ; but give me rather this merry youth ; give me rather Stavyòr Godinovich ! And Vladimir the Prince, thought within himself :—

If I loose Stavyòr, I lose Stavyòr ! If I loose him not, I loose the envoy's wrath ! But Vladimir dared not loose the envoy's wrath ; and delivered up Stavyòr to the envoy out of hand. And the envoy uttered words like these :—

Come then Stavyòr Godinovich ! Let us together to the open, to my brave companions. And, seated on swift horses, they rode and came to where the brave companions were. And Vassili the envoy entered the white tent, and returned Vassilissa, in woman's robe :—

Hail to thee, Stavyòr Godinovich ! Or dost thou not yet know me ?

Then answered Stavyòr Godinovich :—

Thou art my well-loved wife ; thou art Vassilissa, Mikùla's child !

How came it that thou Stavyòr, Godinovich, wast cast into the dungeon of Vladimir Sun-Bright ?

For that I boasted thee my new-wed wife ; how thou'ldst buy and sell their warriors and princes ; and, for Vladimir Sun-Bright, thou wouldst make him mad ! But let us mount quickly our swift horses, and homeward away to Chernigoff !

Then spoke Vassilissa, Mikùla's child :—

No honour nor praise of worthy youth were it to us, to steal away like robbers out of Kieff ! Return me rather to play the wedding out ; for princes and warriors are bought and sold ; and for Vladimir Sun-Bright, I have made him mad ! So they returned to Kieff to Prince Vladimir ; and Vassilissa thus addressed him :—

Know, Prince Vladimir Sun-Bright, I, the envoy Vassili, am Vassilissa, Stavyòr's young wife. I am come to play the wedding out. Give me, therefore, thy comely niece in marriage !

Then spoke Zabáva Putyàtina : " See to it my uncle, Prince Vladimir ! Thou 'ldst have wed a maiden to a woman ! Thou 'ldst have made thee laughing stock for holy Russia."

Thus spoke Zabàva Putyàtina ; and Vladìmir Sun-Bright hung his dauntless head in shame ; with bright eyes downcast, upon the well-tiled floor. But after a little he spoke words like these :—

Praise to thee, Stavyòr Godìnovich ; for thou hast boasted well thy new-wed wife. For she bought and sold us, warriors and princes, and for me, Vladimir, she made me mad ! And for that brave boast of thine, trade thou ever with my city Kieff ; trade thou ever without tax or tribute !

So they departed and went from the city Kieff to their own Chernìgoff ; young Stavyòr Godìnovich, and Vassilissa, Mikula's child, and the prince and princess bore them company.

So they sang Stavyor of olden time,
By the silence of the purple sea.

C. J.

ART. VII.—MORFILL'S POLAND.

Poland. By W. R. Morfill, M.A., Reader in Russian and the Slavonic languages in the University of Oxford, &c., &c., (Story of the Nation Series) London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893.

IT is a favourite theory of a school of historians that the life of nations is mortal, like that of individuals; that they are born, and grow, and die; that their existence may be divided into periods of lusty youth, stormy or prosperous middle-age, and senile decrepitude. But it is seldom that the history of a nation affords us such a conspicuous example of this theory in a clear view of its beginning and its end, its rise and its fall, as is allowed by the fortunes of Poland, narrated by Mr. Morfill in his latest contribution to the "Story of the Nations" Series.

Poland was originally an appanage of the Holy Roman Empire, the Imperial European system with its centre in Germany which took the place of the Roman Empire of the West. She was a member of the European comity of nations for a thousand years. She was a great power, while Russia was still under the Tartar yoke, and Spain was struggling to free herself from the domination of the Arabs. And it is now just a hundred years since Europe witnessed her death agonies, and assisted at her funeral obsequies.

The story of Poland is invaluable to the historical student, for the clear illustration of cause and effect which it affords, for the political lessons which it teaches the more plainly by manifest results.

The shortcomings of the French *noblesse* in the eighteenth century ruined their ancient monarchy and their own order: the failure of the Anglo-Irish landlords to fulfil the duties of their station, now threatens the dismemberment of the United Kingdom; but the misconduct of the Polish aristocracy was the clear cause of the ruin of their country, and of the obliteration of her name from the roll-call of the nations. Poland was the only state in Europe in which the original principles of the Feudal System remained in force to the last; in which the limited monarchy of the Middle Ages was not supplanted, either by an absolute monarchy as in France and Spain, or by a constitutional monarchy as in England and Sweden.

In Poland alone no standing army, depending on the Crown and ready to enforce its authority, usurped the place of the feudal militia, and threatened the prerogatives of its chiefs. No middle-class arose between the noble and the peasant,

representing trade and commerce, art and industry. The Poland of the eighth century, with a hundred thousand nobles ruling absolutely over the lives and fortunes of ten millions of serfs, had become an anachronism in the eighteenth, which could no longer be tolerated in civilized Europe, in the era which gave birth to the French Revolution.

Yet Russia, with a constitution similarly anachronistic, survives and flourishes; an oriental despotism in a Christian and European community, an absolute autocracy in a world, either wholly grown, or daily growing, more democratic, with all her shortcomings, she remains the head of a great political and religious system, representing the faith of eastern Christendom and the hopes of the Slavonic race. Poland, too, was a Slavonian State, but her Catholic religion put her outside the pale of Slave sympathies, while her alien descent always excited the antipathy of her Teutonic and Scandinavian neighbours. Religious bigotry separated her from her kinsfolk; and race antipathy from her co-religionists. An aristocratic oligarchy in the Europe of the eighteenth century was an anachronism, a nation of Catholic Slaves was an anomaly; and both have now ceased to exist.

The successive invasions of the lands of the decaying Roman Empire by swarms of barbarians from the North and East, were concluded with the Slavonian migration which brought the Chrobatians, or Croats, to the shores of the Adriatic, and the Czechs and Poles to the frontiers of Germany. The early history of the Polish nation, as narrated by its own annalists and romancers, is a mass of legendary fable, which Mr. Morfill has not taken the trouble to transcribe, founded on the simple principle found in the tenth chapter of Genesis and other oriental ethnologies, of personifying the general name of a people or nation as its ancestor or founder. The story goes that the Slavonians migrated from the shores of the Black Sea to Central Europe under the guidance and leadership of three brothers, named Lechus, Cechus, and Rusus. The first founded the kingdom of Poland, the original Slavonic name of which was Lech, by which appellation it is still known to the Ottoman Turks as Lehistan. At the spot on which Lechus fixed as the termination of his wanderings, he had a tree cut down to make room for his permanent abode; and in the top branches of the fallen tree was found an eagle's nest, from which circumstantial omen the chieftain adopted an eagle with outstretched wings as the symbol and crest of the new kingdom; and the white eagle ever continued to be the national badge of Poland.

Cechus founded the Slave kingdom of Bohemia, the people of which were called Czechs after him; and the third brother,

Russus, became the ancestor of the Red Russians, or Ruthenians, of Galicia.

The myth proceeds to relate how Cracow, the old capital of Poland, was founded by Cracus; a descendant of the Gracchi, famous in Roman history; and how the most ancient dynasty of the Polish monarchy known to authentic history was founded by a peasant, or wheelwright, named Piast, aided by the miraculous intervention of angels.

The actual history of Poland begins with the king reputed to be the fifth of the Piast dynasty, Mieczyslaw, or Mieszko, who reigned in Poland from the year 962 to 992 A.D. The Western Slaves were naturally much affected by the influence of their more civilised and Christian neighbours of Germany; and the Bohemians had already become Christians. Mieczyslaw married a daughter of the king of Bohemia, and adopted her faith; and his people readily followed his lead. The form of Christianity which they adopted was that professed by the Western Church, while the Russians and the Southern Slaves, who were converted from Paganism about the same time by the labours of Byzantine Missionaries, joined the Greek communion: and Poland thus found herself severed from her kindred Slavonian nations by a difference of creed, which was in those days a controlling political force.

The name of Poland was adopted from the vast plains (Pola in the Slavonic tongue) stretching from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Black Sea, which were the principal natural features of the new kingdom. Mieczyslaw paid homage to the German Emperor Otho, and was admitted as a feudatory of the Holy Roman Empire, under the title of Grand Duke of Poland: his son and successor Boleslaus the Brave, received the title of king from the same monarch; but it was subsequently suffered to fall into abeyance by the Western powers, and it was not till several generations afterwards that the style of royalty was solemnly conferred upon the Sovereign of Poland by the Emperor and the Pope. The Crown was elective, as it was originally, in all the kingdoms of Europe; but as in the case of the Saxon monarchy of England, the son generally succeeded to the father's throne, subject to the approbation and confirmation of the popular voice. Four and twenty kings of the Piast dynasty succeeded each other on the throne, though not in a direct line, and their reigns occupied a space of four hundred years.

The late Poet Laureate wrote—

“Oh, for those days of Piast, e’er the Czar,
Grew to this strength amid his deserts cold.”

Many of these kings are distinguished in Polish history by nick names; as Boleslas the Bold, Boleslas the Wry-mouthed,

Boleslas the Curly (Crispus), Leszek the White, Leszek the Black, Ladislaus Longshanks, Ladislaus the Short, who reigned long; resigning and returning to the throne three times. Casimir the Great reigned forty years, and in his time Poland was at the zenith of its power and prosperity. It had survived the desolation wrought by the Mogul invasions, which recurred through a period of fifty years in the thirteenth century. The greatest of these raids was made by Bâtú Khán, the grandson of Changhiz Khán, with a horde of half a million of Mogul horsemen. After subjugating Russia, he entered and traversed Poland, his destroying bands eating up the country-like a swarm of locusts. The Poles fell back before him till they were joined by the German princes and the Teutonic knights, who united with them to give battle to the savage invaders at Liegnitz, in Silesia. The Christians were overwhelmed by the multitude of the Pagans; and the victorious Moguls filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain.

From thence Bâtú Khán turned southwards into Hungary, and Poland was evacuated by his followers for fresh fields and pastures new. But for some time after they made frequent inroads from Russia, and in one raid they are said to have carried off twenty thousand maidens as slaves, besides married women and children.

The Crown of Poland was during this period sometimes united with that of neighbouring countries through family alliances. Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, was also King of Poland, not long before the independence of the former country was finally swallowed up in the German Empire. In the struggle for existence the more active and enterprising German perpetually pushed the Sclaves eastward, and the provinces of Poland, on the shores of the Baltic, became, to a great extent, peopled by German colonists. All the trade and commerce of Poland was in the hands of Germans, Jews, and Armenians.

The order of Teutonic knights having given up the defence of the Holy Land as hopeless against the repeated attacks of the Turks and Mamlúks, had returned to Europe to inaugurate a fresh crusade against the heathens of Prussia and Lithuania.

During their Holy Wars there were continual quarrels between the knights and the Poles on the score of territorial jurisdiction, and the swords of the crusaders freely shed Christian as well as heathen blood: but at length the feud was appeased by the Grand Master of the order, Count Albert of Brandenburg, doing homage to the King of Poland for the Duchy of East Prussia. The German county of Brandenburg has now become one of the great Powers of Europe, while the kingdom of Poland has been dismembered to swell the pomp of its ancient vassal

The Crowns of Poland and Hungary were united under Louis, nephew and successor of Casimir the Great; and, he dying without male issue, his daughter, Jadwiga, or Hedwig, succeeded provisionally to the throne. Her hand was sought by many suitors for the dignity and power which it held; but she conferred it on Jagiello, the heathen Duke of Lithuania, on condition of his accepting Christianity. He ascended the Polish throne under the style of Ladislaus the second, and henceforth Poland and Lithuania became one kingdom; a political union analogous to that of England and Scotland two centuries later. He founded the dynasty of the Jagellons, which endured through the reigns of seven monarchs, for a space of two hundred years: an eventful time which saw the rise of the Reformation in Europe; and the establishment of the Turks in the Balkan Peninsula. The second monarch of the line, Ladislaus the third, again united the crowns of Hungary and Poland, and led a crusade against the Ottoman intruders into Europe: his first campaign against the infidels was successful, and he drove them beyond the Balkans; but in a second, he lost his army and his life on the field of Varna. The reformed doctrines of the Hussites in Bohemia, and of the Lutherans in Germany, were introduced into Poland under this dynasty, and found considerable acceptance; especially among the German burghers of Thorn and Dantzic. There were already elements of religious discord in the nation, owing to the prevalence of the Greek or orthodox confession among the Ruthenians in Galicia; and at different times vigorous efforts were made by the Romish clergy to reclaim these schismatics. One of these efforts was so far successful as to bring over a number of the orthodox to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope on condition that they should be permitted by Rome to retain the use of their Slavonic liturgy: and these hybrid Papists went by the name of Uniates. They were at one time to be found in great numbers in the kingdom of Poland; but since its destruction, they have most of them returned to the bosom of the Greek Church.

All the Dissenters from the National Catholic Church in Poland went by the name of "Dissidents;" and their struggles for recognition and toleration make up much of the later political history of the kingdom, and were a leading cause of the troubles which brought about its dismemberment.

But at first the Poles agreed to differ, and to adjust their religious rivalries equitably and amicably. Under Sigismund Augustus, the last king of the House of Jagellon, all the Dissidents were granted full toleration, and the free exercise of their respective religions. It was in this reign also that the "Pacta Conventa," the Magna Charta of the Polish nobles

lity, was framed, confirming and securing all their privileges against possible infringement by the Crown. Every monarch was hereafter obliged to subscribe to these *Pacta Conventa*, and the elective king ever after remained a puppet in the hands of the national aristocracy.

Contrary to the course of events in other European nations, the nobility in Poland contrived to keep the reins of power in their own hands, and to exclude the king on one side, and the mass of the people on the other, from acquiring or exercising any political power.

The nation was governed by a Parliament called the Diet, which was composed of an Upper and a Lower House. The former was called the Senate: its members were Senators *ex officio*, and were of two classes, spiritual and temporal.

The first were Archbishops and Bishops; they took precedence of Senators temporal, and the Primate of the kingdom was always President of the Senate. The temporal Senators were the Palatines, Castellans, and the Ministers of State. The former were the governors of Palatinates, or Provinces, like the English Lord Lieutenants of counties: the Castellans were the governors of the fortified towns and castles of the kingdom: the Ministers of State were fourteen, seven for Poland, and seven for Lithuania, namely, for each kingdom a Grand Marshal, a High Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor, a General in Chief, a Lieutenant-General, a High Treasurer, and a Sub-Treasurer. These were all appointed by the Crown. The Lower House was filled by elected representatives. The nobles of each Palatinate met in a local Diet, and elected some of their number to represent them at the general Diet: these representatives were called *Nuntios*. Their only necessary qualification was that they must be over twenty-three years of age.

The Diet assembled annually at a place of meeting fixed by the King, and its sittings lasted only six weeks. The Houses at first sat separately to observe certain formalities: the Lower House elected a Speaker. Two days afterwards both houses assembled in the Senate House to open the session. The assembly was in the fashion of an oriental Durbar. The king on his throne was in the centre of one end of the hall; the princes of the blood, and chief officers of state on his right and left; the senators, sitting according to precedence, occupied arm chairs along each side of the room. Behind their chairs were rows of benches raised in tiers, and covered with scarlet cloth, on which the *nuntios* sat. The senators might remain covered in the presence of the king; like the French *noblesse* in the States-General: but the *nuntios* were not allowed this privilege.

The proceedings of the Diet were opened by the *Pacta Con-*

venta being read aloud. Any member might rise to complain of any infringement of them that might have occurred since the last assembly of the Diet.

The Lord High Chancellor then read the speech from the throne. The king then nominated three Senators, and the speaker nominated six *Nuntios* to prepare and bring in the measures to be passed in that Session. Afterwards a committee of both Houses was elected to examine and pass the treasury accounts for the year; and sixteen Senators were elected as members of the permanent Council.

This Council remained in attendance on the king when the Diet was not sitting, and he was bound to consult it in all State affairs.

The Houses then separated to debate the necessary measures, and re-assembled at the end of six weeks' time to confirm them. The Diet was then dismissed by the king.

An extraordinary Diet might be convened by the king at any time to consider an affair of urgency; but it could sit only for a fortnight.

The Lower House possessed an extraordinary privilege in the "*Liberum Veto*;" by which a single *nuntio*, by entering a protest, and refusing to take any further part in the debates, could annul the proceedings and put a stop to further business.

This senseless rule stultified Parliamentary Government in Poland and proved an effectual bar to progress. During the last hundred years of the existence of the Polish kingdom, no less than forty-eight of the annual Diets had to be dissolved owing to the exercise of this absurd privilege. The Polish legislators, however, clung to its maintenance with the same tenacity with which they always upheld the rights of their order, however unjust or unreasonable.

The mass of the people were serfs, cultivating the estates of the nobility, to whom the whole of the land belonged, with the exception of Crown and Church property. The laws were made and administered by the nobility, who alone had the right to carry arms. A nobleman, killing a peasant, was only liable to a paltry fine in expiation of the offence. The nobles were also exempted from all taxation, whereby the national treasury remained always extremely poor. The German burghers in the towns were allowed to govern themselves by their own laws—the "*Jus Magdeburgicum et Tentonicum*—," just as the Europeans, resident in Turkey and Egypt to-day, are allowed to be governed by the laws of their own countries under the "*Capitulations*."

All the shop-keeping and trading in the country was carried on by these Germans and by Jews. There was no Polish middle-class, but the majority of the nobles were by no means

wealthy, and many of them were miserably poor. At the time of the destruction of Poland a hundred years ago, it was computed that the number of the noble or equestrian class amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand. Every attempt at a reform of the constitution, or an amelioration of the condition of the peasantry, was opposed by this class tooth and nail, as likely to diminish its own privileges and importance. Any sketch of the royal prerogative, and sometimes its legitimate exercise was met by an aristocratic riot, which came to be known by the generic name of "Rokosz," a word which bears a curious resemblance to the English modern slang term "Rux," signifying much the same sort of thing.

In their dress and arms the Poles displayed more of the characteristics of an Asiatic than of a European nation. They partially shaved their heads and wore their mustachios long like the Turks; their inner robe was girded about their waist with a sash, and their outer garment, lined and trimmed with costly furs, was long and loose as an oriental Kaftan. They carried the curved sabre of the East instead of the rapier or broadsword of the West, but their favourite arm was the lance, which they adopted as the most effective weapon wherewith to foil the attacks of the scimitar-wielding Tartar and Turkish cavalry. The Polish national armies were composed almost entirely of horse: the nobles, armed with lances, fought in the front rank; their henchmen, armed with carbines, formed a rear rank to their masters. Like the Turks, they spent much of their wealth on the caparison of their horses, and the adornment of their weapons. Their infantry was of poor quality: and an efficient standing army, able to meet the Swedish and German troops on anything like equal terms, was never established in Poland.

For the election of a new king an extraordinary Diet was assembled, which met on a plain near the capital, where temporary barracks were erected and an immense camp was pitched for its accommodation. The nobles came attended by a large following, and there were often serious riots and disorders. No candidate was allowed to be present in person; they had to bribe or intrigue through their agents. In the final voting the nobles all paraded on horseback, and the Primate went round and collected their votes.

The event was generally a foregone conclusion, and as long as there was an heir apparent to the throne in the person of a Piast or a Jagellon, there was seldom a contested election; but after the extinction of the latter dynasty, an election generally found two or more candidates competing for the vacant crown, and the competition was seldom concluded without a civil or foreign war.

France was always coquetting with Poland, as she now makes love to Russia, seeing in the Slavonic kingdom a possible and valuable ally against the formidable power of Imperial Germany. The general use of the Latin language by the Poles also led them to prefer the French to their German neighbours. Their adoption of Latin as a living language was due to the entire difference of the Slavonic tongue from the Latin and Teutonic languages of the rest of Europe. After the death of Sigismund Augustus, the Poles had much ado to find a new king; but at last their choice fell on Henry of Valois, brother of Charles the Ninth, king of France, the perpetrator of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Papal and Catholic reaction was in full swing in Europe, and all the influence of the Romish Church was exerted in favour of the brother of the most Christian king. A more weak and worthless man could not well have been found; but the Poles were infatuated in favour of French alliance. But Henry of Valois was not happy in Poland; and at last he fairly ran away from his loving subjects, escaping from Cracow by stealth. They pursued him hotly, but could not overtake him before he had crossed the frontier into Germany. He appeased them by promising to come back again; but, after waiting in vain for him for more than a year, they reluctantly gave him up, and proceeded to elect a new monarch. This time their choice fell on a Protestant, Stephen Batory, Prince of Transylvania. He had to renounce his creed in order to accept the proffered throne, but like Henry the Fourth of France in similar circumstances, he thought a crown well worth a Mass. He proved a brave and politic prince, and gave the Poles no reason to regret their choice. He was the first to give the roving Cossacks of the Ukraine and the island of the Dniester a military organisation; and he formed six regiments from these Cossack colonies of pirates and moss-troopers in the bloody debateable ground lying between the frontiers of Christendom and Islam. Their ranks were continually recruited by Polish and Russian runaway serfs and fugitives from justice, and by Christian captives escaping from the Tartars and Turks. When assailed by the latter they placed themselves under the protection of Poland, as the nearest Christian Power, strong enough to protect them. Now King Stephen Batory organised regiments of them, each one thousand strong, to guard the frontier against the raids of the slave-hunting Tartars of the Crimea.

He did a more questionable service to his adopted country in establishing a Jesuit University at Wilna. The Society soon made its influence felt in Poland, and applied itself busily to attacking the position and the privileges of the Dissidents. In the succeeding reign of Sigismund Vasa, the

embers of religious strife were re-kindled anew. The Princess Katharine, sister of Sigismund Augustus, had married John Vasa, King of Sweden, and had succeeded in converting him from the Lutheran to the Catholic faith; and he strove in vain to persuade his Swedish subjects to follow his example.

On the death of Stephen Batory, Prince Sigismund Vasa, the son of John and Katharine, was elected to the Polish throne. The new king threw himself heart and soul into the work of the Catholic re-action. After his father's death, he succeeded to the throne of Sweden, but was expelled by the Swedes, on an attempt to re-establish Catholicism in that country. In his time Poland stood forth as the champion of Rome in Eastern Europe: and his long reign of five, and forty years was occupied by wars against Protestant Swedes, orthodox Russians, and infidel Turks. In the Swedish war, Poland was overcome by the arms of the Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus, but she indemnified herself at the expense of Russia, who was in that evil period of her history known to the Muscovite chroniclers as the "time of the troubles," which took place between the failure of the ancient line of the grand Dukes of Moscow, and the accession of the House of Romanoff.

The Russian pretender, called the false Demetrius, was supported by the Polish arms; he married a Polish bride and confessed the Catholic faith.

After he had been murdered, King Sigismund tried to make his own son, Ladislaus, sovereign of Russia. His Jesuit advisers were obstinately bent on forcing their own creed on the reluctant Russians, and the oppression and spoliation committed by the Poles during their supremacy in Muscovy, was long and bitterly remembered by the Russians, and afterwards repaid with interest.

In the reign of Sigismund Vasa, the Polish Catholics began illegally persecuting the Dissidents, and the religious strife was commenced which, for the remaining two centuries of Polish history, turned the country into a battlefield between Catholics, Greeks and Protestants, and was the principal cause of its ruin.

In the reign of Sigismund Vasa, occurred the first Turkish invasion of Poland on a grand scale. As early as the year 1493, the Turks had made a cavalry raid into Poland through Moldavia; but, delaying over their plunder, they were overtaken by an unusually early and severe winter, and many of the invaders perished of cold and hardship. They did not repeat their visit till 1621, when their young Sultan Othman the Second, led a great army to attempt the conquest of Poland. The causes of the war were the depredations of the Tartars

of the Crimea on the Polish frontiers on the one hand, and of the Zaporavian Cossacks on the Turkish coasts of the Black Sea on the other. When the Sultan complained of these latter to the Polish king, he received the same answer which he had given to Polish remonstrances on the score of the Tartars. Such insolence on the part of the "Fuzulgiaur," (boasting infidel) as the Turks called the Poles, could not go unpunished; and Sultan Othman mustered his grand army, and crossed the Danube, while his fleet, carrying a large siege train and all kinds of warlike munitions, sailed from Constantinople for the mouth of the Dniester. While the army was delayed by the crossing of the Danube at Ishakchi, some hundred Cossack prisoners, taken by the fleet in the Black Sea, were brought to the Imperial camp. Some of these were distinguished by being made a target for the Sultan's own skill with the bow; the rest were given over for the soldiery to slaughter for their amusement, as was the Turkish custom. But even Turkish feeling was outraged when the Sultan, having expended the supply of Cossacks, and being unwilling to cease his pastime, set up some of his own pages as targets for his arrows. The Polish army assembled to repel the invasion, under the Crown General Chmelnicki, mustered about fifty thousand men: and it was aided by a contingent of eight thousand Germans sent by the Emperor, whose discipline and armament were much superior to that of either Poles or Turks. The Turkish army is reported by Christian chroniclers to have numbered three hundred thousand men: it was more likely half that number. The Poles formed several entrenched camps on the Dniester near Chotin, and awaited the attack of the enemy. The Sultan formed the siege of Chotin, and made many assaults on the Polish entrenchments, which were invariably repulsed: and the Poles in their turn made many sorties, sometimes with success.

After a month's hard fighting without any definite result and with very heavy loss to the Turks, the Sultan was fain to conclude peace, on the condition that the raids of the Cossacks and Tartars should mutually cease, and he led back his shattered army to Constantinople. He attributed the failure of the campaign to the misconduct of the Janissaries, and accused them of having traded their rations to the besieged Poles in return for wine; and the vain, rash youth provoked the enmity of the soldiery till they mutinied and murdered him; the first, though not the last of the House of Othman, who fell a victim to the fury of his own subjects.

There were great rejoicings throughout Christendom at this repulse of the Turks, which was magnified in common report into a great victory gained by the Poles over the enemy

of Christendom. It was celebrated in verse by many poets in different countries, in England, among others, by an heroic poem on, "the Great Victory gained by the Poles over the Turkish Emperor Osman, in the Dacian Battle."

Fifty more years passed before the Turks again troubled Poland: and it was again the Cossacks who were the cause of the trouble, though for a different reason this time.

Sigismund Vasa's policy had been successively pursued by his two sons, King Ladislaus and King John Casimir, aided and abetted by the Jesuits and the Catholic nobles. John Casimir was weak in character, but strong in faith; when young he had made the grand tour in Europe, had served in the Catholic army in the Thirty Years War, and had taken Holy Orders as a Jesuit priest. Under him the rights and privileges, hitherto enjoyed by the religious Dissidents in Poland, were gradually curtailed. As a beginning, the Lutherans and Greeks were persuaded to join in excluding the Unitarians from these rights and privileges; and as soon as a law to this effect had been passed in the Diet, it was alleged as a precedent by the Catholic party for limiting the privileges of the Greeks and Protestants. A request of the Cossacks for representation in the Diet was contemptuously refused: and the Burgesses of the cities, who had been formerly represented in the Diets, were also excluded to the detriment of the Lutheran element, which was mainly represented by the German inhabitants of the cities.

The Cossacks warmly resented the persecution, of which their Greek Church was the object. Under their Hetman, Bogdan Khmelnitzki, they revolted from the king of Poland and transferred their allegiance to Sultan Muhammad the Fourth of Turkey, soliciting his assistance against their late masters. The Crim Tartars, against whom the Cossacks had hitherto guarded the frontiers of Poland, now joined with them to carry fire and sword through the Catholic kingdom. The Russians espoused the cause of their co-religionists and recovered Kiev and Smolensko from the Poles. Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, overran the whole country, and captured Warsaw. During the whole time of John Casimir's reign, Poland was battling on all sides against fearful odds. Peace was purchased from Sweden and Russia by the cession of much territory, and the Tartars and Cossacks were defeated by the genius and conduct of the Polish General John Sobieski.

This remarkable man, the Polish national hero, was the son of a Castellan of Cracow, who had distinguished himself at Chotin against the Turks. John Sobieski had travelled much in his youth: he had visited England, and had held

the post of Captain of Horse in the French service, where he studied the art of war. He had been sent as a hostage to the Khan of the Tartars, had negotiated a treaty with that potentate, and had actually led a Tartar army to the assistance of John Casimir against the Swedes. He possessed the heart and hand of a mediæval knight-errant, with the eye and brain of a modern general.

He was Crown General of Poland at the time of the abdication of John Casimir, when an utterly insignificant nobleman named Michael Korybut was elected to the vacant throne. The only claim of the new candidate was some shadowy descent from the ancient dynasty : his election was probably brought about by the influence of rivals jealous of the fame of Sobieski. The triumphs of the latter over the rebellious Cossacks had led to their appealing for assistance to their new Suzerain : and the Porte haughtily desired Poland to leave its new vassals alone. The fortunes of the Turkish Empire were at this time directed by the able Vazir Ahmad Fâzil Kúprili, who had already conquered and annexed the provinces of Neuhausel and Varasdin in Hungary from Austria, and the island of Crete from Venice ;—he dreamed of nothing less than the complete conquest of Europe and the subjugation of the world to the faith of Islam. He was wont to lecture the European courts in much the same style as is now employed by these latter in teaching his duty to the Sultan at the present day. He chid the king of Poland for his tyranny to the Cossacks, and gravely discoursed of the rights of subject peoples, without an idea of the irony of the situation. No satisfactory reply was given, or at least the absence of one proved satisfactory to Ahmad Kúprili, who burned to add more of the land of the infidels to the Dár-ul-Islám. He marched to the Dniester with a hundred and fifty thousand men : and one hundred thousand Tartars under the command of their Khan, Salím Girái, famous in war and verse, invaded Poland from the east.

They divided into three hordes for the purpose of plunder, and thus Sobieski was able to beat them in detail ; but, while he was routing them, the Turkish army crossed the Dniester at Chotin, and, after a siege of ten days, mastered the strong fortress of Kaminiek and overran all Podolia. King Michael hastened to make an ignominious peace ; ceding all their conquests to the Turks in perpetuity, renouncing all authority over the Cossacks, and engaging to pay homage and tribute to the Sultan henceforth.

The Turkish army withdrew across the Danube, and the war was supposed to be ended ; but the Polish Diet, instigated by Sobieski, refused to ratify the treaty, and the Polish

army again occupied Podolia. This brought back the Turkish host next year (1673): but Sobieski boldly advanced to Chotin, and, falling upon the Turks with an inferior force, totally routed them, inflicting on them the severest defeat which they had ever sustained up to that time from Christian arms. All their standards, gems, stores and baggage were prize to the victors: and the Sultan himself, who was some days' march in rear of the army, was involved in the panic flight. The slaughter of the infidels was enormous, and the stream of the Dniester was choked with turbans.

King Michael fortunately dying about this time, Sobieski was chosen his successor by unanimous acclamation. Next year another large Turkish army entered Podolia under the Saraskier Shishman, Ibrahim Pasha (Ibrahim the Fat): but he was careful not to risk a battle, and Sobieski's army was too numerically inferior to assail the Turks in their entrenchments. The war lasted without any considerable advantage to either side, till 1676, when the new Saraskier Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha (Ibrahim the Devil) attacked Sobieski in his entrenched camp at Zurawna. A desultory series of engagements followed for seventeen days, when, both sides being utterly exhausted, Saraskier made proposals of peace on the former basis, only omitting the articles requiring Poland to pay homage and tribute to the Porte; and Sobieski was fain to agree to these terms, the resources of his kingdom being utterly exhausted by the long series of wars.

The city of Kaminiak, with forty-eight towns and villages in its vicinity, were the last conquests made by the once conquering Osmanli Turks from any European power.

Seven years later they were at the gates of Vienna; and it was Sobieski and the Poles who came to the rescue of the capital of Germany. All his former triumphs and trophies were eclipsed by the glories and spoils of that famous day, ever memorable as the crowning seal of the deliverance of Christendom from the nightmare fear of Moslem conquest that had oppressed her dreams for ages.

"Think with what passionate delight
The tale was told in Christian halls,
How Sobieski turned to flight
The Moslem from Vienna's walls,
How when his horse triumphant trode
The burgher's richest robes upon;
The ancient words rose loud, "From God
A man was sent, whose name was John!"

Mr. Morfill has given *in extenso* the king's interesting letters to his well-loved and unworthy wife, detailing the battle and the plunder of the Turkish camp. Before he parted from his German allies, he again signally defeated the Turks at Burkan on the Danube.

But this was his last notable success against them : during the fourteen year's war, which lasted till his death in 1697, he was never able even to re-take Kaminiek, much less to make any conquests at the expense of the Turks, while Poland was continually harried by the raids of the Tartars.

At the general peace signed at Carlowitz in 1799, the Turks, who had been thoroughly beaten by Prince Eugene in Hungary, gave up Kaminiek and Podolia to the Poles, and they were never again able to undertake any enterprise against Poland. Chotin remained the Musalman border fortress to the north for many years longer, till the Turks were finally expelled from it by the Russian arms under Catherine the Great.

The want of a standing army had prevented Sobieski from reaping more benefits from his successes over the Turks, and the same want now placed Poland at the mercy of a neighbouring prince, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, who presented himself as a candidate for the throne, backed up by eight thousand excellent Saxon soldiers. He was duly elected ; but afterwards, joining the league against Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, he was defeated and deposed by that youthful conqueror, who nominated Stanislaus Leczyński, the Palatine of Posen in his room, and he was duly elected by the Diet, the Swedish soldiery just then standing in the place of the Saxons.

After Charles' defeat at Pultowa, Augustus quietly resumed the Polish crown, Stanislaus escaping to France. On Augustus' death, he re-appeared in Poland, but the new Elector of Saxony, Augustus the Second, again recommending his candidature by Saxon bayonets, and being supported by Russia and Prussia, Stanislaus was again obliged to yield to the force of circumstances, and once more take refuge in France, where he died, universally honoured and regretted, for he was an able as well as an estimable man, and his romantic adventures and hair-breadth escapes had excited general sympathy for his misfortunes.

During the greater part of the long reigns of the two Saxon sovereigns, Poland was at last free from foreign war : but the strife of jarring creeds continued to trouble her repose. The Jesuits had triumphed, but their triumph was short-lived. The toleration formerly extended to the Dissidents, was entirely withdrawn. The exercise of the *Liberum Veto* reduced the Diet to impotence and the country to anarchy.

Persecution was rife : under the reign of John Sobieski, a nobleman was put to death with torture for blasphemy. In 1724, occurred the affair of Thorn, which excited great indignation in Protestant Europe. A quarrel took place between the Jesuits and Lutherans in the city of Thorn, when Count

Lubomirski, occupied the town with a body of horse, and arrested and executed a number of the leading Protestant citizens, on charges of having blasphemed against the Catholic faith. The discontent of the Dissidents went on increasing, the Lutherans looking to Prussia for help, the Greek Christians gravitating towards Russia.

After the death of Augustus the Second, Russian soldiers took the place of the Saxons in Poland. A Polish nobleman, named Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowsky, was elected king, no doubt through the influence of the Empress Catherine, of whom he had been a favoured lover, and was to prove a convenient puppet.

Through him she meant to extract from the Poles toleration and justice for the Dissidents in Poland. Catherine, like Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Joseph the Second of Austria, her partners in the partition of Poland, was a disciple of Voltaire : she did not care a straw for the Greek religion, but she did care very much for her Russian subjects, who were fanatically attached to that religion, and fanatically anxious to avenge its real and fancied wrongs upon the Catholics in Poland. Catherine really knew that freedom in thought and speech was good for the human race, and she desired that they should enjoy it, and used her best endeavours to that end ; for the French Revolution had not yet scared the monarchs of Europe back out of the new paths of Liberalism, and the newly discovered doctrine of the Brotherhood of Humanity.

It is recorded as matter of congratulation that there were only ten men killed in the riots that, as a matter of custom, accompanied the royal election of Stanislaus Augustus ; but a serious difficulty presented itself at his coronation. It was the ancient custom that the kings of Poland should be anointed with the sacred oil on the shaven crown : but Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowsky had a fine natural head of hair, and positively refused to sacrifice it. The momentous difficulty was surmounted by anointing him upon an artificial scalp which he wore like a wig over his real hair. He was a weak, vain, good-natured man, anxious enough to do right, tied to the apron strings of his Imperial mistress by every sentiment of gratitude and interest, and utterly unable to manage or sway the turbulent nobility who made it a point of honour to show their contempt for an authority which their votes had conferred.

The Empress Catherine used all her influence with the king to have the penal laws against the Dissidents repealed. He was quite willing, but he could do nothing without the Diet. In the session of 1766, a desperate effort was made to afford relief to the Dissidents, but owing to the strenuous

opposition of the clerical party, nothing could be accomplished. The anger of the Russians exploded : and Russian troops were marched into Poland, and entered Warsaw. A number of the Archbishops and Bishops, who had been most violent in opposing measures of toleration, were arrested by them and sent into Russia to be imprisoned or kept out of the way.

After this broad hint, the Diet passed a law in 1768, giving relief to the Dissidents, not without strong opposition.

The patriotic pride of the Poles was deeply hurt by the Russian military occupation of their beloved country, and by the fact that this measure had been forced upon them by foreign dictation ; and resistance to it seemed to be equally due to the cause of patriotism and of religion : a number of the nobles banded themselves together to reject religious liberty and to resist foreign intervention, two things which they regarded as synonymous.

The confederates met at Bar in Podolia, where they passed resolutions affirming the supremacy of the Catholic religion in Poland, and hoisted standards emblazoned with the cross and the picture of the Virgin Mary. They proclaimed, and even actually commenced a Holy War against all heretics ; but directly the Russian troops moved against them, these champions of the Cross appealed for aid to the Musalman Turks.

The Turks were jealous of the growing power of Russia, and France had always been a friend and ally of Poland, using her as a make-weight to balance the power of Germany, as she regards Russia to-day : so French diplomacy now set itself successfully to stir up the Sultan to espouse the cause of the confederates of Bar.

A huge Turkish army was despatched to expel the Russians from Poland ; "a mass incurably chaotic," as Carlyle calls it, "furiously intending towards Poland and extermination of the Giaur." But being beaten by the Russians at Chotin, the Turk army "burst into unanimous insanity, and flowed home in *deliquium* of ruin," leaving Chotin to be taken by the victors ; and the Russians henceforth carried the war into the Sultan's territories, at the same time that they crushed the popular rising in Poland.

The Polish Royal Guards, and the few other regular troops that were in the kingdom, followed the king in siding with the Russians. The nobles, with their retainers and with bands of armed peasants, could not face the Russian troops for a moment in the field, but betook themselves to guerilla warfare. The whole country was in a state of anarchy ; everyone taking arms to defend himself and to attack his neighbours. The nobles used to say jestingly—"Poland subsists by anarchy:" but it was by this anarchy that it was soon to perish.

In the religious war which now was kindled in every village in Poland, horrible cruelties were perpetrated on both sides, as in Ireland in the Rebellion of '98.

Some French officers and a few French soldiers arrived to aid the patriots, and did good service against the Russians. One of the most curious episodes in this civil war was the seizure of King Stanislaus, in his carriage, in the streets of Warsaw, by a band of the patriots who had entered the town in disguise. They wounded the king, and carried him off, but lost their way in the darkness of the night, and found themselves still in the neighbourhood of Warsaw in the morning. The king was concealed in a mill; but he persuaded Kosinski, one of his Captains who was left in charge of him, to give intelligence of his whereabouts to his guards, who came and rescued him. Kosinski was pardoned; most of his accomplices were taken and executed, and are still regarded by the Poles as heroes and martyrs.

When the Russian troops pressed the patriots hard, the latter used to take refuge in Austrian or Prussian territory, and these States stationed *cordons* of troops on their frontiers to prevent the war spreading into their own provinces. Frederick the Great said that Poland was like a house chronically smoking through the slates: it brought on a new European war every time it changed its king, and it required to be taken charge of by its neighbours. The western provinces of the kingdom were full of Germans, who, by their superior intelligence and thrift, had been gradually crowding out the Slave population, as they had already done in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. The Poles hated them as foreigners and heretics, and lost no opportunity of showing their hatred and venting their spite upon them. "*Vexa Lutheranum dabit thalerum*;" (Plague the Protestant, and he will pay up his dollars), was a common maxim of the Polish magnates in West Prussia. And Frederick the Great greatly coveted West Prussia.

To the insatiable old earth-swallower, who had already digested Austrian Silesia, the Polish province, wedged into the heart of his dominions, seemed only a mouthful, to be swallowed at a gulp. Austrian troops had already been marched on to Polish soil on the plea of pacifying the country. Frederick now proposed to the Empresses Catherine and Maria Theresa of Austria, the first partition of Poland; the former eagerly approved the plan; the latter agreed reluctantly, leaving it on record that she knew that what she was doing was wrong, but did it because it was expedient. Each of the contracting parties took the provinces most convenient for rounding their own dominions; the scrupulous Austrian getting the largest share. About one-third of Poland was alienated under this partition, which took place in the year 1772.

It was impossible for the Poles, without any regular army and with few fortified towns, to make any effectual resistance to the partition. Most of the patriot leaders fled the country; some of them reached America and took service in the War of Independence which was then going on. Others, less fortunate, found a place in Russian and German dungeons.

The policy of the Cardinal-King, John Casimir and his Jesuit friends, had arrived at its natural, though unforeseen and un hoped for result. The pit dug by them for their neighbours had engulfed their own followers. The dismemberment of their country rudely awoke the Polish aristocracy to the consequences of their folly: and they made strenuous efforts to repair their errors, but it was already too late. As in the French monarchy at the same period, the necessary reforms were undertaken too late to stay the disease of the body politic, and only precipitated the crisis. The king and most of the nobles worked honestly and energetically to save the remnant of their nation; laws were passed successively taking only a simple majority in the Diet necessary for carrying a measure; abolishing the *Liberum Veto*: making the succession to the throne hereditary in the German family of the Elector of Saxony; curtailing the power of the nobility over their serfs, and establishing religious toleration.

All these and other reforms were embodied in a brand-new constitution, sworn to by the king and the majority of the nobles in 1791, and promulgated amid general enthusiasm. But a small band of the chief nobility protested against any abridgment of the old privileges of their order, and confederated at Targoureza to resist the new constitution by force of arms; and they moreover appealed for aid to Russia, as the confederates of Bar had appealed to Turkey. By this time the despots of Europe had become thoroughly alarmed at the spread of the revolutionary spirit in France, and the new constitution of Poland was too liberal in its principles to be tolerated for a moment. The civil strife caused by the confederates of Targoureza was made the pretext for again flooding Poland with Russian and Prussian troops: and the new invasion was met by a general rising of the Polish nation, under the guidance of Kosciuszko. A desperate war followed: for a time the patriots held their own, and they forced the Prussian king to raise the siege of Warsaw; but the discipline and numbers of their adversaries soon prevailed. The terrible Field Marshal Suwarrow led a great Russian army into Poland; and in the decisive battle of Macziewice, the patriots were totally routed, and Kosciuszko wounded and made prisoner. He afterwards denied having used the words *Finis Poloniam*, which were attributed to him on his fall by common

rumour, but he might have used them with truth, for the last hope of Poland fell with him.

"Hope for a season bade the world farewell ;
And Freedom shrieked, as Kosciuszko fell !"

The second partition of Poland took place in 1792, between Russia and Prussia only ; and the little that remained of the country was finally divided in 1795, Austria again receiving a share in this third and final partition. Warsaw fell to the share of Prussia. The unfortunate king became a Russian pensioner, and died a few years later at St. Petersburg. Kosciuszko was released by the Russians, and died in voluntary exile in France.

Great numbers of the Polish patriots fled their country after the final partition, and most of them also took refuge in France. Napoleon formed, from them, a corps called the Legion of the Vistula, divided into many regiments of cavalry and infantry, which eventually rose to the number of more than forty thousand men. All the soldiers wore the square topped Polish cap, and the cavalry were all Uhlans (Polish for Lancers). The use of the lance had been discontinued by the cavalry of Western Europe since the introduction of fire-arms, until it was now again introduced by the Poles, whose national weapon it had always been ; and the Lancer regiments of all European armies still wear the Polish cap, in memory of their origin.

The Polish Red Lancers of Napoleon's Grand Army became famous for their courage and ferocity, and it was soon discovered that the Poles made excellent soldiers ; indeed, some military writers have declared them to be the most naturally warlike race in Europe.

Napoleon made use of the Poles while he excited their hopes of the restoration of their kingdom ; and after his triumph over the Prussians at Jena, he separated part of Poland from Prussia and formed it into a Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which he annexed for administrative purposes to Saxony. But he never went further than this ; and the greatest part of his brave Polish soldiery perished in the disastrous retreat from Moscow. Their commander, Marshal Pijka Poniatowski, "the last hope of the Poles," was drowned while swimming his horse across the river Elster in the flight from Leipsic, after the three days' Battle of the Nations. The troopers whom Napoleon took with him, after his abdication, to be his escort in Elba, were all Polish lancers of his Guard ; and they shed their blood in vain for him for the last time on the field of Waterloo.

At the Congress of Vienna the great Powers of Europe very nearly came to blows over the remains of Poland : but finally Russia got the lion's share. England and France, who wished

for the restoration of Poland, unconsciously played into the hands of Russia, by stipulating for the re-establishment of the Polish kingdom, with its own separate government, laws and army, but under the Russian Crown, as the kingdom of Hungary was under the Emperor of Austria : and this arrangement was finally come to, Prussia and Austria having to be content with what they got at the first partition. The city of Cracow was made an independent Republic, under the protection and safeguard of the three assassins of Polish nationality.

These arrangements worked exactly as might have been expected. The Czar Nicholas ignored the Polish constitution, and goaded the Poles into a rebellion, which was crushed with merciless severity. It was on this occasion that the Russian Field Marshal Paskiewitch, after the horrors of an assault and sack which rivalled the storming of the Polish capital by Suwarow, penned his laconic despatch to his Imperial Master ; " Order reigns in Warsaw : " a modern and Muscovite version of,—

" Solitudinem faciunt, Pacem appellant."

" They make a Solitude, and call it Peace."

Russia thus secured by far the largest share of the old kingdom of Poland, which was turned into a province of the Czar's Empire and paternally governed, like the rest of it, by the knout and the rod.

In 1846 a general conspiracy was discovered for an uprising in Poland, which had its head quarters in the free city of Cracow, and this served as a pretext for the extinction of the last remnant of Polish nationality, and the incorporation of the ancient capital with the Austrian dominions. It is worthy of note that, in the abortive insurrection which flamed up on this occasion, the Polish peasantry sided with the Austrian government against their noble countrymen.

During the Crimean War, in spite of the favourable opportunity then presented to them, the Poles remained perfectly quiescent, crushed under the iron weight of Nicholas' despotism : but under the milder rule of his son and successor Alexander, the expiring embers of Polish nationality flamed up for the last time. The removal of repression led to manifestations of the patriotic spirit, which in turn brought on renewed repression, and this caused revolt. The patriots took to a guerilla warfare in 1863, but the movement was quelled with Russian severity, and ever since, the policy has been pursued, of ruthlessly stamping out every vestige of national spirit and feeling in Russian Poland. Prussian Poland has been for the most part Germanised : and we have lately seen the few Polish members in the Reichsrath unanimously supporting

the new German Army Bill. In that discordant congeries of peoples and races which goes to make up the Austrian Empire, the Ruthenians, or Red Russians of Galicia, are well-affected to their German masters, whom they regard as their deliverers from the tyranny of the Polish nobility : just as the Musalman population of the Punjab regard the English as their deliverers from the Sikhs : but in the case of a war between the two Empires, the sympathies of the Ruthenians, as well as those of the southern Slaves, would naturally be on the side of the Russians ; and this might prove a considerable source of danger to the dual Monarchy.

Mr. Morfill's History of Poland may be read as an epitaph. Polish and Lithuanian nationality is being gradually absorbed into that of Slavonic Russia, and in the revolutionary dens of Paris and London, the Nihilist and the Anarchist have taken the place of the once familiar figure of the noble and needy Polish patriot. Poland's old enemy, Turkey, has taken her place as the sick member of the European body politic, and the eagles are gathered round her moribund form in expectant conclave. Already the Sultan's dominions have undergone their first partition at the Congress of Berlin.

F. H. TYRRELL, *Major-General.*

ART. VIII—THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF INDIA.*

WE shall first try to indicate broadly the position which Dr. Oppert's work holds in the history of Orientalism; then give some account of the conclusions he has reached, and the method he has followed; and, lastly, point to certain limitations in this method, which will probably make it necessary to modify Dr. Oppert's conclusions in two main directions.

First, as to the position of Dr. Oppert's work. As far as the history of Orientalism and the study of Indian peoples are concerned, we may divide the work of Dr. Oppert's predecessors into two great periods—the work of the Calcutta School, and the work of the Indo-Germanic School.

Beginning with the foundation of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones and his colleagues, in 1784, the Calcutta School carried on its work for a generation; and gathered together a mass of material in every region of Indian research, including much purely ethnographical material—material, that is, relating to the history, and social and religious life of the Indian peoples. The largest and most important separate work in this field, is Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*; and Colonel Tod's work illustrates admirably the most valuable characteristic of the Calcutta School—a deep sympathy with the Indian peoples, and a real and close knowledge of them; a knowledge drawn from daily intercourse, and an intimacy which has never since been equalled.

Wherever the writers of the Calcutta School confine themselves to recording their personal observations, whether of peoples or of philosophers, their evidence is of the highest value, and is superior to any work that has been done by their successors. But the Calcutta School laboured under two very serious disabilities; disabilities, which both sprang from the same cause. They had inherited a series of traditions as to the age and origin of man and the world, which have, since their day, been entirely discarded. They believed that the utmost age of the human race, and even of the universe, was something less than six thousand years; and they believed that, some four thousand years ago, the whole human race was renewed from a single family; in other words, they believed that the human race was ethnically uniform about four thousand years ago; and that all divergence of race, must have its origin about

* On the original inhabitants of Bharata-varṣa or India: Gustav Oppert, Ph. D., London, 1893

that date. We need not recapitulate the evidence which now leads us to believe that the human race must have an antiquity of hundreds of thousands, and most probably millions of years; instead of the six thousand years believed in by the Calcutta School. We need only say that all the evidence points to an even further extension of our already enormous estimate of man's antiquity; the largest limit hitherto assigned to the human race, is, probably, that of M. de Quatrefages, the famous French ethnologist, who conjectures that the origin of man must be sought in the Secondary Age of Geology; and this would give to man more millions of years than one would care to mention.

The second disability of the Calcutta School is the fact that they had no clear perception of ethnical science. And here it may not be out of place to illustrate what we mean by ethnical science—the science of race—as distinguished from ethnography, which is chiefly concerned with the social and religious life of various races. It is a fact of common observation that the human race is not uniform; that all peoples in all countries do not belong to a single physical type. This simple fact is the basis of ethnical science, which seeks to give an account of the various physical types, their characteristic differences, and their relations to each other. The work of classification is still far from complete. It is met by a difficulty which is common to every region of natural classification; this difficulty springs from the fact that nature never produces two individuals exactly the same in all particulars; and that, therefore, any general description will not exactly fit all the members of any group, however closely allied they may be.

But there are certain striking characteristics which are possessed, with slight variations, by large groups, families, and races of men; and ethnical science seeks to describe these striking characteristics, and to make them the basis of a general classification of the whole human race.

One of the most striking characteristics which divides the human race into a few great groups, is colour; for instance, broadly speaking, the peoples of Europe are white; the peoples of China are yellow; the peoples of equatorial Africa are black; and the natives of South America are red. Then, within these great divisions, we find lesser distinctions of colour. In Europe, the northern division of the white race, which centers round Scandinavia, is distinguished by red or reddish hair and blue eyes; the white race of Central Europe is distinguished by yellow or yellow-brown hair and grey eyes; the white race of Southern Europe is distinguished by black hair and black eyes. And this subdivision seems to strike,

in a minor key, the chord of the larger subdivision into white, red, yellow, and black races ; as though each great race had a series of sub-races, which repeated, in a less marked form, the shades of difference between the great races.

So much for colour. Another very marked distinction between the races is the form of the skull ; the most easily distinguished characteristic of which is the relation of the breadth of the skull to its length. So that there are races with very long skulls—dolicho-cephalous races ; races with very short skulls—brachy-cephalous races, and races with skulls of a medium form—ortho-cephalous. And there seems to be a connexion, not quite clear and completely grasped as yet, between the form of skull and the colour of the race. For the black races have, generally speaking, very long skulls ; the yellow races have short or round skulls ; and the white races generally stand somewhere between these extremes. As far as we know, the red races have also longish skulls ; though probably not so long as the extreme black type. Now the value of these characteristics, as signs of race-difference and race-relation, depends on their permanence. What evidence have we of the permanence of skull-form and colour ? The evidence for the permanence of skull-form is very great and is constantly being added to. We may illustrate it by a simple example. We often find that the form of the skulls of people inhabiting any locality is exactly the same as the form of the skulls in the oldest grave-yards and burial mounds ; and in many cases, where very old skulls have been found, in limestone-caves, and gravel-beds, they have exactly the same character as the skulls of the present inhabitants of the same locality. This identity has been proved in the case of skulls which must be hundreds of thousands of years old ; judging from their position in certain geological formations. So that everything tends to shew that when a race remains isolated, the form of the skull remains the same over extremely long periods.

As to colour, our evidence is not so complete. And yet we have two very convincing classes of evidence. The evidence of ancient pictures, and the evidence of ancient writers. In Egypt there are pictures several thousand years old, in which the different colours of various races were very carefully represented. And wherever we can certainly identify the races, as in the case of the Negroes, we find that, after a lapse of several thousand years, the colours are the same.

Then we have many descriptions of the colour of races in classical authors ; and their close relation to the colour of the races inhabiting the same localities at the present day strengthens our belief in the permanence of race-colour during very long periods.

We have, therefore, two chief characteristics to distinguish difference of race; the form of the skull, and the colour of the skin. We know both to be fairly permanent through periods of several thousand years. The skin-colour is the easiest to distinguish; the skull-form is the more reliable, because, as far as we know, climate can have no effect on the form of the skull, except during enormously long periods. And even the effect of climate on colour is generally exaggerated, and may be largely eliminated by careful observation. The chief effect of climate in colour is the gradual darkening of the complexion by sun-burn; but this darkening produces a different effect on different original colours. For example, if a white race, a red race, and a yellow race are exposed to a tropical climate for two or three thousand years, the complexions of all three will be much darker, owing to the influence of sunburn. But the white race will be white-brown; the red race will be red-brown; and the yellow race will be yellow-brown; in other words, they will be as easily distinguished as they were originally, and a curious fact is that very young children tend to revert to the original colour of their race. But the full meaning of this reversion, and much more that relates to skin colour, is still imperfectly understood, and must remain so till much more evidence is collected and classified.

We have spoken of isolated races. But races are not always isolated; what, then, becomes of our characteristic distinctions in the case of mixture of races? As far as skull form is concerned, our evidence is still imperfect. And, in the case of colour, it is probable that popular observation is very much in advance of strictly scientific classification. In countries where a group of widely different races have met, and where a certain amount of race mixture has taken place, as in India and North America, it is a matter of common observation that the elements of admixture, and even their ratio can be easily and certainly distinguished. In America, there is no possible confusion between Mulattos, the offspring of admixture between a black and a white race; Mestizoes, between a white and a red race; Zambos or Cafusos, between a red and a black race. And the existence of words like Anadroon and Octoroon shows how easily and certainly even the degree of intermixture can be distinguished. The same thing applies to India. It is still a doubtful point how far these intermediate races are permanent; and how far they tend to die out, or to revert to one or other of the original types which they sprang from.

The completion and classification of these observations and others of a like character, is the object of ethnical science. And we trace one of the great defects of the Calcutta School

to the fact that they had hardly any idea of this science, as its development is still of quite recent date. The other defect of their work was their ignorance of the true antiquity of man. In other words, Sir William Jones, Colonel Tod and their colleagues did not know that the antiquity of man is enormous, probably extending over millions of years; and they did not know that the physical character of races is practically permanent for thousands of years, after the influence of climate has been allowed for; after acclimatisation is complete. We may illustrate both these defects from Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*. Colonel Tod saw no objection to correcting the chronology of the Rajputs by the light of Archbishop Ussher's views as to the antiquity of the world; and he saw no objection to identifying the Rajputs with all kinds of races in Europe and Asia, though he had no evidence at all as to their real ethnical identity. The type of this form of mistake is the myth of the Scythians, with whom Colonel Tod tried to identify the Rajputs; because he quite failed to realise that we know nothing whatever, in a strictly ethnical sense, as to who the Scythians are; and, therefore, attempt to identify them with any other race is dangerous in the extreme.

In India, the Calcutta School had no successors. No second generation of equal ability carried on the work so splendidly begun. The mantle of Indian orientalism passed to Europe, to the brilliant group of scholars whom we may call the Indo-Germanic School. This German school was distinguished by admirable scholarship, and inexhaustible patience and industry. The analysis of Sanskrit Grammar, the classification of cognate languages, the editing of excellent texts, the construction of concordances and dictionaries, were carried on by the Indo-Germanic School, with indefatigable enthusiasm and conspicuous success. But it must be confessed that the Indo-Germanic School, being quite unacquainted with India, and with Indian peoples, was often led into conjectures and hypotheses which the earlier Calcutta School would never have been guilty of. We need only touch on one of these hypotheses.

After Bopp, accepting the brilliant suggestion of Sir William Jones, had worked out the relations between Sanskrit and the European tongues, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and the rest, the view was put forward that the evidently close relations between these tongues could only be accounted for by an original identity of race; that the speakers of all these tongues had originally been the same people, inhabiting the same locality. Central Asia was pointed to as the most likely centre of dispersion, considering the present position of the speakers of these tongues; and a concrete account of the original unity and subsequent divisions and migrations of the Proto-Aryan family was put forward, and

gradually attained the appearance of great scientific certainty. We were told that the ancestor of the Indian Aryans after seeing his brothers depart towards the setting sun, had descended from the Hindu-Kush to the plains of India ; and that the speakers of Aryan languages in India, the speakers of languages derived from the Sanskrit, were the descendants of this primitive ancestor. The clearest expression of this " Indo-Germanic " hypothesis was reached, when we were told that the task of governing India was rendered distinctly easier by the discovery that the same blood flowed in the veins of the English soldier and dark Bengali.

Here was a clear and definite statement, which fairly illustrated the whole work of the Indo-Germanic School, so far as the study of Indian peoples is concerned ; just as the myth of the Scythians illustrates the work of the Calcutta School. We should be extremely grateful to the formulator of this belief in the blood-kinship between the English soldier and the dark Bengali, because, once the result of the Indo-Germanic researches were formulated in such a clear and concrete shape, it became immediately evident that its conclusions were untenable,* and that its methods, as far as the Indian peoples and their classification was concerned, were inadequate. This inadequacy arose, as we have seen, from the fact that the scholars of the Indo-Germanic School were in no case familiar with the Indian peoples ; for, had they even had a very slight familiarity with the Indian peoples, they would have known that, ethnically speaking, the race identity of the English soldier and the dark Bengali is as difficult to accept as the race identity between the Chinese and the Negro, or the European and the red races of America ; although, in North America, the white, yellow, red, and black races for the most part speak the same Aryan language—English.

Let us say here, once for all, that, in pointing to distinctions of colour between various races, we have no intention at all of making a distinction between ' superior ' and ' inferior ' races, or of exalting one colour at the expense of another. For ethnology, there is no such thing as ' superior ' or ' inferior ' colour ; all colours are equal ; each colour is accompanied by qualities which are not present in the same degree in the case of any other ; and each is, therefore, in this particular, the most excellent.

To return to the work of the Indo-Germanic School:—as the myth of the Scythians shows us at once how weak is the ethnical and chronological sense in the Calcutta School, so the identification of the English and Bengali races by the Indo-Germanic School shows us that the method of that school is imperfect, and that no sound knowledge of the Indian peoples can be reached along these lines.

Here, then, we begin to appreciate the position of Dr. Oppert's work on the Original Inhabitants of India. Dr. Oppert is familiar with the critical methods of the Indo-Germanic School, and with their high ideal of criticism. And he is also familiar with the peoples of India, and the work of the best observers of the Indian peoples, from Colonel Tod to the writers of the present day. Dr. Oppert, therefore, unites the best qualities of the Calcutta and Indo-Germanic Schools ; and thus we have a right to expect that his work will be very valuable.

Before recording Dr. Oppert's conclusions, we may enquire, for a moment, whether he is free from the disabilities which marked the work of the two previous schools of orientalism : their deficient sense of ethnical science and of chronology. On the ninth page of his work, we find Dr. Oppert writing : " However considerable and apparently irreconcilable may appear the differences exhibited by the various Gauda-Dravidian tribes in their physical structure and colour, all these differences can be satisfactorily accounted for by the physical localities they inhabited, by the various occupations they followed, and by the political status which regulated their domestic and social habits." It is evident, from this sentence, that Dr. Oppert has not realised what a mass of evidence has been gathered together by ethnical research on this very question of physical structure and colour ; and, further, has not realised that, broadly speaking, this evidence tends to a directly opposite conclusion, tends to show that differences of physical structure and colour are permanent through extremely long periods.

Dr. Oppert tells us, in his preface, that the object of his work is to prove, from existing sources, so far as they are available, that the original inhabitants of India, with the exception of a small minority of foreign immigrants, all belong to one and the same race, branches of which are spread over the continents of Asia and Europe, and which is also known as Finnish-Ugrian, or Turanian.

This declaration confirms our opinion that, when Dr. Oppert speaks of races and identity, he is not using these terms in a strictly ethnical sense ; nor with a clear realisation of strictly ethnical evidence. For a clear realisation of strictly ethnical evidence shews us that this expression, the Finnish-Ugrian, or Turanian race, is not an ethnical expression at all ; and was never reached along the lines of purely ethnical evidence. The older of these two terms is Turanian ; and its history is somewhat as follows :— ' Iran and Turan ' were the old Persian terms for the children of light and the children of darkness, the ' chosen people and the barbarians,' the Persians, that is, and their foreign foes.

After the philologists of the Indo-Germanic School had

elaborated the relations of the 'Aryan' and 'Semitic' languages, they came to perceive clearly that these two groups of languages stood out clear and sharp from among the other tongues of the world. Falling naturally into the old classification of the children of light, the chosen people, on the one side, and the children of darkness, the barbarians, on the other, they decided to group the remaining languages of the world, as far as they were then known, under the general name Turanian. This was always a purely negative term; when a language was called Turanian, it was simply meant that it was neither Aryan nor Semitic; and there is no doubt at all that languages as different from each other in every quality of substance and form as English is from Arabic, were grouped under the general term Turanian, merely as a temporary expedient pending a better and fuller understanding of the languages and their character.

It is, therefore, clear that, even where language is concerned, the word Turanian had merely a negative value; it showed what languages were not, rather than what they were. Applying the name Turanian to the peoples of India whom Dr. Oppert calls Gauda-Dravidians, we see that this simply amounts to saying they are neither Aryan nor Semitic; a conclusion of a certain negative value, it is true, if we have any clear idea of whom we mean by Aryan and Semitic races; but a conclusion which does not help us at all to say who the Gauda-Dravidians are.

Rather more serious objections may be raised against Dr. Oppert's calling the Gauda-Dravidians Finnish-Ugrian; just because the latter term has a slightly more certain and definite meaning than the term Turanian, which, as we have seen, has no definite meaning at all. We all have a fairly clear idea of whom we mean by the Finns, though the origin of the name is far from clear, as we have seen it asserted that it cannot be Finnish, because the initial letter represents a sound foreign to the Finns themselves. The name Ugrian is generally identified with Hungarian or Vengian, two names applied to the Hungarians, and the name "Finnish-Ugrian race" implies that the Finns and their kindred are related to the Hungarians; an inference on which considerable doubt may be cast, by both linguistic and ethnical science.

If, following Dr. Oppert, we were to call the Gauda-Dravidians members of the "Finnish Ugrian" race, we should imply, first, that the kinship of the Finns and Ugrians had been established on clear ethnical evidence; secondly, that the unity of the races whom Dr. Oppert calls "Gauda-Dravidian" had also been established on clear ethnical evidence; and, thirdly, that the identity of ethnical character between the

Finnish-Ugrian group on the one hand, and the Gauda-Dravidian group, on the other, had also been established on clear ethnical evidence.

None of these three propositions have been proved, or are at all near to being proved; and I must confess that, after examining members of the Finnish, Hungarian, and Gauda-Dravidian Indian races, from the stand point of ethnical science, it appears to me that they will rather be proved to belong to four quite distinct race types, than to a simple homogeneous race, as Dr. Oppert seems to believe. When Dr. Oppert writes that "the vast majority of the Indian population belonged to the same race as did the ancient Akkadians and Chaldeans,"* we feel at once that he does not quite fully realise the value of ethnical evidence; because, when it is said that, at the present moment, we have not a particle of evidence as to who, ethnically, the Chaldeans and Akkadians were, it becomes clear that the assertion of their ethnical identity with some other race is at present incapable of proof.

We are therefore led to conclude that, when Dr. Oppert calls the Gauda-Dravidians (the original inhabitants of India) Turanians, he simply means that, in his opinion, they are neither Aryans nor Semites; and, if we give these two terms their usual popular meaning, Dr. Oppert's conclusion is undoubtedly true.

But when Dr. Oppert tries to identify the original inhabitants of India, as a whole, with other specific races the Finns and their kindred; the Ugrians or Hungarians; the Akkadians and Chaldeans; we are forced to conclude that he is doing so in the entire absence of ethnical evidence; that his conclusion is simply a personal opinion, apparently based on the application of the name Turanian to all these peoples; and the name Turanian has, as we have seen, no positive value and no definite meaning at all.

The word Chaldean leads us to the question of chronology. We find Dr. Oppert writing:† "In summing up the evidence derived from the Biblico-Chaldean account of the deluge, assuming it to have been local and to have extended only over Mesopotamia and the contiguous countries, the Indian description of it must either have emanated from direct communications made by the descendants of survivors, or from reports which events of such magnitude necessarily produce. As the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date, Manu could not have been in India, nor could the ark have landed on the Himâlaya, or elsewhere in this country."

This passage, which illustrates the chronological tendencies of Dr. Oppert's work better than any other, contains three

* p. 284.

† p. 336.

assumptions : first, that the Biblico-Chaldean deluge and Manu's deluge refer to the same event, while exactly the contrary has been held by a majority of scholars, and we know that there have been many deluges in the history of the world. Secondly, it is assumed that there is some evidence for the date of the Biblico-Chaldean deluge, a rather misleading phrase, as the Biblical and Chaldean dates differ enormously, the one being some two thousand five hundred years before our era ; the other about forty thousand years before it. Thirdly, the statement that the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date—whether four or forty thousand years ago, we are not told—is open to this objection : it assumes what date the Aryans did enter India—an assumption which is exactly contrary to the facts, as we have far less knowledge of the period when the Aryans entered India than of the period when the Toltecs entered Mexico, or when the Maoris entered New Zealand ; and this fact of our ignorance cannot be too clearly realised.

We are led to conclude, therefore, that Dr. Oppert does not sufficiently realise the difficulties of ethnical evidence and ethnical proof ; and, further, that he does not sufficiently realise our complete ignorance as to the date of the beginnings of India's life ; nor the fact that all the views put forward by the early schools of orientalism were based upon a quite erroneous tradition of the recentness of the beginning of the whole human race ; a tradition which we have left behind long ago. Once we realise the enormous antiquity of man, we may come to recognise the possibility of an enormous antiquity for some or many of the Indian peoples. And, without a realisation of the enormous antiquity of man, we shall be able to form no sound conclusions on the evidence as to the possible antiquity of any single race or group of races. We have dwelt at some length on these two questions—ethnical evidence and chronology—with reference to Dr. Oppert's book, just because we believe by far the greater part of Dr. Oppert's book to be excellent and enduring work ; work of such value as to mark the beginning of a new era of Indian orientalism, founded on direct and comprehensive study of the Indian peoples themselves. The work of the two great schools of Indian orientalism whose results we have briefly touched on, is marred by these two errors—deficient ethnical sense, and a deficient sense of the enormous antiquity of man. And the confusions springing from these two radical errors have lasted more than a century.

It would, therefore, be a matter for extreme regret, if Dr. Oppert's book, which we believe, marks the beginning of a new era, should carry on into the work of that new era, the same errors which have already been so fruitful in confusion.

Let us now turn to Dr. Oppert's conclusions, recognising their necessary limitations in these two directions; recognising that Dr. Oppert, in speaking of races, means, not groups united by a common ethnical character, but groups united by common culture, common language, common religion, and a common name.

Dr. Oppert gives to the older strata of Indian races which preceded the Aryans, the general name of Bharatas, because the Bharatas were, in olden times, the most numerous and most honoured representatives of these older races; after whom the country received its name, Bharatavarsha, or Bhâratavarsha, the land of the Bharatas. Dr. Oppert considers the Bharatas essentially a race of mountaineers, and believes their name is intimately connected with the Gauda-Dravidian root *para*, *pârai*, mountain.

The Bharatas divided at an early date into two great sections, which were known in antiquity as Kuru-Panchâlas, and Kauravas and Pândavas, and afterwards as Gaudians and Dravidians, and as Kuruvas or Kurumbas, and Mallas or Malayas. All these names Dr. Oppert derives from words meaning mountain, thus supporting his view that the Bharatas—the pre-Aryan peoples of India,—were essentially a race of mountaineers. However nearly related these tribes were to each other, they never lived together in close friendship, and, although they were not always perhaps at open war, yet feelings of distrust and aversion seem always to have prevailed.

"Though positive evidence in favour of my assertions," writes Dr. Oppert,* "was very difficult to obtain, still, it was incumbent on me to verify my statements by the best means available. In order to do so, I had to betake myself to the fields of language and religion, which, in matters of this kind, are the most reliable and precious sources of information. For language and religion manifest in a peculiar manner the mental condition of men, and though both differ in their aim and result, yet the mind which directs and animates both is the same, so that, though they work in different grooves, the process of thinking is in both identical. Besides the mental character, we must not neglect the physical complement which is supplied by ethnology, and in this case the physical evidence of ethnology supports thoroughly the conclusions at which I had arrived from consulting the language and religion of the inhabitants of India."

In spite of this conclusion, we have failed to find any adequate proof, in the ethnical evidence quoted by Dr. Oppert, of the unity of race of the Indian peoples whom he calls Gauda-Dravidians, and of their race-relationship with northern

Turanian peoples. Indeed, the evidence quoted seems to us to point in an opposite direction. Let us mention only two or three instances.

In discussing the relations of the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, Dr. Oppert quotes the statement that "this remarkable race differs in almost every essential respect from all other tribes of the natives of Hindustan*;" and further speaks of "their fine and striking appearance so different from that of other races."† From other authorities, we know that characteristics of the Todas are great height, fair colour, occasional blue, grey, or hazel eyes, and abundant curly hair. A little further on,‡ Dr. Oppert quotes a description of the Mullu Kurumbas, who are "small in stature, and have a squalid and somewhat uncouth appearance from their peculiar physiognomy, wild matted hair, and almost nude bodies. They are, as a body, sickly-looking, pot-bellied, large-mouthed, prognathous, with prominent out-standing teeth and thick lips." We are further told that the Kurumbas are an "almost dwarfish race;"§ and again, that "the hair of both sexes stand out matted like a mop, and their complexion is very dark,"|| We are told that the Kotas have "a copper color,"¶ and that the Kurus, or Cooroos, "are naturally of a bamboo colour,"** that is, apparently, pale yellow.

Now the ethnical difficulties in considering the tall, fair Todas, the dwarfish, black Kurumbas, the copper coloured, or red Kotas, and the presumably yellow Kurus as members of the same ethnical group, are so great as to be almost insurmountable. We should like to see this evidence supplemented in every case by a series of skull measurements, and a precise description of colour; the word fair, as applied to the Todas, is very unsatisfactory and inadequate to support his view of the ethnical identity of the Gauda Dravidian races. Dr. Oppert further quotes†† Mr. Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*: "The data thus obtained from six thousand persons, representing eighty-nine of the leading castes and tribes in Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Afghanistan, enable us to distinguish two extreme types of feature and physique, which may be provisionally described as Aryan and Dravidian. A third type, which in some respects may be looked upon as intermediate between these two, while in other and perhaps the most important points it can hardly be deemed Indian at all, is found along the northern and eastern borders of Bengal . . . This type . . . may conveniently be described as Mongoloid."

As Mr. Risley's conclusions apply only to Northern India,

* p. 181.

† p. 189

‡ p. 228.

§ p. 219.

|| p. 223.

¶ p. 194.

** p. 203

†† p. 575-6.

they do not, of course, touch the question of the race identity of the Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas, and Kurus, nor weaken what we have said about the great difficulties of establishing this race-identity along sound ethnical lines. But what they do prove is that there are immense ethnical difficulties in the way of connecting the Mongoloid races, who are generally called Northern Turanians, with the Dravidian races who are sometimes called Southern Turanians.

Thus almost all the only clear ethnical evidence which Dr. Oppert quotes, militates against his theory of the race-unity of the "Turanian peoples;" and also against the race-unity of the Southern Indian tribes whom Dr. Oppert classifies as Gauda-Dravidians.

Let us now return to Dr. Oppert's summary of his conclusions. Dr Oppert writes :* "The principal Gauda-Dravidian tribes who live scattered over the length and breadth of the vast Indian Continent are, in order to establish their mutual kinship, separately introduced into this discussion. . .

"In pursuing the ramifications of the Bharatan, or Gauda-Dravidian, population throughout the peninsula, I hope I have been able to point out the connexion existing between several tribes apparently widely different from each other. I have tried thus to identify the so-called Pariahs of Southern India with the old Dravidian mountaineers and to establish their relationship to the Bhârs, Brahins, Mhâs Mahârs, Pahârias, Paravâri, Parâdas and other tribes ; all these tribes forming, as it were, the first layer of the ancient Dravidian deposit. In a similar manner I have identified the Chandâlas with the first section of the Gaudian race which was reduced to abject slavery by the Aryan invaders, and shown their connection with the ancient Kandâlas and the present Gonds. In addition to this, I trust I have proved that such apparently different tribes as the Mallas, Pallas, Pallavas, Ballas, Bhillas and others are one and all offshoots of the Dravidian branch, and that the Kolis, Kois, Khonds, Kodagas, Koravas Kurumbas and others really belong to the Gaudian division, both branches forming in reality only portions of one and the same people, whom I prefer to call, as I have said, Bharatas. Where there is so much room for conjecture, it is easy enough, of course, to fall into error, and I shall be prepared to be told that many of my conclusions are erroneous and the hypothesis on which they are built fanciful. But though much of what I have written may be shown to be untenable, I shall yet be satisfied if in the main, I establish my contention, and I shall deem myself amply repaid for my labor if I succeed in restoring the

Gaudian and the Dravidian to those rights and honors of which they have so long been deprived.*

We learn, a little further on, the precise meaning Dr. Oppert gives to the names Gaudian and Dravidian. "The two special Gauda-Dravidian terms for mountain,"† he writes "are *Mala*, (*Malai*, *Pâr Pârâi*, etc.), and *Ko* (*Koida*, *Kuru*, *Kunru*, *Kora*, etc.) Both kinds of expressions are widely used and prevail throughout India. Hence are derived the names of the *Mallas*, *Mâlas*, *Mâlavas*, *Malayas*, etc., and of the *Koyis Kôdulu*, *Kondas*, *Gondas*, *Gandas*, *Kuruvas*, etc. I shall in future call those tribes whose names are derived from *mala* Dravidians, and those whose names are derived from *ko*, Gaudians."

We shall not follow Dr. Oppert through the learned and admirable articles on each of these tribes, which make his book a real encyclopædia of the Indian peoples; but we may say, without hesitation, that his comprehensive and careful work has certainly given to the study of the people whom he calls Gaudians and Dravidians, a very much higher position than it ever held before in the field of orientalism; and a much closer relation than it ever held before to the other section of Indian studies which is most *generally concerned* with Sanskrit literature, and the splendid achievements of what we may call, provisionally, the Aryan race. So far therefore, the aim of Dr. Oppert's work has been amply fulfilled.

* Leaving the field of ethnography, Dr. Oppert turns to the religions of India; and it is here that his work becomes most original and valuable; for here, in questions of religion, the value of purely ethnical evidence is much less important, and Dr. Oppert's wide critical training and equally wide acquaintance with the peoples of Indian, show to the best advantage.

Dr. Oppert writes: ‡ "In the third part, which treats on Indian theogony, I have endeavoured to give a short sketch of some of the most prominent features of the Aryan and non-Aryan beliefs. After noticing briefly the reverence which the Vedic hymns display towards the forces of nature, which developes gradually into the acceptance of a Supreme Being (*Brahman*), I go on to show how the idea of an impersonal God, a perception too high and abstract to be grasped by the masses of the population, gradually gave place to the recognition of a personal Creator, with whom were associated eventually the two figure-heads of preservation and destruction, all these three together forming the Trimûrti as represented by Brahman [masculine Brahman] Vishnu, and Shiva.

"About the time that the ancient Vedic views began to undergo a change, and the idea of the existence of a Supreme

Spirit impressed itself on the minds of the thoughtful, the non-Aryan principle of the female energy was introduced into the Aryan system. This dogma which originated with the Turanian races of Asia, and was thus also acknowledged in ancient Babylonia, soon exercised a powerful influence, and pervaded the whole religion of the Aryans in India. Its symbol was in India the Sâlagrâma stone, which Vishnu afterwards appropriated as his emblem."

The, 'Turanians' with whom Dr. Oppert believes the doctrine of the female energy to have originated, are the Akkadians. We are fairly certain that their language is 'Turanian'; that is, neither Aryan nor Semitic; but of their race, in the strict ethnical sense, we know absolutely nothing; so that we can form no presumption of the relation of their race to the doctrine of the female energy. We may also say here that Dr Oppert may possibly be wrong in saying that this doctrine was not of Aryan origin if we include the Slavonic nations in the Aryan family, as Dr. Oppert would doubtless do. For among the Slavs we find undoubted traces of a goddess mother very similar to the goddess mother whom Dr Oppert shews to be the dominant "power in the ancient Diavidian religion. In ancient Russia we have thus mother Damp Earth, or mother Fertile Earth as the goddess mother; and in ancient Poland and Bohemia we have the goddess Dziawanna, or Jivana, Life, etymologically the same as the Sanskrit, Jivana, life.

And in a totally different section of the human race we have the same idea; for the Polynesian peoples, and especially the Maories of New Zealand, have the goddess Earth as the great mother in their oldest myths.

Dr. Oppert continues: "I have further tried to show how the contact with the non-Aryan population affected the belief of the Aryans, and modified some of the features of their deities. *Brahman* was thus, by assimilating himself with the non-Aryan chief-god and demon-king, Aiyânâr, transformed into a Brahma bhûta, while the very same Aiyânâr was changed into *Shiva* in his position as demon-king or Bhûta-nâth, and *Vishnu* became gradually identified by a great section of the Brahmanic community with the female principle and taken for Uinâr."

On the subject of Umâ, Dr Oppert has written very much of great interest, but it appears to us that his conclusions may require to be modified in two directions. Umâ, of course, is first known to us from the famous story in the Kena or Talavakâra Upanishad. Brahma won a victory for the Devas. The Devas exulted in his victory, claiming it as their own. Brahma became manifest as a Yaksha, the Devas sent Agni

and Vaya and Indra to learn who this Yaksha was. Agni and Vaya failed, and had to confess their inferiority to the unknown power. Indra approached, and the unknown power suddenly disappeared from him. There, in the ether, Indra met a woman, very resplendent, Umâ Haimavatî, who declared to him the secret of the unknown power, who was Brahma, the eternal.

Shankârâchârya, commenting on this passage, tells us that Umâ is wisdom, in the form of a woman, in the form of Umâ, (Vidyâ Umârûpinî). Sayanâchârya, commenting on a passage in the Taittiriya Aranyaka, mentions this passage, and tells us that Umâ is "the wisdom that reveals the eternal. Now there is an Aryan root *um*, or *oum*, which has a whole series of compounds in the Slavonic languages, and this root *um*, in compounds *umo*, has exactly the meaning which Shankara and Sayana give to Umâ; it means, that is, wisdom, knowledge, or intelligence. It may very well be, then, that this root appears in Sanskrit as Umâ Haimavati, the woman very splendid, who reveals the eternal Brahma to the Devas, and we could easily supply a hundred instances to show the extremely close phonetic relation between Sanskrit and the Slavonic languages, a closeness which makes it entirely possible that the words *umo* in the one should become *umâ* in the other; that wisdom in the one should become the goddess wisdom in the other. For *agny*, the common word for fire in the Slavonic languages, has become, in Sanskrit, Agni, the Vedic fire god, and *Jivana*, which means life in Sanskrit, has become Dzievanna, or Jivana, the goddess life, in the Slavonic tongues. Therefore, it may very well be that *Umo*, wisdom, in Slavonic, has become Umâ, the shining goddess, revealer of the eternal, in Vedic Sanskrit.

Umâ is clearly the same as Vâch, the feminine word, the feminine formative Logos; the same as Sarasvati, queen of learning; and the same as Sâvitri and the feminine Virâj. Now Vâch appears in the very earliest of the Vedic hymns. In the 164th hymn of the first Mandala, verse 45, we read

"Chatvâri Vâk parimîta padâni
Tâni vidar Brâhmanâh yemanîshinah."

"Vâch is defined in four steps; the knowers of the eternal, who are wise know them." And this feminine Vâch, defined in four padas, or steps, irresistibly reminds us of the four steps of Brahma, in the Mândûkya and Chândogya Upanishad, where we are told of the fourfold eternal, Brahma Chatushpât and the mystical connexion between Brahma and Vâch is here very plain, if we remember the doctrine of the emanations (*srshti*) and the position of the feminine word, or feminine Logos, in this doctrine. It is, therefore, clear that the fully

developed doctrine of Vâch is enormously old, and is probably referred to in the first Mandala of the Rig Veda hymns, and how great the antiquity of these earliest hymns may be, is one of the points about which one would like to speak with caution. We can only say that we believe their antiquity to be enormous.

So that Dr. Oppert's conclusions as to the absence of the goddess mother from the old Vedic religion of the Aryans, seem to us to be rather doubtful ; as does his derivation of Umâ from *Amma*, 'mother,' in the Dravidian languages. It is doubtless true that *Amma* and Umâ were blended together as *Ambikâ* at a later period, and that much of the dark character of the Dravidian goddess was attributed to the resplendent Umâ, the fair lady of wisdom.

But we believe the truth is, as we have suggested, that Vâch was the negative, receptive, passive energy of the formative power from the earliest ages of the Vedic hymns ; that Vâch, as goddess, of wisdom, is the same as Umâ, personified wisdom ; as *Umo* is wisdom, not personified, in the Slavonic tongues. While *Amma*, the mighty mother, was the earth goddess among the Dravidians, with whom some of the darker, earthly elements had been associated, as they were with the earth mother of the Polynesians.

When the Aryan and Dravidian peoples met—how many ages ago, we cannot even guess—the similarity of the two goddess mothers, Vâch (the feminine potency of the formative power, who is, in the *Chhândogya Upanishad* specifically identified with *Prthivî*, earth,) and *Amma*, the goddess mother of the Dravidians, who is the earth, was so great that they became insensibly blended, in *Ambikâ* the wife or sister of *Rudra*, or *Shiva*, who had come to be regarded as the representative of the male formative power ; so that his consort became fittingly the feminine power, which we know outwardly as earth, the all producing goddess.

When we speak of mother earth or of mother nature, we are not really borrowing a 'Turanian' idea, whether Akkadian, or Chaldean, or Dravidian, as Dr. Oppert would have us believe. We are rather drawing a graphic, world-true simile from the universal experience of man. We may, however, with advantage, quote what Dr. Oppert says of the peculiarly non-Aryan character of the worship of the mother-goddess as he finds it among the Dravidian peoples.

"The principal deities of the ancient Aryans were of the male sex, and their consorts, whatever influence they possessed otherwise, derived their power mainly from being the wives of the great gods. The Aryan pantheon did not admit a goddess to supreme authority, nor did it allow to the wives

of the gods an equal share in ruling Pallas Athene (Minerva), the daughter, and Hera (Juno), the wife of Zeus (Jupiter), were thus dependent on the will of the chief of the gods, and Indrânî, Agnâyî and Varunânî, the wives respectively of Indra, Agni, and Varuna, occupied, as such, in the Veda, only a secondary position. But this principle of male exclusiveness did not prevail among the Turanian races, for Davkina, the lady of the earth, was revered in ancient Babylonia as respectfully as was Ea, the lord of the water, and she was also worshipped as the creator of the world. The same idea predominates among the Gauda-Dravidians of India, where from a far remote period the mother earth, the representative of the female energy, was worshipped as the principal deity, and where, even at the present day, its substitute, the local Grâma-devatâ, is revered as the founder or creator of each village or town, as had been the practice in ancient Babylonia.*

In another place, Dr. Oppert writes: "The fish Oannes conceals under his fishy form a human body with human head and feet, and speaks with a human voice. Oannes . . . is Ea-kin, the god of the deep, as well as of the earth and of heaven; whose special home was Erida, the modern Abu Shahrein, on the Persian Gulf, which represented to the Chaldean mind the Ocean, the great receptacle of all streams and rivers. He emerged from the watery element of the celestial ocean which is personified as the goddess Ziku. As consort stands at his side an independent female deity, Dav-ki (Dav-kina), the lady of the earth; the special goddess of Eridu. Each Babylonian city had its special goddess or creatress, as every Indian hamlet and town has its peculiar Grâmadevatâ Ea-kin alone knows the supreme name in which is centered all divine power."† This would seem to point to a superiority of the male deity even in the Babylonian religion, which apparently militates against Dr. Oppert's views. Dr. Oppert continues on the subject of the female energy: "This non-Aryan worship has to such an extent been accepted by the Aryan population of India, that almost all important sacred places to which pilgrims resort from the Himâlaya mountains in the north to Capé Comorin in the south, are under the guardianship of the principle of female energy, i. e., of Dêvî, Kâlî, or Shaktî, etc. The original Gauda-Dravidian grâma-devatâ, which is now also revered by the Brahmans, is, in most of these places, represented by, or transformed into, an Aryanised kshetra-devatâ. This kshetra-devatâ, or titular deity of a town, district, or country, is acknowledged as a manifestation of Shaktî, and the worship of these Shaktis is specially performed on the eighth day (*Ashtamî*), of the Durgâ puja.

"Before the Aryan invaders became familiar with the religious tenets of their national foes, whose country they had conquered, and whom they had reduced to a state of serfdom, a considerable period of time must have elapsed. It is, however, probable that the more enlightened and more peacefully inclined men of both races came gradually in contact with one another and acquired some knowledge of the peculiar thoughts, manners, and customs of their neighbours. This could, to a certain extent, be more easily done in those early days, when the differences of birth and education had not yet produced the intolerant distinctions of caste. As soon as intercourse between the opposing camps had been established, and had led to an interchange of ideas between the two alien races, the minds of the thinking members of the two communities began to meditate about, and to assimilate, doctrines hitherto strange to them. In this way, I suppose, did the principle of the female energy and the worship of Shakti become known to the Aryans and enter into their philosophical theories, naturally in a considerably modified form. For I do not believe that any Vedic account of the creation *e. g.*, the 129th hymn of the 12th [10th] Mandala of the Rig-Veda, can be rightly interpreted as proving that a belief in such a principle existed among the ancient Aryan population of India. No doubt *Dyaus* and *Prthivi* appear in the Rig-Veda, respectively, as god of heaven and goddess of earth, and are called father and mother; but this latter expression admits of a totally different explanation, and does not indicate a worship of mother earth such as we find among the Gauda-Dravidian Hindus, a worship which in this form is also nowhere found among the other Aryan nations."

We believe, we have faithfully represented and sufficiently illustrated the most salient points in Dr. Oppert's work, and may sum up very briefly our conclusions. The first part of the book, which deals with the Dravidians and the Gaudians, is, in our opinion, rather an encyclopedia of the Indian peoples than a strictly ethnical study; and leaves almost untouched the strictly ethnical questions which affect the non-Aryan Indian peoples. The attempt to connect these peoples with the Northern Turapians, the Akkadians and Chaldeans, has, we believe, failed necessarily, owing to our complete ignorance of the ethnical character of these two peoples, the Akkadians and Chaldeans. But the mass of material which Dr. Oppert has collected and arranged, has not only placed the study of the non-Aryan peoples of India in a new and much better light; but has also made the future task of deciding on their precise ethnical character very much easier; by providing, so to speak, a chart of the country to be explored.

To the second part of this work, which deals with Indian Theogony, and especially with the reaction between the Aryan and non-Aryan peoples, it would be difficult to give too high praise. Dr. Oppert has practically solved the main problem, by showing first, what the beliefs of each section originally were, and secondly, by showing how the elements of each gradually intruded themselves into the other. We may differ from Dr. Oppert on certain points, but in the main we are in accord with his larger conclusions ; and give him our sincere thanks for the admirable way in which his work has been done.

C. J.

ART. IX.—A GENERAL VIEW OF THE COINAGE OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS OF INDIA.

NOW that we have full catalogues of the coins of the Mogul Emperors of India in the British Museum of London, the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Government Museum, Lahore, we are in a position which enables us to see what the coins issued by those Emperors actually were. We doubt not that, in private collections, there may be specimens not yet made public, but the published coins are quite sufficient for the purposes of a general view of the subject.

First of all, however, we must examine the monetary condition of India before the time of the Moguls. Thirty-four kings had reigned in Delhi before Bábar came to India. Of all of these kings, except two, coins are known, and *of the times* of the two kings whose names do not appear on coins, we have coins, though they bear the names of a king who was dead when the coins were struck. Of the thirty-four kings, the coins of 17 are known in gold and more than that number in silver—all struck, however, either in billon or in copper. For nearly a hundred years, however, before the battle of Pá niput, which gave the throne of Delhi to the first Mogul Emperor, Bábar, no gold or silver coins had been struck in the capital. Within that period, both gold and silver coins were struck in Bengál, Jaunpúr, Málwah, Gujarat and Kulburga and Kashmír, so that the country had even then a gold, silver and copper currency. Many of the Delhi Emperors had struck immense numbers of coins of many types. The Tuglaqs and the Lodís, the predecessors of the Moguls, had been especially busy. Muhammad Tuglaq reigned 27 years; Fíroz Sháh Tuglaq reigned 37; Bahlol Lodí reigned the same number, and Sikandar Lodí reigned 29 years. Coins of every year of Fíroz, Bahlol and Sikandar are even now obtainable. These coins have nearly always different amounts of silver in them. Judging from the numbers in which they are now found, the country must have been inundated with them when Bábar came. Twenty of these billon coins went to the rupee. They were called *siyah*, or black, *tankas*, because the silver they had in them caused them to have a dark appearance. They were the favourite currency of the country. There are three tombs at Hissár, and there is one at Sonpat, on which the cost of the buildings is inscribed. It is given in *Siyah tankas*. They were built in the time of the second Mogul, which shows that the black tankas were still current in his day.

There was a vast quantity of small copper also current.

These were fractional parts of the black tankas, and were used for change and small purchases.

The kingdoms of Kashmir, Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat and Kulburga had also, in addition to their gold and silver coins, a very large copper currency, and the copper coins composing it were of various sizes and weights and values. So that the whole of Northern India was abundantly supplied with money.

Bábar came from a land in which gold, silver, and copper were all current. There seems, however, to have been but little gold and the pieces were small. The silver was abundant. The coins of Turkistan in that metal were thin broad pieces, worth about six annas each. There was not much copper. It was struck in cities and bore, not the king's name, but the name of the city, and, as a rule, the figure of an animal and the date of mintage. When Bábar had conquered India, one of his first acts was to strike silver coins, similar to those of the land he had left, in thin, broad silver pieces, bearing his name and titles and the names of the mint and the date of mintage, all on one side, while the Muhammadan confession of faith and the names of the first four Khalifs occupied the other. For some years he coined only these silver coins, but he had mints at work in several places of India, Agra, Lahore, Jaunpur, Delhi. Towards the end of his reign he began striking in bronze. The coins were similar in weight and in mixture to the coins of the Lodis; but the legends were similar to those of the coins of Turkistan and Kabul. They had the name of the mint on them and the year of mintage, but no bronze coin has yet been found bearing the name of Bábar. No coin of his has yet been found in gold. The only innovations, therefore, made by Bábar in his Indian coinage were the coining of silver tankas instead of rupees, and the omission from the bronze coinage of the King's name. Judging, however, from the fewness of both silver and bronze coins of Bábar's days, which have come down to us, there can be no doubt that Bábar considered India to be well supplied with currencies and not to need any vast additions from his mints.

Humáyún, who succeeded Bábar, during his first reign, coined, as his father had done; but, besides silver and bronze, he occasionally struck small gold pieces. His first reign of nine years was not productive of much silver money. Still, wherever he went he coined, except when he went to Bengal. His conquest of Champani seems to have pleased him so much that he struck silver and bronze coins there. One bronze coin records the "conquest of Champani" in 942 Hijri; another was struck in the "noble city of Champani." The silver coins of this place were struck in the same year. But Humáyún struck also silver in Kábul and Qandahár, as well as Lahore, Delhi, Agra and

Jaunpúr. His brother, Kámrán, who left him and went to Kábul, took the Indian struck silver coins to Kábul, and then re-struck them with his own name, so that we have counter-struck coins of Humáyún bearing Kámrán's name. Kámrán also struck coins in Kábul like those of his brother. When Humáyún left India, his coinage and that of his father, Bábar, had affected the currency but little. Sher Sháh Súr, who had driven him away, evidently thought that a reform in the currency was necessary. The black tankas were all of different values, as the amount of silver varied in each. The numerous small copper coins that were current must have been a nuisance rather than a help. In no two countries of India were they of the same weight. Sher Sháh's plan was to have a copper currency to which apparently the silver and gold coins he issued were to act as measures of value. The copper coin was a dām of about 320 grains. Of these forty went to the rupee. The whole land revenue of the country was assessed in dāms. Mints were established all over the country to produce these dāms in quantities sufficient to meet the demand for them. Half dāms and sixteenths were also coined. Quarter dāms and eighths are almost, if not altogether, unknown. Perhaps some of the current copper coins were used. These copper coins had on them the name and titles of the king, the mint and year. These items were arranged in a great variety of ways.

Sher Sháh's rupees were broad, fine pieces, weighing about 175 grains. They had his name and titles on them in Arabic and Hindi, and the mint and year on one side. The other was occupied by the Kalima and the names of the first four Khalifas. There were some exceptions to these arrangements, however. It is evident that the ratio between the rupee and the dām was that of their metallic values. Forty dāms of copper, of 320 grains each, were equal in value to 175 grains of silver. Very little gold was coined by the Sher Sháh; so we do not know what the relative values of silver and gold were in his reign.

After Sher Sháh, four other Súrí kings coined, on the lines started by the founder of the dynasty. Vast quantities of copper coins must have been issued during the 16 years of Humáyún's absence from India. They were necessary to the fiscal arrangements inaugurated by Sher Sháh.

When Humáyún returned, he fell in with the arrangements the Súrís had made. He struck rupees and he issued dāms. Both are known of the year 962. He, however, omitted his name from the copper coins, and he did not put it in Hindí on the silver ones. His death put an end to his mint projects.

Akbar became King of India in 963 H. The Lahore mint, near which he was when he heard of his father's death, at once began to issue thin silver coins, like those of Humáyún and

Bábar. But this was soon stopped. The Agra and Dehli mints coined rupees of full weight, and were followed by other mints all over the country. Dáms were issued in vast quantities from a great number of mints every year. The assessment of the land was made and paid in dáms. Rupees were numerously coined. Half rupees and quarter rupees and eighths and tenths and twentieths were also struck. As Akbar extended his Empire, he opened fresh mints for gold, silver and copper, and this went on for thirty years. Every year gold, silver and copper coins were issued, from some mints regularly, from others as occasion required. Some of the coins in gold and silver were small, thin pieces. Some of the rupees were like Sher Sháh's, but with the name in Hindi omitted. Some of the copper coins imitated the copper coins of Sher Sháh, and some are known with the Kalima on the reverse. The copper coins were, in these thirty years, invariably called "fulus" on the coins themselves. Halves, quarters, and eighths all had the same name on them. The gold coins never exceeded 170 grains, the silver never 180.

In the 30th year of his reign Akbar altered the inscriptions on his coins, but not their weight. This alteration was due to a change in his religious views. His success had puffed him up. He regarded himself as God. He therefore caused his name to appear on the coins as الله اكبر "Akbar is God," and he added جل جلاله "May his brightness shine forth." He invented also a new kind of salám, which was really an act of worship. He ceased using the Muhammadan Kalima on his coins, and used instead the two short sentences given above. He also ceased using the Hijrí year. He used the year of his reign, and he called that الهی divine. As his mints were at work the whole year through, he caused the month in which each coin was struck to be recorded on it, as well as the year and the mint. The months he used were those in use by the fire-worshippers of Persia, not the Muhammadan months. Akbar lived twenty years after he had made these changes in his coin legends.

On his copper coins of these last twenty years appear some new coin names "Tanka," "Nímtanka," "Chhárum hissa-i-tanka," "Hashtam hissa-i-tanka," and "Shánzdaham hissa-i-tanka;" on one coin is "damrí," on another "damra," on another "nám dām," on another "nisfe." There is a series of copper pieces on which come the names در تانك or چو تانك or در تانك or يك تانك. These have the names of the months and the mints on them, together with the Ilahi year. They are said to have been weights issued from the mints as standard weights for goldsmiths. Their names, however, do not agree with those given in the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, neither do the

weights. The weights do not agree either with goldsmith's weights used in the bazaars. Quite recently we obtained some of the latter in agate and crystal. They differ from the coins considerably. The *tanka* named above has nothing to do with this latter series of coins. It weighed about 640 grains and was therefore a double *dám*. It is rarer than our own large two-penny pieces struck in Birmingham in 1797.

The copper and silver mints of Akbar were very numerous. The coins give the names of many mints not given in the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, As, however, that book was composed before Akbar's death, and as Akbar's mints went on striking coins until that event, some of the later-opened mints could not be recorded. We must remember, however, that only in one part of India has search been made for Akbar's coins. Further search will undoubtedly give us more mint names, and further varieties of his coinage.

According to the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, many coins were minted, of which we have not a single specimen now. There were* 100, 50, and 25 mohur pieces. He is said at his death to have left coins of this kind worth over 97 millions of rupees. Besides which he left one hundred millions of rupees in silver and two hundred and† thirty millions of copper pieces in his treasury. Of all this enormous wealth a few thousands of rupees, a few hundred copper pieces, and one 5 mohur gold piece have come down to our time and are now known.

We are told that the ordinary gold mohur was worth from 8 to 10 rupees. It is now worth from 26 to 28.

Three couplets are known on Akbar's coins. One was on a rupee struck at Allahabad. The other two were on Agra mohurs. The Allahabad rupee is of three varieties : one has neither year nor month on it : one has the year without the month, and one has both year and month. There was, however, a lot of poetry on the large coins of Akbar.

At the death of Akbar there must have been a vast amount of gold, silver and copper current in the country. His mints had been at work 50 years. The *Súrís* had coined for 16 years before his time. Even now it is not difficult to obtain silver and copper coins of every one of those 66 years. Of some years of Akbar, coins may be obtained of every month. The currency of India was, therefore, in a better condition than that

* When Jahángir went from Allahabad to Agra to condole with Akbar on the death of his wife Jahángir's mother, he presented as a *nazar* 200 mohurs of 100 tolas each, 4 of 50 each, 1 of 25, 1 of 20, and 3 of 5 tolas each. *Tozuk-i-Jahagiri*.

† Jahangir at the beginning of his reign gave several lakhs of dams to Dost Muhammad to distribute in alms ; to several others he gave a lakh each for the same purpose ; to another he gave 5,000 rupees ; at the same time he ordered 50,000 dams to be given away daily.

of any other country in the world. Purchases could be made in it to any extent, however great or small. There were no tokens. Everything was current at its intrinsic value. The coins of previous dynasties had not been called in. This must have caused confusion to a certain extent ; but when once the Surí dynasty's and Akbar's coinage had set a standard, all the coins of previous dynasties would be valued intrinsically. Their presence would add to the time necessary for a bargain and to the zeal with which folk would commence the wrangling.

Some of Akbar's mohurs and rupees are square. He revived a custom which Qutb-ud-Dín Mubarak Sháh had started. Jahángír succeeded to an Empire replete with money, and to a full treasury. He made some few changes in the coins. In the early years of his reign he began to strike gold coins a quarter as heavy again as those of Akbar, and silver coins a quarter as heavy again as Akbar's rupees. For the first five years of his reign, too, he returned to the use of the Kalima on his mohurs and rupees. After that he began the use of Persian couplets, in which were mentioned the month and the mint, or sometimes the mint only, and sometimes neither month nor mint. Sometimes he put only the year of his reign on his coins, and he called it, as his father had done, "Ilahi," or "divine." Sometimes he added the Hijrí year. In the preface to the Lahore catalogue 38 Persian couplets are given.

Jahángír struck few copper coins, and some of these were Surí dáms re-struck. He introduced some new names for his copper coins, *rawdne*, *ráij*, *nám ráij* and *rawán* appear, as well as *fulus*. The Lahore catalogue gives 22 of his copper coins, the British Museum gave one only. There was no need for the fresh coining of copper by Jahángír. The country was well supplied when he ascended the throne. The dáms were thick, dumpy coins which could not wear down easily.

One small silver coin Jahángír seems to have invented, the "*nisár*," a coin as its name shows meant for distribution, or scattering, amongst the people, on anniversaries of coronation days and birthdays and such like festivals. These coins are of great beauty, and are now amongst the rare things obtained by numismatists. The Lahore catalogue has three only, the British Museum none.

Jahángír issued one unique series of mohurs and rupees. They are called zodiacal, because they have on one side the signs of the zodiac. These signs were beautifully worked out images, the work of some European artist. They are now of the greatest degree of rarity. Many imitations are, however, obtainable. Jahángír, like his father, coined large gold and silver coins. In his biography he gives a list of these, and he speaks sometimes of making presents of them to ambassadors and people of rank. One only is now known, and it is only a five mohur piece.

Jahángír, of all the Mogul Emperors, was the only one who attempted his portrait on his coins. This is in several cases given with the addition of that greatest of all shameful abominations to a Musalman, the wine cup. On the reverse of one is the sun. The Moguls were said to be sun-worshippers. One old traveller says, that the Emperor used to rise every morning and worship the sun, and he describes the window where this act was performed. Both Akbar and Jahángír used the old Persian months on their coins, and these were the months used by the Sassanians, who were fire-worshippers. These two facts, the sun on some coins, the Persian months on many others, may have given rise to the misstatement, "From the use of the word *divine* we know that Akbar and Jahángír laid claim to divinity. One of the coin couplets of Jahángír slyly hints at this. He says that the numerical values of the letters in his own name and in that of God الله are the same.

One other coin of Jahángír's deserves notice. He struck both mohurs and rupees on which are his own name and that of his lovely queen, Núr Jahán.

The workmanship of the coins of Jahángír is superb. It is the best that was ever performed by any oriental die-sinkers. After his time the art of die-sinking suffered decadence.

There are very few coins of Jahángír to represent divisional parts of the rupee, though it is said they were struck. The mints of Jahángír are fewer than those of his father. Some towns, however, occur on his coins which are not on Akbar's, but there are many mint towns of Akbar's time from which no coin has been seen of Jahángír's. Thus Multán was a mint of Akbar's, but no one has seen a coin of Jahángír's from this mint. This cannot be easily accounted for, as, from the 1st year of Sháh Jahán, Multan again figures on the coinage. All mint records being lost, we are dependent on the coins alone. They are our mint records, and we know scarcely anything beyond what they tell us.

Sháh Jahán succeeded his father, Jahángír. His name as prince was Khurram. A rupee of his, struck at Lahore, has that name on it, together with Sháh Jahán. In his first year Sháh Jahán, at some of his mints, caused the word *Hijrí* to be struck on his mohurs and rupees, in contradistinction to *Ilahí*, which had been so prominent on the rupees and mohurs of Jahángír. This was politic. Sháh Jahán needed the help of all the Muhammadans he could conciliate. The reverses of the rupees and mohurs had the Kalima restored to them. With it, however, for many years, from several mints, coins were issued having the Ilahi year and the old Persian month of the fire worshippers. Couplets were banished from the coins. There is, however, one couplet on a Dehli rupee when new Dehli was first called Shahjahanabad. No genuine

square coin is known of Sháh Jahán's, in either gold or silver, although Jahángír had coined in both metals, round and square coins indiscriminately. The gold coin, kept up the usual weight of the mohurs, and there was no alteration in the weight of the rupee. Halves of rupees were struck *Nisárs*, the weight of a quarter of a rupee, were also coined. Copper coins of Sháh Jahán are seldom found now-a-days. There was no need for his adding to the copper currency. Some *dáms* and some eighths of *dáms* are all that are known. Large gold coins continued to be struck ; but only one is now known to be in existence. From all this it will be seen that Sháh Jahán's coins are monotonous. They were intended for use, and performed that function admirably. Perhaps, it ought to be mentioned, that a pretender named *Dáwar Bakhsh* issued rupees at Lahore in the first year of Sháh Jahán. Only one rupee seems to have survived.

When Sháh Jahán was dethroned, two of the rival brothers, Shah Shuja and Murad Bukhsh, issued rupees in their own names. But Aurángzeb, the sly, successful brother, soon obtained the throne, and the other brothers, in various ways and by various means, disappeared. Aurangzeb abolished the *Kalima* from his coins. He regarded it as too holy a sentence to be in the hands of infidels. After a year or so, during which he used his names and titles on his coins, he fixed on a couplet for the obverse of his mohurs and rupees, and during his long reign of 51 years he adhered to it. The only change he made was that of putting part of this couplet in a square area. The reverse of such rupees, as have this square area on the obverse, have the name of the mint in a similar square area.

Aurangzeb possessed more of India than any other Mogul Emperor, but it was in his time that disintegration commenced. Over fifty mints of his are known. They show the extent of his empire. His gold and silver coins must have been struck in vast quantities all over the country. The weight and quality of the metal were uniform. Only *nisárs* are known of his small silver coins. He must have been miserly, for not a dozen specimens have come down to our time. He struck very little copper, but he made a change in his copper coins. The rupee had become so plentiful that there was no need for copper in making large payments. It was needed now only for change and small purchases. He reduced the weight from 320 grains to about 220. One copper coin of Surat is known weighing now 316 grains. The Lahore catalogue gives 24 of his copper coins ; of Akbar it gave 284. This shows, perhaps, the relative proportion of the amounts of the copper coins issued in these two long reigns. In Akbar's time copper was a necessity. In Aurangzeb's, it was wanted only for small transactions.

One small silver coin of Aurangzeb's deserves notice. It was square and was called a "legal drachm." It weighs now 46·5 grains. This is about the weight of the old dirhams of the Khalifas of Baghdad and Damascus.

On the death of Aurangzeb, Azim Sháh and Kam Bakhsh set up as pretenders for a short time. They struck both mohurs and rupees, which are now amongst the rarest acquisitions of the coin collector.

Sháh Alam Bahadur I. succeeded to the throne. He gave orders that no couplets should be used on his coins. Of course, he was not obeyed. Three couplets have been found on his rupees. His short reign of 6 years was prolific in mohurs and rupees, but no copper coins are known bearing his name, and no silver coin less than a rupee. The only thing to vary the monotony of his issues is the mint names. Jahándár Sháh, who succeeded Sháh Alam, reigned only part of a year ; so, of course, his coins were never numerous. They are known in gold and silver only. Farrukhsiyar next reigned for seven years. The minting of mohurs and rupees went on as usual. Some few coins in copper bear his name. One small square silver legal drachm has been found. It weighs 41·5 grains. He used one couplet on his coins. Jahándár Sháh had used several or rather several variants of one. In the year that Farrukhsiyar died, three kings ascended the throne of Dehli, Rafiá-ud-Daraját, Rafiá-ud-Daulat and Muhammad Shah. The two former died within the year. Their mohurs and rupees are known from several mints. Those of Rafiá-ud-Daraját had a couplet on them. The numismatic name of Rafiá-ud-Daulat was Sháh Jahán.

Muhammad Sháh reigned 31 years. His mohurs and rupees are even now abundant. His copper coins are rare, but still they are met with. They are of the reduced weight of Aurangzeb's copper coins. He used no couplets, and his coins in consequence have little on them besides the years and mints to recommend them. As usual, the mints were at work every year. The mints were getting fewer and fewer and nearer and nearer to Dehli. Muhammad Ibrahim was an interloper at the commencement of this reign. He coined mohurs and rupees.

It was during the reign of Muhammad Sháh that Nádir Sháh invaded India. His sack of Dehli is one of the most terrible things we read of in history. The loot his soldiers accumulated was taken from them ; and much was melted down into ingots. Rupees were struck at Dehli by the invader, who had struck double mohurs at Lahore on his way down. Nádir Sháh must have taken away with him a vast amount of bullion, but it seems to have been of little use to him or his country. It was probably buried and has never been exhumed.

Ahmad Sháh was the next king of Dehli. Ahmad Sháh Durrání was crowned in the same year as Ahmad Sháh of Dehli, in Qandahar, and the same year he invaded the Panjáb and struck rupees in Lahore. Whenever he returned to his mountain home, the Lahore mint seems to have been busy coining for his Dehli namesake. This kind of thing went on in the reign of the next king of Dehli, Alamgir II, who was the last Mogul Emperor to coin in Lahore. It was in his days that Ahmad Sháh Durrání defeated and destroyed the Mahrattas at Pánipat. The Durrání and his son, Taimur, struck many coins in the north of India, but none in copper. They were of the same make and weight as the rupees of the Mogul Emperors. Ahmad Sháh Durrání's Lahore coins go on for many years. Alamgir II coined in gold, silver and copper. His copper coins were lighter still than those of Aurangzeb and Muhammad Sháh's.

After him Sháh Jahán III reigned just long enough to coin in gold and silver; and then Sháh Alam II was put on the throne, on which he sat as titular Emperor for 49 years. Coins in gold, silver and copper were struck in his name all over the north of India. The East India Company used his name extensively on their early issues. Many native States struck coins in his name also, so that, if we regard only the coins bearing his name, we should think he was one of the most powerful Emperors of India, instead of being what he was, a poor blinded puppet King. Early in his reign the Sikhs began to strike coin at Lahore, rupees only. Shortly after that they opened a mint at Amritsar. Both mints went on working every year. Their coins do not bear the name of Sháh Alam II, which appears only on the rupees of one trans-Sutlej State, Jummún. Towards the end of the reign of Sháh Alam, the British conquered Agra and Delhi. One of the copper coins, bearing Sháh Alam's name and struck at Agra, bears the initials J. W. H. These were struck by the orders of Lieut.-Col. John William Hessian, the Emperor's Governor of the Fort of Agra, who died and was buried at Agra in 1803.

The mohurs, rupees and copper coins struck by the East India Company in the name of Sháh Alam are very numerous. The records of the Company's mints give us full information about them. The coinage of the East India Company is outside the province of this short paper.

Akbar II succeeded Sháh Alam II. His empire was the Delhi Fort and nothing more. There he kept up a semblance of royalty and issued gold, silver and copper coins in his own name for many years. They were not numerous, and are now very rare. Coins struck in native States, bearing his name, are common.

Bahádur Sháh succeeded Akbar II. Of his coins only

rupees are known, struck at Delhi. Many native States, however, continued to use his name and that of the second Akbar. The Mutiny, and its result, put an end to all this playing at being Emperor.

We have shown in the above brief sketch that the Mogul Emperors conquered India, and from the time of their conquest to the very last days of the last puppet Emperor, coins were struck in their name. We have scarcely any mint records. The coins secured by years of patient collecting, however, enable us to tell the story of the work of the mints. In no history of India do we learn that at any time commerce and trade suffered from either the depreciation of the coinage, or from a paucity of coins. In the 21st chapter of Macaulay's History of England, we have a frightful picture of the state of the currency in England in 1695 A.D., which was the 39th year of Aurangzeb. Turning to the rupees described in the Lahore catalogue for that year and previous ones, we find that now, after 200 years of wear, the weights vary very little. No rupee is lower than 171 grains, while none is more than 178. So, no matter what the tyranny of the Emperors was, one thing at any rate was well looked after, the coinage. There was money in abundance, and it was good money. The gold, silver and copper coins were as nearly as possible unalloyed. Exchange varied as the intrinsic values of the metals varied. In Akbar's time the gold mohur was worth from 9 to 10 rupees. It afterwards rose to be worth 15 or 16. It is now worth 27 or 28. Gold was never a standard of value in India. Since the time of Akbar everything has been referred to the rupee. All our evils of to-day are caused by the fact, that while this standard of the rupee obtains in India, the sovereign is the standard of value at home. The enormous supplies of silver obtained during the last 20 years have far exceeded the proportionate supplies of gold, abnormal though they too have been. No one can help the present condition of things, for supply and demand are outside all legislation. They rule the market. Happy they whose pay is in pounds. They who receive their remuneration in rupees are unhappy sufferers, whose condition to-day, compared with their condition twenty years ago, suggests the two words—penury and prosperity.

It will be seen, from what we have written above, what a vast field the coins of the Mogul Emperors of India present to the numismatist. The catalogues of the Lahore Museum, of the British Museum, and of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, can be studied by those desirous of pursuing the subject numismatically.

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ART. X.—THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY IN INDIA.

Chronicles of the Cumming Club, and Memories of Old Academy Days: MDCCCXLI—MDCCCXLVI. Compiled by Alexander Fergusson, Lieutenant-Colonel; Historiographer to the Club. Edinburgh: printed for the Cumming Club, by T. and A. Constable, at the University Press, MDCCCLXXXVII.

The Edinburgh Academy Army List, 1824-1894, being supplement to the "*Edinburgh Academy Chronicle*," February 1894.

INTRODUCTORY.

AN advertisement which appeared in some of the Indian newspapers early in January of the present year, inviting men in India, who had been boys at the Edinburgh Academy, to dine together in Calcutta, reminded me that I had for some time been contemplating the writing of an article, to be offered to the *Calcutta Review*, on the subject of the Edinburgh Academy in India, materials for which I had in the book of which I have first above given the title. Since I first thought of doing this, two articles tracing the connection of Ayrshire men with India have appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, namely (1) "Kilwinning in the East," by Mr Reginald Craufurd Sterndale, in October 1891, and (2) "Ayrshire in India," signed by R. M., in January 1892. Being half Ayrshire myself, these articles were specially interesting to me. R. M.'s article was suggested by Mr. Sterndale's, and was written by way of supplement to it. Kilwinning is a small town in Ayrshire, in the Parish of the same name, and it was the head-quarters of Freemasonry in Scotland from, as Mr. Sterndale shows, at least as early as 1286 down to 1736, when the Grand Lodge of Scotland was constituted; and the Kilwinning brethren, resisting what they considered the usurpation of their ancient rights, continued to hold independent meetings and grant charters as before, until 1807, when the Mother Lodge relinquished her ancient privileges and joined the general Masonic body. Mr. Sterndale said:—

"I need not repeat the truism that Scottish men have always been foremost in foreign enterprise and adventure, but will point out what is equally true, though not, perhaps, so widely known, that of all the shires of Scotland, none has contributed so largely in this direction as Ayrshire."

"There was hardly an Ayrshire family of note in the last or present centuries which had not one or more of its cadets in India, either in the Military, Naval, or Civil Services of the East India Company, or pursuing fortune as free merchants or sea-captains."

"It was but natural, therefore, that when a number of men of Ayr found themselves thrown together in a foreign clime, they

should try to establish among them a reminiscence of their own well-beloved Western country, and, as many of them (as was often the case with those who went abroad in those days) were Free Masons, they formed a Lodge, which they named after the Mother Lodge of Scotland, and the Parish in which most probably many of them were born,—‘Kilwinning in the East.’

Mr. Sterndale concluded his article thus:—

“The Western country has reason to be proud of the share her sons had in the acquisition and establishment of the great Indian Empire.”

R. M. backs up Mr. Sterndale, and says that his article—“Kilwinning in the East”—presents an example which might usefully be followed with reference to other countries, or towns, or districts of the old country, which have sent their sons or daughters to the East, though, perhaps, he says, there are few parts of Scotland, England, or Ireland, which have established so long a title to recognition in India as has the county of Ayr. But neither of these writers makes mention of Ayrshiremen now in India, or who have been in it of late years.

“Having been at the same school” is well-nigh as potent a bond of union between men in India as is the fact of having come from the same country. Eton, Rugby, Harrow, Cheltenham, Marlborough, Wellington, and Staff College dinners, or some of them, are annual institutions in India, and now the Edinburgh Academy has come into the field. So far as I am aware, no report of the gathering which was held in Calcutta on the 13th January last was published; but by the courtesy of one of them, I am enabled to give a list of the names of those who attended, which, moreover, shows what they are doing in India. The peaceful nature of their occupations contrasts strikingly, as will afterwards be seen, with those of the men of war who proceeded from the school to India in the period which the “Cumming Club” commemorates. The dinner-roll of the 13th January 1894, taking the names at random, and giving the periods during which the eaters attended the Academy, is as follows:—

- F. R. RAMPINI, 1854-57, Judge of the High Court, Calcutta.
- Surgeon-Captain C. G. ROBSON SCOTT, 1877-83, Indian Medical Department.
- Surgeon-Captain A. W. T. BUIST-SPARKS, 1881-83, Army Medical Service.
- J. ADAMSON, 1879-81, Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China.
- R. D. MURRAY, 1878-81, Alliance Bank of Simla, Limited.
- L. G. BALFOUR, 1862, Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.
- A. M. FINLAY, 1871-72, of Turner, Morrison and Company.
- W. R. DONOGH, 1868-74, Barrister-at-Law.
- C. S. CONNELL, Bank of Bengal.
- D. R. LYALL, 1852-59, Member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, Bengal.
- HARRY MACDONALD, 1867-69, Indigo Planter.

GEORGE W. WALKER, 1870-73.

FRANK F. LYALL, 1882-1889, I. C. S.

R. CARSTAIRS, 1866-69, I. C. S.

J. F. FINLAY, I. C. S., Financial Secretary to the Government of India.

JOHN MACDONALD, 1863-65, Indigo Planter.

W. J. CUNNINGHAM, 1861-64, I. C. S., Foreign Secretary, Government of India.

JAMES DALLAS, 1869-76, Capt., R. E., Assistant Secretary, Government of India, Military Department.

P. BOOTH, 1860-62, Port Trust, Calcutta.

Lieutenant H. A. LYALL, R. N., 1881, 83.

It will be observed that every year, from 1852 to 1889, was represented at the dinner. The following were unable to be present:—

R. A. LYALL, of Lyall Marshall & Co., Calcutta.

Surgeon-Major T. R. MACDONALD.

Surgeon-Captain D. M. MOIR.

H. I. MCINTOSH, I. C. S.

N. D. BEATSON BELL, I. C. S.

J. D. FRASER, I. C. S.

A. E. CUNLIFFE, of Kellner & Co.

THE ACADEMY.

The *Edinburgh Academy* is a proprietary Day School, which was founded in the year 1825, to meet the felt want, as the phrase is, of a school for the boys of the new town, with suitable buildings, and an enclosed play-ground. Prior to the period with which Colonel Fergusson deals, it had, as he says, well fulfilled the expectation, in having produced sound scholars and good gentlemen. "It was considered a distinction to belong to such an institution. A certain responsibility lay on these aspirants of tender years" (those entering the first or lowest class, in October 1840), "seeing there were traditions of the school in respect of gentlemanly style and other matters." About sixty boys then joined the first class, which, Colonel Fergusson says, was an unusually large number; and, he says, the reason was that the first class was to be taken by one of the most popular of the masters, Mr. James Cumming. The system which existed from the foundation of the school down to the year when Colonel Fergusson wrote, when some changes were made, was that a boy, from the day of his joining the first class, advanced, year by year, under the exclusive care of the same master in classical studies during the first four years of his career. Then, though he was passed on to the Rector's hands to receive higher instruction in the classics—then the *spécialité* of the school—he did not altogether leave behind him the teaching of his old master, but had the advantage of the combined instruction during the remaining three years of the course. It was obvious that,

"under an arrangement of this kind it was matter of the utmost moment into whose hands a boy was likely to be intrusted on his first entry in the school. For better or worse, he and his master must be associated for many hours daily during the next six or seven years—perhaps the most important of the boy's life." Hence the run upon a popular master. Some boys would be kept back, others pressed on a little, to meet such an occasion. The fact that the boys who entered the "First" in October 1841, had fallen on most happy times and singular good fortune, was apparent to us all, says Colonel Fergusson, "before we had been many days at school—

"It was, however, no new discovery that we had made. Already Mr. Cumming had secured for himself the reputation of a high-minded honourable gentleman of large attainments, and wide sympathies, which took the form of the most genial and kindly bearing towards his boys."

According to my recollection, Mr. Cumming's first classes were not the largest in this school. I think Mr. Macdougall used to have more pupils, and I think there was a Macdougall Club also, which may still exist. But Colonel Fergusson's praise of Mr. Cumming is fully justified. "Among the earlier of his pupils were Archibald Campbell Tait, Dux of the Academy, in its second year (the year in which Mr. Cumming joined it), the future Archbishop of Canterbury, and the late Frederick Robertson of Brighton." "In after years, Mr. Cumming's intercourse with Archbishop Tait was of a very cordial character." "The pupils of a former period held him in the same high esteem and affectionate regard that we did." Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff, ex-Governor of Madras, is mentioned by Colonel Fergusson as one of Mr. Cumming's early pupils.

It seems curious that Colonel Fergusson does not mention the fact that Mr. Cumming was an ordained clergyman, though he made education the business of his life. But "The Reverend" he was—originally of the Church of Scotland, but after the Secession,—of the Free Church, I well remember hearing him preach in a country Parish Church, shortly before that event took place, but I do not think his sermon was controversial.

Long before the first year was out, as Colonel Fergusson says, our faith in our master was complete;—"Firm without harshness, gentle without weakness," such was the description given of him by one who knew Mr. Cumming well; nothing could be better or more apt. His class discipline was firm, tempered with much of geniality and not a little humour; and he, by a happy knack,

'When'er he spoke,
Made work seem lightsome by his mirthful joke,'

which was not wanting sometimes even when correction was administered." "Then his threats of punishment were terrible to hear. He could speak in an awful voice of 'a tremendous flogging;' but well we knew it was *sound*, and nothing more." I do not remember that Mr. Cumming ever lost his temper, or was in a passion; but he could be stern on occasion, and retribution generally followed swiftly on detection. The flogging was certainly *sound*, but perhaps that is what Colonel Fergusson means, not *vox et præterea nihil*. His "tawse" was full-sized, and heavy, and I have still a vivid recollection of the feel of it. Six lashes of the five thongs all over the palm and fingers, administered with a full swing of the body and arm, made one feel bad for hours. And Mr Cumming did not confine the administration to the hand. He had a pretty way of whacking one over the shoulders, if he caught one up to anything as he was walking round the class. One way in which his "geniality and humour" were manifested, was in throwing the tawse at a boy, whom he saw in the distance misbehaving, whereupon the unlucky wight had to carry it up to the desk, and there receive his "palmies." The difference between the instrument and the mode of using it, was great in Mr. Cumming's and Mr. Gloag's classes. Gloag was the mathematical master, and Colonel Fergusson devotes a chapter of his book to his virtues, his humours, and his eccentricities, which I will make use of further on. Regarding Gloag's 'tawse' it is said:—

"In those days the *swish* of the 'tawse' was no unfamiliar sound at the Academy. Gloag's were produced on slight occasion. They—the instrument has no singular that we ever heard of—were hard, thin, and black" (and short, I may add), "the tips seemed—or rather we should say *seem*, for we had them in hand a few days ago,—to have been artificially hardened.

"This weapon he handled with skill and dexterity, and it was thought he took a pride in his proficiency, as those do who excel in any exercise where hand and eye must work in unison, so that the idea was common that he had acquired a taste for its use,—a

'Taste with a distempered appetite.'

"This is what Peter Guthrie Tait says on the point: 'To use a well known cricketing phrase, Gloag could *get more work on* the tawse than could any of the other masters. This secret was in great part a dynamical one.'

I hope it was Tait that taught him the secret! Gloag's stroke with the 'tawse' was a sort of rapid draw-cut; he seemed to wish to take a bit out of you; but I think Cumming's heavy, unsophisticated sweep had a more lasting effect.

Among the subjects the classical masters at the Academy had to teach was Geography, and by Cumming, at least, it was well taught, and by the aid of large maps. He was fond of the subject, and made it interesting to us by reading to us

out of books of travel by the half-hour at a time. I have never lost the love of geographical subjects and books which I then acquired. May not some of the many boys of Mr. Cumming's classes, who chose careers which led them to India and other foreign countries, have done so in fulfilment of their school dreams?

THE CLUB.

Chapter VI of the Chronicles is entitled "The Club." Mr. Cumming left the Academy in 1846, on being appointed Rector of the newly instituted Academy at Glasgow, which post he held for five years. In 1850 the degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by the University of Glasgow, and in the following year he gave up his rectorship as being appointed one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. This appointment he held for three-and-twenty years, that is, till within a short time of his death. Dr. Cumming returned to Edinburgh in 1850, and, says Colonel Fergusson, it will be readily understood how cordially he was welcomed back, and "how, when his old Academy pupils of the years 1841-46 formed the resolution of joining in a Club, which should bear their respected master's name, with the object of continuing their affectionate companionship with him, and of holding together friendships of long standing, it was an honour to the class when this good gentleman accepted the position which it was their desire he should hold, with regard to themselves. 'The Class' was by this time scattered; but those of them who remained in Edinburgh took effective steps to ascertain the feelings of their late companions in this matter. Whether from those still at their studies at various Universities, or already started in their careers of life; from the New World, and the far East, and from various foreign parts, there came expressions of the warmest sympathy." At a preliminary meeting, held on 23rd February 1850, the thirteen present resolved to form themselves into a Club, to be called *The Edinburgh Academy, 1841-46, Cumming Club*. All those who attended Dr. Cumming's First Class in 1841, and Fifth in 1846, or any one or more of the intervening years, were to be entitled to admission. It was resolved that—

"the design in instituting the Club is to promote good feeling generally between the members of the class, to stimulate friendship by intercourse among those of them who have the good fortune to be still within its reach, to revive mutual interest with those whom circumstances have dispersed, and to testify the respectful regard which they cherish for their former teacher."

A circular letter was sent to every member of the class whose address could be ascertained, in various parts of the world, and the success of the movement was so complete, that that twenty-two names were enrolled by the 4th January 1851.

The first dinner was held in the "Archers' Hall," on 17th January 1851, Drs. Cumming and Gloag, Mr. Hamilton, the writing master, and Monsieur Senébiér, the French master, being present as guests. "It was a great and remarkable occasion for these young fellows when they found themselves thus entertaining their old masters, and not yet able to overcome a sense of awe. Everything seems to have been done in the most dignified manner." The masters were toasted, and many more toasts followed. "The youngsters were pleased with the success of their first attempt at dinner-giving, and with themselves. The next annual dinner seems to have been equally successful, a little less stately, and perhaps more enjoyable."

"But a far more remarkable entertainment was, shortly to be given by the young Club, the memory of which is still fresh with those so happy as to have been present, and no less so in the mind of the guest of this never-to-be-forgotten evening."

"In February 1852, Peter Guthrie Tait achieved the high distinction and position of Senior Wrangler at Cambridge," (and Smith's Prizeman also, I think) "This was felt to be an honour conferred on the Academy, the Masters Gloag in particular—the Class and the Club. Consequently they could do no less than offer to their old friend and Dux a banquet specially designed to do him worship." "For once the exclusive rule of the Club was broken through and invitations scattered with a lavish hand amongst those—and they were many—who, beyond the limits of the class, held kindly memories of Tait and of the Academy. It was a high occasion for them all. Gloag could hardly divest himself of the idea that he was the hero of the occasion, such credit did he take to himself."

No wonder Gloag was proud; for though Tait, after leaving the Academy, studied for several years at the Edinburgh University before going to Cambridge, yet Gloag had taught the young idea how to shoot. I must refer to the *Chronicles* for an account of the pranks that were played that night, after the masters and other elder guests were gone. I well remember some of them, led by Doyle Shaw, who was always the wag of the class: a boy whose face you could not look on without laughing.

NOTES CŒNÆQUE.

Chapter VII, of the Chronicles is entitled, "*Noctes Cœnæque.*" After the Archers' Hall, a tavern in the Fresh Market Close, in the old town, was for some years the venue. Then the Club emigrated to West Register Street, "on classic ground, and within a stone's throw of the famous spot, where 'Ambrose' and his 'Tavern' flourished. Who has not been stirred by the glorious '*Noctes*?' "

"Nothing could be more enjoyable and real than our nights in this locality of many memories."

"Here, for the next nine years, the dinners were held—excellent dinners; our own Chaplain to say the grace, and another class-fellow to give us good wine."

"At these meetings the thoughts of the class and the old masters naturally

turned to those who were away; and we read that, one evening in January 1855, at the Flesh Market, they drank, with good wishes, to those of the Club who were abroad, especially such as were in the Crimea and Turkey."

At this time, says Colonel Fergusson, in a foot-note, there were with the Forces in the Crimea, James Paton, 4th King's Own; James Craster, 38th Regiment; Patrick Heron Watson, Assistant Surgeon, Royal Artillery; W. Brown, Assistant Surgeon, 13th Light Infantry; Frank Grant Suttie, with the Naval Brigade; and Doyle Money Shaw, Assistant Surgeon, on board H. M. S. "Spitful," in the Red Sea.

"And now some of the Fellows who had wandered began to return, and the worthy Secretary's anxieties, as shown by the records, to keep up the numbers of the Club to be somewhat at rest."

"William Clephane, from service with the Bengal Artillery; James Vertue, of the Madras Engineers; and later, Cockburn," and Fergusson, after the Indian Mutiny, returned. Later still, Hall came home, from long medical practice in Brazil; and, after having been long 'wanted' on the Club lists, Arthur Forbes, R. N., appeared, a wanderer from the Baltic, and the China and African seas; then Charles Hope" (in 1872; I must have attended, or ought to have attended, the dinners, from 1851, until 1859.) "from India. In 1869 the Club received a welcome addition to its number in the return of Fleming Jenkin, appointed Professor of Engineering to the Edinburgh University. How pleased old Cumming was to welcome back his boys, and how genially he beamed on them through his silver-rimmed spectacles!"

Colonel Fergusson has a word or two to say about the Club's Museum. The archives were preserved in a ponderous chest which had to be produced at each annual dinner. Its contents were interesting, *e. g.*, "a fragment of Dr. Cumming's 'Tawse,' sent by a zealous member from India."

"Further, more, under date 11th January 1867, it is shown that the 'Museum of the Club,' having been opened, and the precious fragment exhibited, Dr. Gloag, amidst the applause of the company, undertook to lay on the table at the next dinner of the Club, for preservation with its archives, the veritable Tawse used by him during the period of his long incumbency at the Academy; an instrument that 'he feared was already well-known to several members of the Club.' (see *Minutes*, p. 56)."

"In due course the promise was fulfilled. At the next annual dinner, 22nd January 1868, Dr. Gloag, with some solemnity, took from the pocket of his tail-coat the *Tawse*, and threw them on the table amidst a burst of rapturous applause.

"When they had been safely placed under lock and key, and Dr. Gloag thanked for the 'gift of the interesting relic,' the feelings experienced were chiefly these:—That a high distinction had been conferred on the Club in Dr. Gloag's having given a preference to them, above all other aspirants, by thus making them the guardians of such a treasure, and, secondly—that at last a triumph had been achieved over the adversary of our youth, now scotched and consigned to perpetual durance."

It was in January, 1871, at their twentieth annual meeting, that the Club presented Dr. Cumming with a handsome album, containing three-and-twenty photographic portraits of former members of the class, which the Secretary had, with some labour, collected in accordance with a suggestion made two years before. In July 1874, Dr. Cumming retired from the office of H. M. Inspector of Schools, which he had held since 1851, receiving the usual pension from Government. "This with-

drawal from public life was a source of regret to a wide circle of friends. Their regret was freely expressed. 'During a long period of years,' it was said, 'there was scarcely a parish in Scotland, where the name and figure of Dr. Cumming were not familiar. His presence was missed in many a country manse.' " A public presentation was made to him by a large number of teachers and other friends, "as a token of their cordial appreciation of the fidelity and genial courtesy with which for twenty-three years he discharged the duties of his office."

Colonel Fergusson says there is a certain fascination in the manner of after dinner talk at the Cumming Club :

" Perhaps there is somewhat of the old Academy feeling of independence, want of reverence, if you like, for views propounded, because they are the views of somebody ; outrageous propositions answered in a like preposterous strain ; the same free criticism as in the play-ground of the School, all in the best of good humour " ' It is a rare chance, this yearly meeting, and the feeling is to make the most of it in good fellowship, and when the talkers, as they are wont to do, fall into pairs, what is ' the jargon of the schools ' to the clatter of the Club !

" When the Secretary, as the night grows late, gets up to fetch in the chest, and lay it on the table, as he is by enactment bound to do, the chances are that on his return something of this sort will meet his ears—

' The squadrons, my dear sir, were left in front ;
The enemy untouched by shot or shell ;
Down hill they rode, and fell upon the square '—
' No Sir, it was a meloid ' Dafty ' drew ;
The paper for the Royal Society
Fixed such attention as you seldom see ;
Eighteen he was '—' A great age for a judge,
But then his intellect's as clear as when
He first put on his robes long years ago '—
' Long ears indeed ! I cannot quite agree '—
' To hear him in a shipping case you'd say '—
' Why fire the second barrel at the brute ?
Only to spoil the skin, when stark he lay
And dead '—' Not quite upon the putting-green,
But then with my short spoon I seldom fail,
To manage such a shot '—' What luck indeed ! '—
' Ergs, or tenth-mètres, it matters not one whit,'
' The foot-pounds were as seven are to two ;
And that I will maintain, tho' all the pig-
And wooden-headed owls '—' &c.

One evening the Professor of Natural Philosophy, P. G. Tait, was badgered into giving the Club a specimen of those prelections of his that were found so attractive to the young, and the fair, and the ' blue, ' " and such a specimen." The subject was doubtful, but " the discourse flowed on in its course smoothly, with here a quip and there a quiddity. Nothing the speaker touched he did not adorn with points of light and bits of colours deftly and daintily thrown in."

" While pipes went out and eyes were opened wide, the Professor gave, with sweetest smile, glimpses of what may well have been the wiles with which he enticed the young, and the fair, and the ' blue ' into paths leading onwards to the mazes of amphicheiral and other species of Beknotfededness, in the midst of which

the Cumming Club had long ere this been hopelessly entangled. During one of the momentary pauses, when the speaker stopped to keep his pipe alight with a puff or two, he casually remarks—

‘Just say when you have had enough of this—or I’ll go on for twenty minutes more.’

‘Loud as the wolves on Orca’s stormy steep

Howl to the roarings of the northern deep,

Such is the shout

of indignation that sends the Professor—still sweetly smiling—back to his chair.”

On the 15th December 1875, “our good old master passed away. His death took place ‘with startling suddenness.’ “The Club could only give expression, in their minutes, to a feeling of ‘deep sorrow for the loss of one of whom they had so many pleasant reminiscences, and who was always so pleased to meet his old pupils.’ It is unnecessary to say more now.” Dr. Cumming’s son wrote that he was sure that it was not the mere name of the “Cumming Club” that made his father feel and speak so affectionately of the old pupils whom he met at the annual gatherings. “With great admiration for the talents of several, he seemed to think that an unusual amount of chivalrous and bright brotherly-kindness pervaded and allied the members. Of some he never spoke without the half laugh, half tears, which sought to conceal, and yet betrayed, his tenderness of feeling for them.”

For a moment, says Colonel Fergusson, there was a question whether, now that the centre of our little Society was gone, it should not be allowed to dissolve. “But it was called to mind how often our master had spoken of the hope he entertained that, when he should be called away, the Class would continue to meet as before. Accordingly the ‘twenty-fifth’ meeting of the Club was held on the 23rd March 1876. With increasing numbers and prosperity they have met annually till now. It was at the thirty-third meeting of the Club that it was ‘sincerely and solemnly declared’ that it was their wish that the Historiographer should undertake the long-talked of compilation of the Annals of the Club; he was exhorted to lose no time, and, in concert with the Secretary, endeavour to trace the careers of our class-fellows, the scraps of intelligence of some that had from time to time been received having led to the desire for more.”

THE CHRONICLES.

The book containing the Chronicles of the Cumming Club appeared towards the end of 1887. It is a small quarto volume of 229 pages, printed in antique type, with wide margins, on thick hand-made paper, and plainly but well half-bound. The publishers advertisement, which follows the preface, states that 250 copies of the book were printed, of which the Club had absorbed 150 and that the remaining 100 copies were for sale. In a circular

I received with my copy, the Secretary of the Club stated that it had been originally contemplated that the issue should be confined to the Class, the relatives of deceased members, and others, who had supplied information for the compilation, including also a few copies for the members of Dr. Cumming's family. As the work proceeded, however, it was thought that it might prove to be of interest to a somewhat wider circle of readers, and accordingly it was resolved to print 250 copies, Messrs. Constable offering to take the risk of printing and selling the extra 100 copies. "Their offer was accepted, and the whole of the copies taken by them were quickly disposed of, the demand having in fact exceeded the limited supply." The book, then, was soon out of print, and I have not heard that any subsequent edition has been printed. This must serve as part of my excuse for quoting so copiously from it. The *Chronicles* are, of course, inscribed with affection and gratitude, to the memory of Dr. Cumming, of whom a speaking likeness is given in a frontispiece, engraved from an etching, or a pen-and-ink drawing. A vignette of the Academy building is given on the title page.

In his "*Ad lectorem*," Colonel Fergusson admits that when a small Society that had hitherto sought the shade, stepped forward to break the golden silence of five-and-thirty years, and lay open the fact of its existence, and somewhat of its inner life, there seems some ground for the imputation of egotism. But the book was intended for an already contracted circle of readers, in which—and in certain outer concentric rings—there existed "That desire for sympathy that is the product of leisurely thought and kindly retrospection, to satisfy which, in some degree, this little book has been compiled.

'There's no such thing in Nature, 'and you'll draw

A faultless *Master*, whom the world ne'er saw.'

Our belief, however, runs to the contrary ; and, having run these many lustres and decades, has gathered strength and momentum hopeless to resist.

"And this is part of the tenets of our creed—that however the principles of school-mastery may be laid down, and the theories explained, in lectures and treatises of to-day, how an ignorant and erring little mortal may be put in at one end of a scientific process, and turned out at the other a finished gentleman, in our time it came by the light of a kindly nature to a gentle-hearted man to do all this ; and reap a rich crop of love and gratitude besides.

"But, we would not have it thought that any pretence is made in these records of our school days, that we were other than an average sample of the good old Academy's raw material ; and, in our manhood, of her completed work.

"We are not of those who would set Class against Class, or our own above the rest."

Colonel Fergusson renders due thanks to those who helped him in his work ; and he concludes his Preface by hoping that the *Chronicles* will not be thought of a complexion too mili-

tary. "Some *seven-and-twenty* of the Class went into the Services, as will be seen, at an important juncture in the history of our country ; and, with their weapons, have gathered in a goodly harvest of honours in the field and on the sea. *Thirty-nine* military decorations, including *six* of British and Foreign Knightly 'Orders,' have fallen to the share of the *Class*.

"To show how all this came about ; and to record the achievements, no less heroic, of many of our class-fellows in Civil life ; and of others with the pen ; and to trace careers of quiet industry and usefulness, is the aim of the latter part of this volume, where it has been attempted to make mention, however slight in some cases, of each one of those who were under Dr. Cumming's care at the Academy, between the years 1841 and 1846, inclusive."

The 37th Annual dinner of the Cumming Club took place on the 20th July 1888. I was at home at the time, and was very sorry that I could not be present. From a circular put forth by the Honorary Secretary, MR. ROBERT LAIDLAW STUART, I learned that there were present—Colonel J. H. GAMMELL (who presided, and who from 1853 to 1886 had not been able to attend the meetings), MR. BEATSON BELL (a name now coming to the front in India), Lieutenant-General COCKBURN, The Rev. HENRY DUNCAN, Lieutenant-Colonel FERGUSSON (the Historiographer of the Club), Captain A. FORBES, R. N., Mr. GRAY, Mr. JOHN C. ROBERTSON, Mr. WM TOD, and Mr. R. L. STUART. Four others—Mr. BRODIE, Captain WILLIAM D. O. HAY-NEWTON, Major JAMES PATON, and Professor TAIT, had intended to be present, but were prevented at the last. Apologies, containing regrets for unavoidable absence, and best wishes for the success of the meeting, were received from Sir EDWARD HARLAND, Bart., Messrs. BROUGHTON, CARRINGTON, COBBOLD, COCHRANE, CONDAMINE, and HOPE, Lieutenant-Colonel MCDUGALL, Major JOHN PATON, Mr. PITMAN, Major-General SHIRREFF, Mr. A. D. STEWART, Major-General A. UTTERSON, and Mr. P. H. WATSON, M. D. Only four out of thirty-three circulars issued had been unreplyed to. Occasion was taken of that being the first dinner since the completion of the "Chronicles of the Club," to present Colonel Fergusson with a mark of appreciation on the part of the Club of his labours in the compilation of that work.* The

* While this article was in the press I have learned, with deep regret, from the Academy Army List, the title of which I have prefixed, that Colonel Fergusson died in 1892, though I have been thinking and writing of him as alive. No particulars are given. He must be sorely missed at the meetings of the Club.

gift consisted of a Silver Tankard or Claret Jug, of date 1743, on which was inscribed—

· To THEIR SYMPATHETIC HISTORIOGRAPHER,
ALEXANDER FERGUSSON,
IN GRATEFUL RECOLLECTION OF HIS SUCCESS
IN A LABORIOUS BUT CONGENIAL TASK,
WITH THANKS, ESTEEM, AND GOOD WISHES,
THE CUMMING CLUB,
20th July 1888.

I have already quoted pretty freely from the "Chronicles," but I must find room for a few "tidbits." "Who has not been puzzled," says Colonel Fergusson, "to individualise some of the early Christian martyrs that one sees depicted as suffering unheard of atrocities?" Regarding one of these the knowledge was fixed in our minds once and for all time.

"On one occasion Mr. Cumming put the question to his class concerning the martyrdom of St. Lawrence: 'Could any one describe the manner of his death?' Beginning at the top of the class, the wise ones—Tait, Bell, Hall, Home, were tried, and all the rest; 'Shot with arrows,' 'Wheel with spikes,' and other horrors were in vain suggested. Then Mr. Cumming related, that in a former class of his, the same question had been put—'What was the end of St. Lawrence?' No one could answer, till at last an imp from the lower regions of the class 'got up dux' by answering, amidst shouts of applause—'He was brandered!' (Colonel Fergusson, owing to the imperfect nature of the English language, finds it necessary to put in a footnote—*Brander*, to broil on a gridiron,—*Jameson's Scottish Dictionary*.)

"The process is associated with salmon cutlets and mutton chops. Consequently, it happens, that the ever-recurring pictures of the Saint and his gridiron, in the galleries of Italy and Germany, never fail to re-affirm the fact, for those who learned it then, that St. Lawrence was *brandered*."

There is a Scotch proverb, says Colonel Fergusson, to the effect that you find 'good gear in small parcels.' Mr. Cumming once, to the great enjoyment of all, tested the truth of the saying in so far as it applied to his class. The pupils used to sit, without desks in front of them, in horse-shoe fashion, the master's desk at the open end, and a great fire-place making a break at the toe end. "Thus it was that a rough division of the class was established between those whose *habitual* and recognised place was above the fire, and those who only casually attained to that eminence. There were about thirty on each side of the fire-place. For the purpose of Mr. Cumming's experiment the class was arranged in order of merit, the votes of the class being taken as to each boy's *usual* place, and a list drawn out." Then the class was sized, and a second list made. "The general result of the experiment, which caused intense amusement, seemed to be that many big hulking fellows found themselves for the moment advanced to positions they had

occupied but rarely ; and several below the fire, where they had never been before. Therefore, it was held, that the truth of the proverb was in some sort established—albeit there were exceptions. Our permanent dux (Tait) was hardly, if anything, moved from his place ; there were a few others, who were not displaced."

The 3rd Chapter of the Chronicles is entitled, " MATHEMATICS," and it is, perhaps, the most amusing in the book. The Mathematical Master has already been mentioned in this article for his skilful use of the 'Tawse', and his presence for long at the dinners of the Club as a guest. Mr. James Gloag (afterwards Dr. Gloag,) was described in the Rector's Annual Report for the year 1833 as 'a most honest, zealous, and energetic, teacher' and, it may be added, says Colonel Fergusson, a most eccentric one. "The name of no teacher of youth in Scotland during the last half century is more widely known than that of Dr. Gloag. A volume might well be devoted to Gloag's doings and pithy sayings. A 'chap-book' of such would run those of George Buchanan's very close." For a description of the man and his manners I must refer to the Chronicles. His dialect, or, rather, his pronunciation—unreferable to any part of Scotland—is said to have been, perhaps, his most striking characteristic. "Gloag's interchange of the words 'Rod' and 'Road' was interesting, though not peculiar to himself. For example, when a dux, distributing slates or slate-pencils, tried to pass between two crowded forms, he would say—'Haw, boni, whatna *rod's* that t' tak'?' When he had occasion for the implement of demonstration and correction, he would give the order, 'Fatch the *Road*!' The good stories about Gloag are said to be innumerable. Perhaps the best Colonel Fergusson quotes is told at the expense of the Rector, Archdeacon Williams.

"The Archdeacon tried his best to pass for a geometrician, but Gloag knew how vain his pretensions were. 'Punch' had a habit that annoyed Gloag not a little, of coming into his Class-room, generally a Saturday morning, and asking questions, and so on, as though he were quite *au fait* of all that was going on.

"On the occasion in question, Gloag put upon the black board one of his fancy propositions, such as he was wont to call 'a nice little thing', and called on the fellow at the head of the Class to make the necessary demonstration. He, however, kept silence, as did the next, and the next, while 'Punch' continued jeering them all the time — "Dear *me*, what a blockhead you must be ! Don't you see it ? It is quite simple."

"'Haw !' says the artful Gloag, glancing further down the class to where 'Punch's' favourite sat, 'Sallar thinks he can do it, döz he ? Tak it, Sallar !' This was Gloag's peculiar pronunciation of the name.

"There is a long pause ; the Rector's favourite makes no progress, though encouraged in turn by both masters.

"'Noo, Sallar,' says Gloag, with a tap on the board, 'Don't keep us waiting on ye all day.'

"Still there was no response.

" 'Why, Sellar, my boy', says the Archdeacon, disappointed, 'Don't you see it? Think a moment. It's quite easy, Don't you know? Perfectly simple.'

"Here is the moment of triumph, so skilfully approached by Gloag, who, bursting out like a thunderbolt, exclaims—

" 'Naw, Mr. Ractor, Sir, its *nott* easy—the thing is impōssible; its grōss nonsense, Sir!'

Gloag had a playful way, as I remember, when arithmetic was on, and the boys, as soon as they had done a sum, passed rapidly before him showing their slates, of appearing to be in a brown study, and saying, 'Right,' 'Right,' for a number of times without apparently looking at the sum. Probably he knew the answers off by heart, and saw them at a glance; but every now and then he would seize a slate, rub out the sum with his wetted hand, and order the unfortunate boy to 'cōpy down the first sax sooms on the board, and bring me them to mōrray.' I was never sure whether this was all right, or whether it was not done at random, just to establish a funk. Any how it reminded one of a spider sitting quietly in the centre of his web till a poor fly came near enough.

One scene in Gloag's class, of which I have always had a vivid recollection, is not mentioned in Colonel Fergusson's book. A boy—mentioned in the Muster Roll of the class as—St. Croix Minville, of the Island of St. Lucia, and to be remembered for his great strength and activity—was possessed of a very powerful nasal organ (an excellent thing in man, I think), and, performing on it one day, in Gloag's class, as if he wished to blow his brains out, Gloag burst out on him thus—

"Hoot, toot, what are ye blawin yer trumpet at in that fawshwn? If ye did the likes o' that in genteel Society, ye'd be putt to the door!"

It was a sincere pleasure to all his old pupils, says Colonel Fergusson, when the news reached them that, in 1848, the degree of L.L.D. had been conferred on Mr. Gloag. I remember that we met him at the annual dinners as a loved friend, all soreness connected with the 'Tawse' having by that time been forgotten or forgiven. He retired from the Academy in 1864, and, says Colonel Fergusson, if proof were wanting of the esteem in which he was held, it appears in the fact that, immediately after that date, a medal—called, in his honour, '*The Gloag Medal*,' was established at the Academy, the funds for which were provided by some of *his old pupils*. The medal is open for competition to boys of the 'Seventh' only, and is given for eminence in mathematics. Gloag very rarely, it is believed, was seen at the Academy after his retirement. "On one occasion some one asked him if he often went down to visit the School. 'Naw,' he answered, 'it's nothing but a *hert-brek*.'"

Chapter V of the Chronicles.—"WITH THE RECTOR,"—The Venerable John Williams, M.A., of Baliol College, Oxford; Vicar of Lampeter, and Archdeacon of Cardigan—I must pass by with a few words, but solely for want of space, as—to old Academicians at least—it is very interesting. "The Horatian phrase, '*imperiosius*,' perhaps best describes the impression his grand manner and imposing presence conveyed, except that there was no idea of tyranny." But his ordinary manners and appearance earned for him the *sobriquet* 'Punch': boys are so irreverent. Nevertheless, Colonel Fergusson, though in a footnote, records this of him:—

"The Rector was imbued with an inexpugnable dignity. On a certain occasion, in the early days of the Academy, 'the Sixth' had hunted a sow into the Rector's class-room. The brute took refuge in one of the presses. In rushing out she capsized the Archdeacon on the floor. Peace and an upright position restored, the Rector calmly remarked, 'Boys, our lesson has been—what you call—too long interrupted, let us get on.'"

The 'Ractor' certainly had his peculiarities: "Go Junior, Yis, Yis, Yis," was often heard. "Don't you know the difference between the '*/aitch*' and the '*no-/aitch*'?" he would say, when pitching into a boy for not sounding the aspirate in reading Greek. This aspirating the name of the English letter was amusing to us Scottish boys, who, whatever their sins are, never misplace their "hs." Is it a Welsh, as well as an English peculiarity; or did 'Punch' do it on purpose, for emphasis? I never asked him.

"At the Great Jubilee Dinner of the Edinburgh Academy, in October 1874, when the Archbishop of Canterbury (Archibald Campbell Tait) presided, feeling reference was made to Archdeacon Williams by the Chairman in the course of his eloquent speech, and reminiscences of old Academy days.

"As a strong man," said the Archbishop, 'intellectually improved those among whom he lived, so this man taught them in a way that none but a very able man indeed could teach. He had his faults—as who had not? And many might say that these, as he grew older, predominated. He had, indeed, a strong sense of his powers, and he (the speaker) was not sure that he was not right to hold that opinion. He was a man, and a real man, and he taught and fascinated his pupils in a way that none but a man of great intellectual power could do. He (the Archbishop) ministered to him in his last illness, and followed him to his grave.'

Colonel Fergusson alludes to the Rector's two handsome daughters. A daughter of the Archdeacon is, I believe, still in Calcutta—the head of a well-known educational establishment.

(To be continued).

C. W. HOPE.

ART. XI.—HOOGHLY PAST AND PRESENT.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BANDEL* CHURCH AT HOOGHLY.

THE Portuguese may have, as Faria y Souza † says, first entered Bengal as military adventurers about the year 1538, ‡ but there is nothing to show that they had made their settlement at Hooghly before the Pathan domination was put an end to by the Moguls. Indeed, that event, as we have already shown, took place somewhere in the eighth decade of the sixteenth century. After Bengal had come under the Mogul sway, Akbar ordered his Viceroy to send up a picked man among the Feringhees to the Presence. Accordingly, a captain of the name of Tavarez went up to Agra § which had been newly made the capital of the empire. He was treated by the Emperor with the utmost kindness, and, as a mark of Imperial favour, was given permission to pitch upon any spot near Hooghly for the erection of a town, with full liberty to build churches and preach the Holy Gospel. Availing themselves of such an unexpected opportunity, the

* The name Bandel appears to be another form of the Persian word *bandur*, the letters l and r being convertible, and to signify a fort, as Hooghly, the *Porte Pequeno* of the Portuguese, was. So also there is a Bandel Church (Le Bondoi) at Chittagong, the *Porte Grande* of the Portuguese.

† Manuel Faria y Souza's history of *Asia Portuguesa*, which is in Spanish, commences with 1412 and closes with 1640.

‡ This was the last year of the Portuguese Viceroy of India, Nuno da Cunha. In 1534 he had sent Martin Alfonso with 200 men in five ships to Chittagong with a view to establish friendly relations with the King of Bengal, and to obtain permission to erect a fortress and build a factory at Chittagong. The mission, however, failed, and Martin and some of his men were made prisoners and forwarded to Gour. Antony de Sylva Meseses was then sent by Cunha, with 350 men in nine vessels, to try and effect the ransom of the prisoners. At this time Mahmud Shah, the last of the independent kings, reigned in Bengal. The Portuguese having agreed to assist him against Shere Khan, the King released most of the captives retaining only five as hostages for the succour which was expected from Goa. But when this succour arrived in nine vessels, under the command of Vasco Perez de Sampayo, Shere had taken Gour and Mahmud had been killed. Sampayo came and saw and went away without doing anything. (*The Feringhees of Chittagong* by Mr.—now Justice—Beverley, Calcutta Review, 1871.)

§ Agra (*Agravan* of the Pauranic writers) was a mere village before Akbar's time. He turned it into a splendid city, and graced it with a palace, the largest and most magnificent in the East. The world-renowned Taj is also near Agra. To this newly-built city Akbar removed his capital from Futtehpore Sikri in 1566, calling it after his own name, *Akbarabad*.

Portuguese settled on the lands now occupied by the Church and its surroundings, and built houses for trading and other purposes.* As the province was then anything but peaceable, and as disturbances were always apprehended, the new settlers deemed it absolutely necessary to fortify their settlement. The requisite sanction being given by the Mogul Governor, they built a fort † in the place now called Gholeghat. It was of a square form, flanked by four bastions and surrounded by a deep ditch on three sides and by the deeper river on the fourth. This must have been done before 1585, inasmuch as the well-known traveller, Fitch, who visited Hooghly in that year, described it as "the chief keep of the Portuguese." As the Portuguese went on prospering in their new settlement, the missionaries of the order of St. Augustine came to Hooghly and founded, in the year 1599, ‡ the Convent of Bandel, the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, and the Church of Misericordia, to which was attached an orphan-house for the protection of young ladies. Merchants and others, whom business or enterprise called to distant parts, committed their maiden daughters, in their absence, to sacerdotal protection in the orphanage of the Church of Misericordia. These sacred edifices were frequented by a large body of worshippers, and thus Hooghly became a place of great importance from a secular, as well as from a religious point of view.

The Portuguese drove a brisk trade, and their fame as master

* The *Shah Jehan-namah* states that the Portuguese, purchasing some lands in Hooghly, built houses thereon with the permission of the Nabob.

† Purchas, speaking of the Portuguese settlements in Bengal, writes :— "The Portuguese have here Porte Grande and Porte Pequeno, but without forts and Governments; every man living after his own lust, and for the most part they are such as dare not stay in those places of better Government for some wickedness by them committed." But the historian does not appear to be quite correct in his statements, for the Portuguese had built a fort at Porte Pequeno (Hooghly) in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whilst the first volume of his *Relations of the World* was published in 1864 in the reign of James I.

‡ This is certainly a memorable year, as in it the East India Company was formed, and the Dutch first traded to the Moluccas. But not only from a commercial, but also from a religious point of view, it is kept in remembrance, for in it the furious bigot, Archbishop Alexis de Menezes, held his famous, or rather infamous, Synod at Diamper or Udayampura, entirely effacing the individuality of the Syrian Church in India. The efforts which culminated in that Synod had their origin in the full fervour of missionary enterprise which set in after the time of St. Francis Xavier, and which was directed towards stamping out the peculiarities of the Syrian Christians, and bringing their doctrines into harmony with those practised by the Catholic Church in Europe. St. Xavier came out with the Governor of Portuguese India, Martin Alfonso de Souza, and arrived at Goa on the 7th May 1542. He was the recognised head of the Jesuits of India. He lies buried in New Goa, and his tomb is certainly, as Bishop Wilson has said, "a great curiosity."

merchants spread far and wide. In the meantime the great Akbar was summoned from this world by the mightiest of monarchs, and was succeeded by his son Jehangir. The latter, though undoubtedly much inferior to his father in wisdom and ability, was not an intolerant prince. So far from molesting the Portuguese, he bore kindly feelings towards them. The French traveller Bernier * states, "that Jehangir suffered the Portuguese in Hooghly upon account of traffic, and of his having no aversion to Christians, as also because they promised him to keep the Bay of Bengal clear from all pirates."† In this way the Portuguese gradually rose to be a power in the land. They acquired lands on both sides of the river, and collected the rents, or rather revenues thereof after the manner of princes. Their fort at Hooghly was well garrisoned, and they had also a sufficient number of war-vessels always ready to protect them from the attacks of the enemy. Though nominally subject to the Great Mogul, they often assumed an air of independence, and were certainly not very regular in the payment of tribute due to the Paramount Power. At this time, however, an event happened which had the effect of undermining their power and prosperity in Bengal. The Empress, Nur Jehan, who had absolute control over the pleasure-loving Emperor Jehangir, and

• "—whose lightest whisper moved him more
Than all the ranged reasons of the world,"

having shown herself hostile to the interest of the Heir Apparent, the latter revolted, and, being pursued by the Imperial army, fled to Bengal and stationed himself at Burdwan. While at this place, he asked for some assistance from the Portuguese Governor of Hooghly, Michael Rodriguez, who had waited upon him; but his request was not complied with. This refusal, polite though it was, so

• "Rankled in him and ruffled all his heart,"

that, after ascending the throne, he made it a point to drive the Portuguese out of Bengal. Accordingly, he directed his Viceroy to watch their movements with the eye of a spy, and to lodge complaints before him, if in any matter they overstepped

* Bernier resided in India for twelve years from 1657 to 1669. The greater part of his residence was spent at the court of Aurungzeb, whose camp he followed in 1665 from Delhi to Cashmere, through the entire length of the Punjab. He was a physician, by profession.

† In the time of the early Mogul Emperors, the Bay of Bengal was infested with Mughls and Portuguese, who lived by "levying *chout* on the seas" as that arch-pirate, Angria of the Malabar Coast used to say of his dreaded sea robbery.

the bounds of law and justice. The result of this well-laid plan was the siege and capture of Hooghly in 1632. The fort was demolished, so also the Churches, but it would seem that the Convent did not suffer much, if at all. The Governor and a large number of Christian captives were dragged to the Imperial residence at Agra, where they were very harshly treated. Excepting the five Augustine Friars, the rest of the prisoners of war were distributed as slaves amongst the grandees of the Court. The monks were more cruelly dealt with. Four of them were immediately put to death, and the fifth, Padre * da Cruz was reserved for a severer punishment, for which a day was appointed. When that dreaded day dawned, the Emperor, forgetting his usual good nature, ordered him, in the spirit of a Nero, to be cast under the feet of a furious elephant. But, wonderful to relate, the burly brute, moved at the sight of the holy man, lost his native ferocity, and commenced caressing him gently with his "little proboscis." The Emperor was taken quite unawares, and, seized with religious awe, at once determined on the Padre's pardon, and also offered to grant any reasonable request he might make. The good Augustinian solicited his own liberty, with permission to reconduct the surviving Christian captives to Bengal, and also a grant of some rent-free lands as an endowment to the Bandel Church. Both the requests were readily granted by the awe-struck Emperor, and thus some amends were made for the immense loss which the Portuguese had sustained at his hands.

The grant, thus made in 1633,† covered an area of 777 bighas of land. By the *firman* which was granted on this occasion, the Portuguese were given permission to found churches, and the friars were exempted from the authority of the Fouzdar and other officers of Government. Within the precincts of that small tract they were allowed to exercise all magisterial powers with regard to the Christians, save and except the strictly royal prerogative of life and death. They were, at the same time, exempted from all taxes and tolls. This little bit of a principality, as one might say so, appears to have included all the foreshore from the present jail to the northern limit of the circuit-house compound. There is a small piece of a very old wall still remaining on the extreme east of the Hooghly-bridge yard, which is said to be the re-

* Padre is a Portuguese word signifying a priest, a missionary. It has a close affinity to the Sanscrit *pitarā*, Latin *pater*, and English *father*. Several other words which are in common use in Bengal are also of Portuguese origin, such as *chabi* (Port. *chave*) a key; *kobi* (Port. *quove*) cabbage; *grija* (Port. *igreja*), a church; *fitah*. (Port *fitá*) a ribbon; *caste* (Port. *casta*, breed) a class; *nilam* (Port. *leilam*) an auction.

† This grant was confirmed in 1646.

mains of the Portuguese fort. The *Kuti-pukur* or the factory tank, which is at the south-west corner of the jail, was, it is believed, attached to the Portuguese factory, as in later times it certainly was to the English factory. Much of the land so granted was, however, lost during the times of the hostilities between the English and the Nabob of Moorshidabad, and the area has now dwindled down to about 380 bighas, yielding a rental of about 1240.*

The Convent of Bandel, which is dedicated to the *Virgin Mary of Rosary*,† is the only building which remains to tell the sad tale of Lusitanian grandeur at Hooghly. It is the oldest Christian building in Bengal. Eight years after the siege of Hooghly, it was pulled down, and all the records that were preserved in it were destroyed. In 1661 it was rebuilt by that pious Christian, J. Gomes de Soto, and, as if to wipe out all marks of Mogul outrage, the new building was inscribed with the date of the old. In the nice little chapel which forms one side of the Convent, there is an inscription which shows that "the chapel was privileged for Saturdays by the Supreme Pontiff Benedict XII. in 1726." The vault below contains the remains of Soto and his family, as well as of some other fortunate Catholics.

The Augustinians of Bandel hail from Goa, and are subject to the Bishop of Meliapore,‡ not to the Vicar Apostolic. The Portuguese in Bengal, like the Jesuits in Pondicherry, have never recognized the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope of Rome.§ The Court of Portugal, ever since the first establishment of its dominion in India, has invariably claimed the exclusive right of ecclesiastical patronage, and has viewed with great jealousy any interference with it.|| But it is very much

* Besides property in lands, which are all leased to ryots, there are, as the present Prior says, other sources of income. But he is not aware of the net annual proceeds, nor of the amount of expenditure.

† Convent De Nossa Senhora De Rozario of Bandel.

‡ Meliapore (probably *Malayapuram*) was erected into a Bishopric in 1607. It is now known as St. Thomas.

§ The Padroado was granted by the Pope to the King of Portugal in the days of Portuguese supremacy in the East. But now that Portugal is only a petty Indian Power, the great majority of the Catholic Missionaries and Catholic converts who reside in British India, resent the claim of the Portuguese to this right of patronage to all bishoprics and benefices in India. The Portuguese cling to the right of the Padroado as a relic of their ancient greatness, while the Popes sympathise with the attitude taken up by the majority of Indian Catholics. After many fruitless attempts at an amicable settlement of the question, Concordats were signed between the two parties, first in 1856, and afterwards in 1886, which have had the effect of placing the Catholic Church in India, outside the sphere of Portuguese territory, under the direct rule of the Pope. This dispute about Padroado has been a great obstacle to the progress of the Catholic Church in India.

|| The present Prior of Bandel, the Rev. De Silva Furtado, however, informs us that the reigning King of Portugal, Don Carlos De Braganza, is on friendly terms with the Pope, and is in spiritual communion with him, as the head of the Catholic Church. He also states that year before last His Holiness made a handsome present to the Queen of Portugal.

to be regretted that it has not been equally careful in making a proper use of that privilege. The priests appointed by Government as a rule, not only were ignorant, but also bore a bad character. "Buried in debauch," as they were, they were studious of their own ease rather than of the good of their spiritual charge. At any rate, they have never been highly spoken of for purity of morals. Captain Alexander Hamilton* thus wrote about Bandel:—"The Bandel at present deals in no sort of commodities, but what are in request at the Court of Venus, and they have a Church, where the owners of such goods and merchandise are to be met with, and the buyer may be conducted to proper shops, where the commodities may be seen and felt; and a priest to be security for the soundness of the goods." Thus the profligacy of the Bandel priests seems to have equalled what is told of the corruption among European ecclesiastics in the Middle Ages, and their ignorance was equal to their licentiousness. Nothing was more common than to see high ecclesiastical offices conferred on men as amorous as Sybarites and as ignorant as Boestians.† The church Government is still with the King, and, judging from the lax and careless way in which it is sometimes administered, it would seem that the cause of morals and letters would not suffer much by its being taken out of his hands and placed in those of the Pope. Attached to the Convent there was a Nunnery in which many dark deeds were done, over which a thick impervious veil has been cast.‡ Mention is made in 1723 of a College of Jesuits at Bandel on the way to Keota. Georgi stated that the Christian religion and learning flourished in Hooghly under the auspices of the King of Portugal, and that the hospice of Bandel was as much crowded with monks as its schools were with native converts. But these statements must be received with considerable modifications, for, as a

* Hamilton traded in the East Indies from 1688 to 1723. He wrote his *Account of the East Indies* about the year 1690, when Bandel was "chockful of pretty women." De Foe's well-known lines apply with full force to the state of the Bandel Church at that time:—

"Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
The Devil always builds a chapel there,
And 'twill be found upon examination
The latter has the largest congregation."

† The distinguished writer of the Article, "The Feringhees of Chittagong," to which we have already referred, very justly observes: "The general neglect of education among the Feringhees was chiefly owing to the character of the priests sent from Goa. These half-caste men, renowned for their superstition, ignorance, and selfishness, brought discredit on their profession." What was true of the Bandel at Chittagong was more than true of the Bandel at Hooghly.

‡ This has unfortunately been the case with almost all nunneries. Though the nuns are closed about by high narrowing walls, and are kept afar from the world and all its lights and shadows, they are seldom found "to lead sweet lives in purest chastity." Nothing has contributed so much to immorality as the unholy vow of celibacy.

matter of fact, neither the cause of religion nor that of education was much advanced.

In 1760, this place suffered much from the calamities which were brought about by hostilities between the English and the Nabob of Moorshedabad, and, as a matter of necessary consequence, it was denuded of most of its inhabitants. The state of things precipitated from bad to worse, so that when, in the first half of the present century, the author of the *Sketches of Bengal* wrote his valuable work, he found that Hooghly had well-nigh reached its last stage of ruin. He says: "The ancient and famous port of Hooghly contains now but a few small houses, and several poor huts. The lascivious damsels of this once gay city slumber under its ruins. When Pomp withdrew from thence, Debauchery vanished. Poverty now stalks over the ground." The sight of the Convent, however, impressed him considerably, and he could not avoid recording, that the frontispiece of the sacred edifice "appeared to him to diffuse a cathedral gloom, and struck him with religious awe.*"

The Bandel Church† does not deserve to be called a grand building, but its architectural skill lies in its very strong and durable structure. Though nearly three long centuries have spent their elemental rage and fury over it, still it looks as fresh as if it had been built only recently. The Church faces towards the south, and is entered by a big gate, which is kept open only on service days and other important occasions. It has three "long-drawn aisles," which terminate in three handsome altars, of which the one in the middle is the most splendid. At the other extremity, over the entrance, there is a big organ, which none but the initiated may touch. Service takes place before the midmost altar, when the burning censer and the sounding organ add much to the sacredness and solemnity of the occasion. In front of that altar, at a distance, rises, under the support of the left wall, the winding pulpit, which attracts the sight by its gorgeous appearance. One of the side altars is very properly dedicated to the patron Saint Augustine, who seems to exercise a greater influence over the priests of Bandel than St. Veronique, the favourite Saint of the Portuguese. A spacious hall was built about a

* In 1829, the number of Christian inhabitants of eighteen years of age and more was only thirty in Bandel. (Toynbee's *Hooghly*, p. 141). At the present day the number is still smaller.

† Bishop Heber visited Hooghly in June 1824. He thus speaks of this Church in his well-known Journal: "At Chinsura is a Church, and beyond Hooghly, at a place, I believe, named Banda, is a large Italian-looking Church, with what appears to be a Convent." Vol. I, p. 64. Most probably the good Bishop did not enter the Church, otherwise he would have given some account of its sacred interior.

quarter of a century ago at the expense of Mr. Barretto and other Roman Catholics of Calcutta. It was intended to serve as a sanatorium for invalids. The building, as a whole, is a quadrangle, one side of which forms the chapel. It has three gates, of which the one on the east, which faces the ever-receding river, is now the main entrance, though that honour is justly due to the big gate on the south, which, as we have already related, is opened only on service days and other important occasions. The west gate, which skirts the public road, is seldom unbolted. The Bandel Church, though itself a branch of a bigger establishment, has a branch of its own in the neat Catholic Chapel at Chinsura. This sacred building, as the tablet on it shows, was erected in 1740 with the funds left by the well-known Mrs. Sebastian Shaw, † and is dedicated to Jesus Maria Joze.

At one time the Bandel missionaries possessed considerable power and influence; but, by the end of the eighteenth century, it had well-nigh become a thing of the past, and they regrettingly found themselves absorbed into the general mass of British subjects. In 1797, the then Prior of Bandel memorialised Sir John Shore's Government with a view to having independent civil and criminal jurisdiction over the ryots of the Bandel lands restored to him. He based his claim on immemorial usage from the date of the original grant by Shah Jehan in 1633, and also on a certain letter from a high authority, dated the 17th July 1787, in which the Collector was prohibited from exercising any civil or criminal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of Bandel. But the Governor-General decided against him. His Excellency held that no such claim could now be admitted, and that, "the inhabitants of Bandel are subject to the juris-

* The famous Barretto family came very early to Asia. Both F. Barretto and A. M. Barretto were Governors of Portuguese India in the second half of the sixteenth century. The celebrated Barretto brothers, Joseph and Louis, who were the recognised heads of the Portuguese in the metropolis of British India, have immortalized themselves by several pious acts. The new church at Calcutta and the Roman Catholic Church at Serampore are standing proofs of their piety and liberality. The Portuguese burial-ground at Baitakhana was the gift of Mr. Joseph Barretto, who purchased it for Rs. 8,000 in 1785. At Sukhsagar a neat domestic chapel was built, in 1789, by the family, at a cost of Rs. 9,000. This fine building has since been washed away by the Hooghly, on the banks of which it stood. The Barrettos have done so many good acts in Bengal that they are not likely to be forgotten. Surely the censure of the poet does not apply to them:—

"Doing good

Disinterested good, is not our trade,

We travel far 'tis true, but not for nought."

† This pious Lady was a native of Chinsura, where she died in 1725. Not far from the chapel built with her money is St. John's church, which was founded by the celebrated Markar family in 1695-97, and is the oldest church the Armenians have in Bengal. The building was begun by Markar Johannes, a famous merchant, and was completed by his brother Joseph. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1697.

diction of the Courts equally with other inhabitants of the Company's provinces ;" but that there was no objection to the Prior's "continuing to arbitrate and settle the disputes of the Christian inhabitants of Bandel, As heretofore, whenever it may be agreeable to the parties to refer to him for the purpose." Thus the question of jurisdiction was set at rest by the highest authority in the land, and one would have expected that thereafter the church dignitaries would quietly abide by the decision. But it does not appear that the Priors always demeaned themselves as peace-loving and law-abiding subjects. In June 1828, the then Prior, the Rev. F. A. Guia, was proceeded against in the Company's Court, in consequence of his having wantonly assaulted two natives. A summons was issued against him in the usual course, but, so far from obeying it, he behaved in an "extremely indecent, violent, and illegal" manner. He was, accordingly, reported to Government, and it is very likely that he got a severe reprimand at its hands. This censure, well-deserved as it undoubtedly was, had a very wholesome effect not only upon the individual for whom it was intended, but also upon his successors in the Priory. In 1869 we find the Rev. Augustine Gomes in charge of the Church. He was a good man, and so was his successor, the Rev. A. C. Rodriguez. The latter tried to retrieve the reputation of the Portuguese as promoters of the cause of education, and established the present Bandel School on the 10th July 1870. This little Institution prospered under his parental care, and its successful working induced the English Government, in 1874, to allow a grant of Rs. 20 a month. The grant is still continued, and, together with the Mission allowance of Rs. 10, makes up nearly one-third of the establishment charges of the School, the remainder being supplied from schooling fees. The School teaches up to the minor scholarship course, and the teaching staff consists of three English teachers and two pundits. The Rev. A. C. Rodriguez was succeeded by the Rev. D. Sante Maria, and the latter by the Rev. G. A. Britto. On the death of Britto, which took place on the 7th July 1891, the Rev. J. Beatly, the present incumbent's predecessor, was appointed Prior. Though not in charge of the church for a long time, his knowledge of Hooghly was much above average. The Rev. Da Silva Fuitado has been in charge for nearly two years. He possesses considerable ability and has been discharging the duties of his sacred office well. He is a quiet sort of man, as becomes a Christian of his Order, and, what is rare among monks and friars, bears a pure and unspotted character. The Prior gets nothing from the English Government. He is paid by the Portuguese Mission, and he has also other sources of income, the principal of which

consists of presents from Roman Catholics on marriage and such like occasions.

Four solemnities are principally observed in the Bandel Church, namely, the Feast of the Blessed Lady * of Happy Voyage in the "merry month of May"; the Feast of the Patron Saint Augustine† in the imperial month of August; the Feast of the Blessed Lady of Rosary, commonly called the Novena, in the cold month of November; and the Feast of Domingo da Cruz, in the hot month of February or March. The first solemnity mentioned above is not of much importance; but it must not be confounded with the Feast of the Assumption which is observed on the 15th August, on which day, Virgin Mary, the reputed Mother of Jesus Christ, is believed to have miraculously ascended to Heaven without passing through the gate of death. Augustine being the patron Saint of the monks of Bandel, his feast is observed with considerable pomp in the memorable month in which he, having done his work here below on earth, found supreme happiness in

* A statue of this Lady, with the infant Jesus in her lap, is placed in a niche in the triangular form, which is raised on an elevated surface in front of the church.

† St. Augustine is one of the Great Fathers of the Catholic Church. He was born at Tagaste, in Northern Africa, on the 13th November, 354 A. D. His father was a heathen, quite regardless of religion and morality; but his mother, Monica, was an exemplary Christian. Young Augustine began life as a heretical debauchee; but the sermons of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, backed by the constant prayer of his mother, effected his reform, and he was baptised in 387 A. D. After the death of his mother he returned to Africa, where, in 395, he was appointed Bishop of Hippo, an important seaport, the site of which is now covered by the city of Bona. At Hippo he laboured for 35 years, and, while it was in the forcible possession of the Vandals, who had invaded Africa under their King, Genseric, in 428, he died in the full possession of his faculties on the 28th August 430 in the 76th year of his age. After his death the people, hard pressed by the Vandals, escaped by sea, and the town was burnt to the ground by those furious savages.

The writings of Augustine, which have always been held in high veneration by the Roman Catholics, form the basis of that system which is commonly called scholastic divinity. His *Confessions*, which gives a plain unvarnished account of his infancy to the death of his mother, has been with Thomas-a-Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, one of the three most popular Christian books in the world. Another great work of Augustine's is *On the Holy Trinity*, which explains very clearly and learnedly one of the peculiar doctrines, if not the main doctrine, of Christianity. But his greatest single work is the *City of God*, in 22 books, which occupied him thirteen years. The object was to defend the Christians and the Christian Church from the charge made against them, that the calamities which befell the Empire, and the sacking of Rome by the Goths, originated in Christianity.

The old Bandel Church was built under the protection of this Saint, and his altar very properly graces one of the halls of the present Church. The following pregnant saying is attributed to him: "Thou hast made us for thyself, and our heart is restless until it find rest in Thee."

There is an order of monks, who call themselves the hermits of St. Augustine. They are mendicants and live by begging alms. But some of them have thrown up the bowl for the sword. Conspicuous amongst these stands that notorious Prior Fra Joan, who, as Bernier says, domineered over Sandeep (*Sawundwip*) for several years, after having killed the commandant of the place.

sweet communion with his Maker in Heaven, realizing the words of the poet—

“ Man’s sickly soul, though turned and tossed for ever
From side to side, can rest on nought but thee,
Here in full *trust*, hereafter in full *joy*.”

But the Feast of the Novena is the grandest of the festivals which are observed in the Bandel Church; and this is as it should be, for the church, is dedicated to the Blessed Lady of Rosary, in whose honour the feast is celebrated. On this important occasion the church is brilliantly illuminated, and divine service is performed with the accompaniment of music, which adds much to the sacred solemnity of the occasion. After service fireworks of divers sorts are let off which, like a flourish of trumpets, wind up the ceremony. Visitors flock to the spot from Calcutta, Chandernagore, and some other places, and the scene assumes a most splendid appearance. The pyrotechnic exhibition and the solemn peal of the organ, with its “winding bout of linked sweetness” have such a fascination for the common people, that the numbers that assemble on the occasion are very considerable. Sight-seers and others leave the place in the course of the night, so that, when the day dawns, one finds it difficult to realise that it has only a few hours before been the scene of such rejoicings.

The last, though not the least, is the Feast of Domingo da Cruz. This is a peculiar ceremony with the Portuguese, and is as rigidly observed by them as the *Rosa* is by the Mahomedans. On this occasion a procession representing the Saviour bearing the cross is formed on a Sunday in Lent, which makes the circuit of the entire quarter. The name of this ceremony reminds one of that very remarkable Friar, Padre da Cruz, who, by his miraculous encounter with the royal elephant gained the favour of the Great Mogul, Shah Jehan, and with his permission conducted the Christian captives back to Bengal.

Bandel is not what it was in bygone times. “Stern ruin has driven her ploughshare” hard over it. It has lost all its former pomp and magnificence, and stands as a sad and sorry relic, reminding one of the mutability of all mundane things. The very sight of the place amply testifies to its ancient grandeur. Indeed, at one time, it teemed with a gay stream of population in which the gaudy train of beauty shone the brightest. The present inhabitants of Bandel might be counted on one’s fingers, and the sad loneliness of the locality offers a striking contrast to the sweet liveliness with which it was pregnant even at the beginning of the present century.

Save and except the church, which rears its hoary head in solitary gloom, a few broken walls, overgrown with bushes and

brambles, are all the "splendid wrecks" which remain to tell the painful tale of its former pride and populousness. From a splendid town Bandel has dwindled down into a sorry village of the lowest type possible. Ever the very river, which forty years before laved the church foundations with its sweet waters, as if afraid to catch the contagion of the surrounding desolation, has receded considerably to the east, leaving a large space of dry land, which was one vast sheet of water, displaying a hundred gorgeous sail. But Bandel does not stand unique in this respect; this has also been the case with all the Portuguese settlements in India, now that their power in the East has fallen so very low. Bishop Wilson visited New Goa, the metropolis of Portuguese India, on the 6th December 1835, and this is how he has described it in his Journal: "The Portuguese, for one hundred and fifty years the great European power in India, is silent in darkness, and the 'Beast,' which enjoyed her protection, expiring. Instead of two thousand priests, whose licentiousness was proverbial, there are now fifty, or even fewer stragglers. Immense masses of building crumbling daily, and some positively without a single monk. The nunnery alone remains, and that is to receive no more inmates. The Abbess has never been without its walls for forty-five years. One sweet-looking pupil attended her at the *grille*, downcast as a flower doomed to fade. The nuns we could not see." The reason why the good Bishop could not see them is, however, not far to seek; for, as a matter of fact, nuns there were very few, if any. Similar fate has befallen the Convent of Bandel: it, too, is bare of its inmates. Indeed, the place looks like

"a thing
O'er which the faven flaps his funeral wing."

SHUMBHOO CHUNDRA DEY.

ART. XII.—PRATAPGAD FORT, AND THE
MAHRATTA VERSION OF THE DEATH
OF AFZAL KHAN, BY SHIVAJI.

IN the course of a visit to the Great Mahratta fortresses I had to see Pratapgad, which is rendered famous by the bloody episode of Afzal Khan's death. I was struck by the great discrepancy between the story found in Grant Duff and all English books, and the version of it given in Mahratta *bakhars* and universally current among the people. In this paper I have tried to represent this latter view by the side of the former, as, for historic truth, it is necessary that both sides should be stated, and the other side not passed over in contemptuous silence as is done by Duff and all who follow him.

For the internal defence of the country Shivaji, as is well known, had provided by a very skilfully planned chain of fortresses which play a very important part in the history of his people. "Regular fortifications," says Orme, "well armed and garrisoned, barred the opener approaches; every pass was commanded by forts; and, in the closer defiles, every steep and overhanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom, and became the most effectual annoyance to the labouring march of cavalry, elephants, and carriages. It is said that he left 350 of these posts in the Konkan alone." (*Historical Fragments*, p. 93.) Of all these hill forts with which the Konkan and the Deccan are studded, probably the most famous is Pratapgad, connected as it is with the well-known episode of Afzal Khan's death at the hands of Shivaji, and the consequent rise in the great Mahratta Chief's fortunes. From all the western "points" of Mahableshwar, it forms a prominent feature in the distant landscape, appearing to its best advantage from the lofty picturesque tongue of land rising abruptly from the Koyna valley, known as Lodwick, or Sydney Point. Thence, being right in front of it, it looks like Noah's Ark resting on Mount Ararat, with its square, solid and massive top lined by the encircling fortifications, resting on wide expanding rocks spurring a way into the valleys below, that of the Koyna to the east and that of the Savitri to the north. It is easily reached from Mahableshwar by the Fitzgerald Pass road, which leads from these hills through Mahad and Dasgaon, along the banks of the Savitri, in the Konkan, to the sea at Bankot. The first eight miles of this road, which descends in a slow winding curve, through thick woods, along the edge of the hill between Sydney and Bombay Points, into the valley 2,000 feet below, bring us to the well-furnished and comfort-

able bungalow at Vada, at the foot of Pratapgadh. Thence, by a fair ascent through a pretty dense wood, the fort is reached, and we set foot on the historic ground of Shivaji's most famous fortress. Nowhere does the *pax Britannica* now reigning universally in the land, strike one so forcibly as in these once terrible forts, now either dismantled or rendered harmless by thorough blasting, and visited at intervals only by the historical tourist, who, taking his stand on a broken arch here or a grass-grown bastion there, tries to realise the dreadful times when the Mahrattas were a power in these parts, and their name struck terror wherever sounded; when these forts were the scourge of the country around, the source of cruel raids which swept away, in their merciless career, men, beasts, and vegetation alike. The Mahrattas have left behind them no such famous monuments of their greatness as the gigantic Buddhist topes and beautiful Hindoo temples of antiquity, the wonderful architectural buildings and columns of their Mogul predecessors, or the more useful but equally wonderful public works of their English successors. Like their contemporaries, the Portuguese, the only relics of their former power and supremacy are their great fortresses, which are mostly, if not entirely, hill-forts, owing to the genius of the people, and the force of circumstances, as those of the former were all sea-forts (if the term can be used), on account of the maritime genius of that nation. Forts were, in past times in India, the chief instruments of war, owing to the peculiar nature of the warfare of the times. With the establishment of the English as the paramount power in the land, they have ceased to be of use, as the hostile strength that could be supplied to them has been cut off at its source. But in the event of the central power relaxing or breaking down, there is every likelihood of these fortresses renewing their former warlike existence, and swarming anew with marauders.

Pratapgad was one of Shivaji's early forts, built for him by his trusted lieutenant, More Trimal Pingli in 1656. Its position attests the great sagacity of the great "Mountain Rat," as he was contemptuously called by his enemy, Aurangzeb, who, however, had to acknowledge the great ability and organising sagacity of his foe. "Mountain Rat" he certainly was, knowing every nook and corner of this mountainous country, and how to turn his knowledge to the best account. This fortress stands on the brow of the Deccan, commanding on all sides a very important country. On the south it overlooks the Par Pass, the old high road leading from the Deccan into the Konkan, and the only good outlet from the interior. To the north it guards the source of the Savitri and the Krishna, two rivers that rise a few miles off, near the Mahableshwar temples.

To the east flows the Koyna, past the Mahableshtar hills on to Satara; and its banks are protected by this fort. To the west stretches away an undulating hilly tract, joining the Konkan and sloping to the sea sixty miles off. Pratapgad is to the extreme north of a range of hills which extend far into the interior, and of which Makrangadh, the hill known as the saddle-back to the visitors of Mahableshtar, and Choragadh, are other prominent peaks. But there is no important pass between any of these hills, which, indeed, are almost impassable, and the only outlet is the Par Pass between this fort and the rest of the range. Shivaji thus pitched upon this high commanding rock to secure access to his territories on the Nira and the Koyna, and to strengthen the defences of this important pass. The fortification consists of a double wall, encircling the top of the hill, one wall below the other, thus forming a lower and an upper fort, with a long outwork projecting from the eastern gate of the lower fort, and ending in a high round bastion called Abdalla's tower, from the head of the famous Abdalla, or Afzul Khan, killed below, being buried in it. The walls, which are nowhere very thick or high, follow the lie of the ground in zigzag lines, rising in one place and falling in another. Both the forts have bastions on all the four sides, commanding all the approaches. In the lower fort is the temple of Bhowani, the patron goddess of Shivaji and his family, who inspired him throughout his career. It is an unattractive, old, gloomy-looking building, with a black stone image of the goddess in a dark cell, the scene being quite in keeping with the bloody deeds in the Mahratta Chief's career connected with this Bhowani Mata.

The upper fort, which is called Bala Killa, contains smaller temples of Mahadev and Maruti, and a small building, a few feet square, which is pointed out as Shivaji's house. One can well imagine, standing in this grass-grown, roofless shed, how, two hundred and thirty-five years ago, Shivaji must have passed sleepless nights here, contemplating the utter ruin of his power that was planned by the Bijapore court, with the enormous army of its great General encamped in the plain and valley in the distance, whose camp fires he could clearly descry, and whose fanfare of trumpets fell on his listless ears as he lay here revolving his daring and unscrupulous projects of defence in his mind. We must now describe shortly this great event, for ever connected with Pratapgad and renowned in Mahratta history.

Within three years after the building of Pratapgad, the Bijapore authorities determined to crush with a great effort the rising power of their rebellious subject, Shivaji. A large army of 5,000 horse and 7,000 foot, with artillery and other

supplies, marched from Bijapore under the ill-fated Afzul Khan, and, after various stages, encamped in the valley of the Koyna between Mahableshwar and Pratapgad. Shivaji entrenched himself in the latter fort, and, knowing the hopelessness of meeting such a large and well-appointed army in open battle, meditated how best to overcome his adversary by stratagem. He feigned submission and sent humble messages to Afzul, requesting him to depute some men to receive his homage and settle the terms of peace. The Mahomedan General, who seems to have been of a frank nature, totally unsuited to meet Mahratta diplomacy, sent a Brahmin in his service, Gopinath Pant, to settle the affair with Shivaji. The Brahmin, who was won over by religious scruples as well as promises of a *jagir* by the crafty Mahratta, who disclosed to him his plan of overcoming the Mahomedan foe, Afzul, was to be inveigled to an interview, alone and unarmed, and to be murdered, and his army, demoralised by its Chief's sudden death, was to be surprised and cut down. The Brahmin easily persuaded his confiding Chief to go unarmed and with a single attendant to the foot of the fortress, where Shivaji was to meet him in the same state and surrender in person. The army was to be kept at a distance, as no fight was expected, and the whole thing was to end in peace and order, and the great Mahratta plague was to end for ever. Afzul Khan, dressed in a plain white muslin garment, with nothing but a sword by his side, advanced in a palanquin to the place of interview. Shivaji prepared himself in a characteristic manner for the critical occasion. After bathing and worshipping and receiving the blessings of his mother, he put on his steel armour concealed under the cotton gown, hid a dagger in his right sleeve, and under the fingers of the left hand held the treacherous weapon, shaped like the tiger's claws, famous among the Mahrattas as the *wagnakha*. Thus prepared, he slowly descended the fortress, and, after much hesitation and slouching, came in sight of Afzul, who advanced alone to meet him with the customary embrace. No sooner was the spare form of Shivaji in the arms of the huge Mahomedan, than the treacherous *wagnakha* was plunged into his side, and the dagger did the rest. The Mahratta soldiers, who had been kept in ambush in the woods, came out and surprised the escort which was at a distance. The Bijapore army, quite demoralised, as was expected, by this sudden stroke of treachery, was paralysed and surrendered in disorder and confusion. The vast horde of cavalry, infantry, and artillery melted away before this daring stroke, and Shivaji became master of the situation. The dead body of Afzul, with its head cut off, was buried on a southern spur of the hill, and the plain tomb,

built of chunam, is still to be seen under a miserable shed, a little to the left of the road leading to the top. The head was taken to the fort, and buried under the bastion which Shivaji is said to have built after this event, and rather cynically to have called Abdalla's tower, after the over-confident Mahomedan General's name who lies in it.

This is the ordinary version of the episode given by historians like Grant-Duff, and the one to be found in that excellent guide and historical tourist's companion, the *Bombay Gazetteer*. It is based on the great Mahomedan historian of Aurangzebe, Muhammad Hashim, better known as Khafi Khan, who writes with a strong and evident bias against the great Hindoo Chief, but who has been followed almost implicitly by every European writer. "The truculent rebel," says Khafi Khan, "knowing that he could gain nothing by regular warfare, artfully sent some of his people to express his repentance, and to beg forgiveness of his offences. After some negotiation, the deceitful Brahmans made an agreement that Shivaji should come to wait upon Afzal Khan at a certain place under his fortress, with only three or four servants, and entirely without arms The designing rascal, by sending various presents and fruits of the country, and by his humbleness and submission, conciliated Afzal Khan, who fell into the snare, believing his false, deceiving statements, and observing none of the caution which the wise commend. Without arms, he mounted the *palki* and proceeded to the place appointed under the fortress. He left all his attendants at the distance of a long arrow-shot. Then the deceiver came down on foot from the fort, and made his appearance with manifestations of humility and despair. Upon reaching the foot of the hill, after every three or four steps, he made a confession of his offences, and begged forgiveness in abject terms, and with limbs trembling and crouching. He begged that the armed men and the servants, who had accompanied Afzal Khan's litter, should move further off. Shivaji had a weapon, called in the language of the Dakhni *bichua*, on the fingers of his hand, hidden under his sleeve, so that it could not be seen. He had concealed a number of armed men among the trees and rocks all about the hill, and he had placed a trumpeter on the steps, to whom he said, 'I intend to kill my enemy with this murderous weapon; the moment you see me strike, do not think about me, but blow your trumpet and give the signal to my soldiers.' He had given orders to his troops also that, as soon as they heard the blast of the trumpet, they should rush out and fall upon the men of Afzal Khan, and do their best to attain success. Afzal Khan, whom the angel of doom had led by the collar to that place,

was confident in his own courage, and saw Shivaji approach unarmed and fearing and trembling. He looked upon his person and spirit as much alike, so he directed all the men who had accompanied his litter to withdraw to a distance. The treacherous foe then approached and threw himself weeping at the feet of Afzal Khan, who raised his head, and was about to place the hand of kindness on his back and embrace him. Shivaji then struck the concealed weapon so fiercely into his stomach that he died without a groan. According to his orders, the trumpeter blew a blast of triumph to arouse the concealed troops. Men on horse and foot then rushed forth in great numbers on all sides, and fell upon the army of Afzal Khan, killing, plundering, and destroying. The blood-thirsty assassin rushed away in safety and joined his own men, whom he ordered to offer quarter to the defeated troops . . . Fortune so favoured this treacherous, worthless man, that his forces increased, and he grew more powerful every day." (Elliot and Dowson, History of India, Vol. VII., p. 251.) The strong bias of this varnished dramatic account is patent, and it is hard that it could have been accepted without scrutiny by any historian.

By the side of this account there is another written at about the same time by the celebrated Englishman, Dr. Fryer, who was in India from 1672-81, and was, therefore, a contemporary of Shivaji :—"Abdool Khan, an experienced soldier, was outwitted by Shivaji. For he, understanding of his having taken the field, while the main body was yet at distance enough, he sent to him flattering and seducing messages, intimating withal if he would stop his march, at an appointed *choultry* out of sight of such rendezvous, he would meet him and kiss his feet; begging that he would act the obliging office of peace-maker between him and the King. Abdool Khan, thinking no less than that he meant sincerely, consented, though advised to the contrary by his friends (whether out of superstition, as the dying of an elephant and other bad presaging omens, or they doubting the integrity of Shivaji, I know not), but they could not prevail. At the day prefixed, therefore, he takes with him his son and a selected number, which he credited would not be outequalled by Shivaji upon his former protestations and hopes of reconciliation; but the perfidious man had placed an ambuscade, and with a smaller show in appearance than Abdool brought, waits his coming, who as soon as he spied him afar off, went forth to meet him, and prostrates himself before him with feigned tears, craving pardon for his offence, and would not rise till he had assured him of his being his advocate to procure it. Going to enter the *choultry* together, he cries out like a fearful man, that his lord (so he styled the General) might

execute his pleasure on him, and ease him of his life, which Abdool Khan surmising was because he was armed, and the other came seemingly alarmed, delivered his sword and poniard to his page, and bade him enter with courage, where after some parley he slips a stiletto from under his coat sleeve, and then eyeing his blow, struck it at his heart, whereat the signal was given, and his men came forth, in which scuffle Abdool's son gave Shivaji a wound, but was forced to change habit with a *frass* immediately, and, venturing through untrodden paths, hardly escaped to the camp, who thereupon were so discomfited that they quickly dispersed themselves and left the field open to Shivaji.* This account, with its embellishments, must have been taken up by Fryer from hearsay, and is of a piece with the other wonderful and absurd things he recounts of the Mahrattas. Moreover, the English then bore no good-will to them, as they were greatly harassed by Shivaji, whom they dreaded and detested. Other contemporary authorities, like Manucci-Catrou and Dellon, write in the same strain: and later writers follow them. Even the judicious Orme, justly called the Thucydides of Indian History, who wrote about Shivaji in his *Historical Fragments* in 1782, and takes, on the whole, a very high view of his character, briefly says: "He seduced the Commander Abdool to a conference, by professions of submission, and stabbed him with his own hand; it is said, by a device which, if practicable, could not be suspected; on which an ambuscade cut down all the retinue, except the General's son, who escaped back to the camp, which immediately broke up and dispersed" (p. 7, ed. 1805). Jonathan Scott, writing a few years later in 1794, in his *History of the Deccan*, based on Ferishta and other Mahomedan authors, tells the same story: "Shivaji with artful policy now wrote to the General imploring pardon for his crimes and inviting him to come and receive his submission. Abdoolla advanced without opposition near the residence of the rebel, and it was agreed that he should repair to a tent with ten followers, where Shivaji would meet him with only five attendants. They met, accordingly, when the treacherous zemindar stabbed Abdoolla in embracing him." (*History of the Deccan*, Vol. II., p. 8) Scott Waring, in his *History of the Mahrattas*, written in 1810, gives the same, with a word for the Mahratta Chief, as we shall see presently. Grant Duff followed him in 1826 with the story, whose history we have traced just now, and he has stereotyped it, as it were, for every writer who has followed him, to our own days, quotes bodily from him. Even the excellent volume of Mr. Lane Poole on Aurangzeb, published a few months ago, gives this traditional account without criticism.

* *New Account of the East Indies*, p. 64.

But the Mahrattas have, from the first, given their own account of this episode, which differs entirely from what we have seen to be the Mahomedan and European view. It occurs in prose as well as verse in their various *bakhars* and *powadas*. In the *powada* or ballad written on this affair by Agnyandas during Shivaji's lifetime, and given by Messrs. Acworth and Salingram in their recent laborious collection, it is given in stirring indigenous verse, with many interesting details. As I have said, all the *bakhars* agree in this matter. I have taken the most important of these for a basis of my account. This is the *bakhar* of Shivaji, by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, who was an official at the court of the first Rajaram, and wrote a few years after Shivaji's death, in about 1695. There are many other *bakhars* of Shivaji, especially that by Chitnis, written at the beginning of this century, which contains many important traditions, and other matter not quite authenticated. But Sabhasad's account, as it is one of the earliest, is also accepted as authentic and trustworthy, especially in the painstaking edition of Mr. Krishna Narayan Sane. Mr. Rajaram Bhagwat, Professor of Sanskrit at St. Xavier's College, who is known for his studies in Mahratta history, also attaches great value to Sabhasad's *bakhar* in his own excellent life of Shivaji. Mr. Udas' work in Marathi may also be mentioned in this connection.

Sabhasad's *Bakhar* differs in two main points from the Mahomedan view. It will have been seen that the latter makes Shivaji very anxious for the interview during which he wanted to kill his enemy. But here it is Afzal Khan who is anxious to see Shivaji. Afzal, before starting, had boasted before the Queen-Regent of Bijapur, that he would bring Shivaji before her dead or alive within a short time; and he was now thinking how best to capture Shivaji and redeem his honour. He resolved to send some one as his agent to Shivaji to make peace with him and to inspire confidence in him, and then to make him a prisoner alive. So he sent Krishnaji Bhaskar to the Mahratta camp as his agent, offering to Shivaji very favourable terms if he submitted, and requesting him to arrange for a personal interview. The wary Mahratta, who had throughout his career an extremely able intelligence department, came to know at once of the motive which prompted this request, and he immediately prepared to meet the enemy on his own ground. He spied out the secret of Afzal's intention of murdering him from his own agent, Gopinath Pant,* whom

* In the translation given by Mr. G. W. Forrest in his "Selections from the Bombay State Papers: Mahratta Series, Vol. I," of the *Bakhar* of Shivaji's life kept at Rauree Raigad, the ancient capital of his empire, and considered by Scott Waing to be the most authentic of the four Mahratta

he gained over by appealing to his religious sense and also to his patriotism, and in addition, promising a Jaghir. Gopinath told him that the Khan meant treachery, and, under the pretext of a friendly interview, intended to take him prisoner and send him to Bijapur. He, therefore, undertook to throw Afzal off his guard if Shivaji would be daring enough to strike the blow himself. Gopinath smoothed the way for Shivaji, and encouraged Afzal in his thought, that he would succeed in his plan of taking his enemy dead or alive at the meeting.

Shivaji prepared himself for the worst. He put on a *sherstran*, or steel cap and chain armour, underneath his simple coat and armed himself with the weapons of his people, the *bichwa* and *wagnakha*. He descended slowly from the top of this fortress, and approached the Khan hesitatingly, as he was really afraid of being betrayed. The fact, that Afzal's attendants were kept at a distance, did not re-assure him, as he knew that the Khan was bodily very powerful and would, and did intend to crush him in the very act of embracing. The tradition about the Khan's bodily strength among the Mahrattas, which I heard from the Brahmans on Pratapgad Fort and elsewhere, is that he used to eat daily a whole large goat. The *Bakhar* compares him to the great Duryodhan, the leader of the Kaurava princes, whose

histories he had used for his own account. Dattaji Gopinath is given as the name of Shivaji's agent, or Vakeel, to the Khan. This *Bakhar* differs in many points from Sabhasads, but agrees with it in saying that Shivaji doubted the sincerity of Afzal Khan in inviting him to a personal interview. Afzal Khan sent his Divan, Krishnaji Bhaskar, to Shivaji, to say that his improper conduct was forgiven, and that he would now consult his true interest if he joined him without any apprehension and accompanied him into the presence of the King. He would then procure him a pardon and increase of rank, and also permission to leave the Court. Krishnaji Bhaskar delivered his message to Shivaji. Shivaji suspected the sincerity of it, did not think it advisable for him to go and visit Afzal Khan. He replied that if Afzal Khan was really desirous of obtaining a pardon and additional rank for him from the King, he hoped that he would, in the first place, come unattended and visit him, and after Afzal Khan had done that, and satisfied his mind with regard to his apprehension, and sworn to the sincerity of his assurances, he might then take him by the hand and conduct him to Court and there exert himself in his behalf as he might think proper. If Afzal Khan should agree to this proposal he would prepare a place of meeting below the gate of the fort, where he would wait unattended to receive the Khan. Shivaji then sent Dattaji Gopinath, as his Vakeel, to the Khan, along with Krishnaji Bhaskar. These two persons arrived at Wai, and communicated Shivaji's answer to Afzal Khan, who agreed to Shivaji's proposal. Dattaji returned to inform Shivaji, and that Chief fixed upon a spot for the interview. . . . Uncertain as to what might happen when the meeting took place, he sent for some Brahmans, gave them a great deal of money, and desired them to go to Banaras and Gaya and perform all the ceremonies which were prescribed by the Hindu religion, to be performed on the death of a person. He also gave a number of cows in charity and cut his beard short." (page 11.)

great strength is mentioned in the Mahabharat, and says that he was like him in nature, in huge bodily strength, and was also just as vicious. The meeting took place, and here the Mahratta and the Mahomedan accounts differ considerably. The former says that as soon as the Khan got Shivaji in his embrace, he seized his head in his hand and pressed it hard. He further drew his sword from his scabbard, and used it on Shivaji's body, but it made only a rattling noise upon the chain armour with which his body was protected, and had no effect. Seeing this, continues the *Bakhar*, Shivaji thrust the *wagnakha* in his left hand into the bowels of the Khan and thus killed him in self-defence.

This is the Mahratta version, not got up in a later age, but one which was current at the very time, and which has never lost credit among the people up to our own day. Every nation has a right to have its own say on important events connected with its history and great men. Shivaji is the greatest national hero of the Mahratta nation, and certainly deserves to have his actions judged not only and exclusively from the point of view of his enemies, the Mahomedans—but also from that of his own countrymen. The Mahratta version is just as trustworthy as the Mahomedan, and it has, perhaps, greater probability on its side. Can it be believed that a great and skilful Mahomedan General like Afzal should be so simple and unwise as to trust himself to a person like Shivaji and have an unguarded interview, especially when, only a short while before this, he had had his eldest brother Sambhaji, the favourite son of his parents, treacherously murdered? Indeed, this murder of his brother rankled in Shivaji's mind, and furnished an additional motive to him to turn the tables upon the wily Mussulman; and one of the instructions given him by his mother, devotion to whom is one of the most beautiful traits of his character, on his final leave-taking, was to remember that treacherous deed, and, if possible, to avenge it. Again the Bijapur Court had treacherously taken his father Shahji a prisoner through their agent Ghorepede, and Afzal must have known how deeply the son felt for this treachery to his father. On the other hand Shivaji was known to Afzal and the other Mahomedans as treacherous, and in the beginning of this very campaign, they believed him,—though there is some doubt about his guilt in this matter—to have caused the assassination of the Raja of Jaoli. The desecration of the temples of Bhavani and other gods at Tuljapur and elsewhere, along the route of the Bijapur army, had greatly incensed such a staunch and enthusiastic Hindu as Shivaji was even then known to be, and Afzal must have easily guessed that he was an irreconcilable foe. It was such an enemy,—a man whose father was treacherously imprisoned

by his King, and whose brother was deceitfully killed by himself, whose gods, for whom he felt more than for his parents and family, he had insulted, and destroyed their temples ; it was such an enemy, in whose arms, the current account wants us to believe, Afzal Khan trusted himself in friendly embrace.

We would refuse to believe this even about an age which was guiltless of frequent treachery, and about men who were pretty scrupulous in their means. But Shivaji's age was quite different, and his contemporaries free from scruples to an uncommon extent. What we call treachery was considered almost a lawful means of gaining their ends, and at its worst, was very lightly thought of. It was only the party that was worsted by it that complained. When both sides tacitly recognised it to be a legitimate mode of warfare, its heinousness must to some extent have disappeared. The Mahomedans used it to the full as much as the Mahrattas. And the very Bijapur Court, implicated in the tragedy we are considering, furnishes many more examples of this than those given above. A short time before this event, Khan Mahomed, Adil Shah's prime minister, was inveigled and treacherously murdered at the city-gate in open day-light ; and people thought lightly of it. His son, Khawas Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, met with a similar fate during the latter years of Shivaji's life, when he was treacherously killed by Abdul Karim, the prime minister. Abdul Kareem treated Dinanath Paul, who instigated him to do this deed, in a similar way, and killed him treacherously. Nor were the Deccani Mahomedans alone in this respect. The Northerners were just like them. What was it but gross treachery when Aurangzebe, having inveigled Shivaji by false promises to his court, kept him a close prisoner ? Aurangzebe gave similar instructions to Khan Jehan as regards Abdul Kareem. Rao Kerran of Bicani was to be dealt with in a treacherous way by Dilir Khan, owing to instructions from Aurangzebe, but Bhow Sing gave him timely information. And accounts of the last Moguls, the Childerics and Chilperics of Delhi, furnish instances of gross unscrupulousness and breach of faith.

But it is rather hard upon men of that age, with its own peculiar ideals and methods, to judge them by our present high standard. If we believe in the evolution of morality, the present high western stand is the result of ages of development, being the slow outcome of circumstances, influenced by wider and wiser knowledge and a higher religion. We are the heirs of all the ages in our knowledge and judgment and morality. If we are wiser, more moral, and have a higher standard of ethics ; in short, if we look further ahead in matters of morality as in others, it is because we are mounted on the

shoulders of all the past generations of the West and of the East. We would not think of blaming Shivaji and his contemporaries for not being as learned as we are in the end of the 19th century ; then why should we come down so severely upon them for not having a higher standard of ethics? If history teaches us anything, it is to judge of nations and heroes with reference to the times in which they lived and their entire environment, mental and moral, political and social. To try Eastern nations by a Western standard, to judge ancients by modern ideas, to condemn Pagans in the light of Christianity and other pure religions, is manifestly unjust. Of course, tried by a universal and eternal standard of right and wrong, which knows of no circumstances, of no time and no space, which is blind to extenuations and excuses, all wrong-doers are on the same level, and Shivaji and Napoleon are on the same platform as Cain. But we leave that awful task of judgment to the highest tribunal, whose mysterious ways we know not, nor can know. History has a humbler task and less wide sweep. In judging Shivaji, it reminds us that he was born and bred in a rude age, rendered still ruder by political chaos which unsettled life in all its departments, that his environment was such as could not make him see the more excellent way which it is our great good fortune to see and follow, that the ideals of his times were low compared with ours, that his contemporaries were not on a higher, but on the same, if not a lower level, and above all that he had not the means available to us of knowing better.

In his whole life there appears no sign to show that a doubt ever crossed his mind while doing things we call treacherous, and meeting a mine by a countermine. On the contrary, he prepared for most of the doubtful deeds of his life, in a manner which clearly shows in what light he viewed them. Before preparing for this very meeting with Afzal Khan, he thought that he was only doing a very brave deed, and that, if he lost life in doing it, he would obtain glory. In the *bakhar* he is represented as quoting verses whose refrain is : " As life is mortal in any case, why should we be afraid of losing it in the battle-field." And he quite sincerely believed that he was to fight a fair fight in killing Afzal by his dagger. Nor was he alone in this. His age and people thought the same. The chronicler represents them both when he lauds the deed, and compares it to the fight of Bheem with Duryodhan, celebrated in the great Hindu epic, and thus gives it the highest praise possible for a Hindu to give. The chronicler further states that Shivaji must have been not human, but divine, in doing such a brave deed. To judge of such a man in such an age as we would judge a European, is really unjust. To put him in the same category with Napoleon, who had so

many of his enemies assassinated, is unfair to Shivaji, because Napoleon certainly knew better and had ample opportunities of knowing better. Again, Clive's guilt, when he deceived the miscreant Omichund, is greater than Shivaji's, because he, too, had higher lights, which he could have followed, and certainly knew that he was doing something wrong, while about Shivaji there is no such evidence of such knowledge.

I am not, after what I have said, to be understood to exculpate Shivaji altogether. What I insist on are the extenuating circumstances, even at the risk of being called a casuist. And a casuist in the literary sense I may be, as I insist on considering each case of historical wrong separately, with its peculiar circumstances, and not involving all indiscriminately in one universal anathema of condemnation. I have given this Mahratta view at some length, because I have never seen it put forth at all by any European, except the solitary instance of Scott Waring, who, too, only put a part of it. The writer of the historical portion of the Sattara volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, after quoting from Waring, curtly dismisses this view by remarking in a note that "this intention of Abdoollah does not extenuate Shivaji's conduct, for Shivaji had made up his mind from the first to murder the Musulman General," (Vol. XIX, page 237). May I ask the writer about the authority for this statement of his that Shivaji had *made up his mind from the first to murder Afzal*? He should not refer me to Grant Duff, whose account he has given word for word. I have ascended higher in point of time than Duff; in fact, I think I have succeeded in showing that Duff merely stereotyped the one-sided Mahomedan and the hearsay European contemporary account—the latter most probably also derived from the former—without criticising it, and even without giving the equally plausible and more probable account of the Mahrattas.

After this great event Pratapgad has witnessed no other important scene in Mahratta history, and its existence as a fort ended in 1818, when, on the fall of Baji Rao II. and the total destruction of the Mahratta power, all the Mahratta forts, great and small, were taken and dismantled. Now Pratapgadh Fort is only important as a relic of the greatness of the power which was once so formidable in the country; and it well repays the tourist, who takes the trouble to go to its top, by the splendid panoramic scenery which it commands. The view to be obtained from the top on all sides is one of the grandest in these parts, and is much better than that from Mahableshwar, in that the latter is confined chiefly to the west, while from here is viewed a panorama extending in all directions, and rivalling, in wildness, grandeur and extent, any to be obtained elsewhere in Western India. As we make the narrow circuit of

the upper fort, the whole scene revolves around us with the varying effect of a phantasmagoria. To the east stands out boldly against the horizon the Mahableshwar range with its thickly wooded flat top, through which here and there peep out the high roofs and chimneys of bungalows, especially "Bella Vista," and the rounded peaks of Duke's Point, and Carnac Peak, and its cliffs, wooded and green, falling with a gentle slope into the valley to the right, and those to the left bare and precipitous. The various western points appear in bold relief as huge bastions and buttresses against the side of the hill—the flat plateau of Babington, the thick green knoll of Bombay, the picturesque tongue of Lodwick Point, with its tiny monument hardly visible from this distance, the wild and precipitous crags of Elphinstone, and the steep bare cliffs of Arthur's Seat to the extreme left, complete the whole western side of Mahableshwar opposite to Pratabgad. Mahableshwar, indeed, looks much like what Matheran appears from the opposite hill-top of Prabal, the same flat, wooded summit with the cape-like points running down into the valleys. To the left of Arthur's Seat and separated from Mahableshwar by the valley of the Krishna and the Savitri, and yet appearing to belong to it, is the hill of Jor, equally high and wooded, with steep precipitous sides. From Arthur's Seat, as well as from Jor spur, away to the Konkan below, three long lines of rugged hills, inexpressibly wild and bare, now appearing gray under the rays of the afternoon sun, broken into peaks of all shapes, of which Kangori is the only one fortified. Beyond these, to the north, is the long massive wall of hills in Bhore State, separating Poona and Kolaba from the Satara country here, which contains three other great and famous forts of Shivaji—Rajgad, his capital fortress, in which he was crowned, to the right and east, the long-lying Toran in the middle, and Raigad to the left and west, in Kolaba, his family fortress. Between Pratabgad and Mahableshwar is the valley of the Koyna and the district of Ambanali, green with dense forests, to which the eye willingly turns away from the wild and desolate scene to the north and north-east. From Raigad the hills turn to the west almost at right angles, while beyond them, in the distance, against the north-western horizon, dim in the haze, appears the indented line of the Kolaba hills sloping to the coast. Between these hills and the north-western side of Pratabgad, there is the same striking scene of bare desolation as to the north-east hills and undulating plain between, through which winds the thin silver streak of the Savitri, widening in the distance into a gulf at Mahad, and flowing onward past Dasgaon, meeting the sea at Nagotna. Immediately below the northern bastion is the spur, abutting on Pratabgad, of the Gowra hills, round

whose sides twines the Fitzgerald Pass road to the sea, meeting, at the village of Kineshwar, the old Par Pass road. From the western bastion there is the view of the steep sheer cliffs, nearly a thousand feet in height, going down to the bed of Adira, which meets the Savitri at Kapri, near the village of Poladpur. In the distance the scene is bounded by the sea at Janjira and Ratnagiri, now shining like a sheet of whitish red copper under the rays of the declining sun, whilst between, again, are four lines of hills, rising wave-like, one behind the other in irregular forms. The barren desolation of the northern and north-eastern view here changes again into dense woods and green vegetation in the south-west, where begins the long range of hills, receding from the low country into the Deccan above. They are seen to better advantage from the southern bastion which overlooks the temple of Bhowani in the lower fort below. This almost impassable range begins with the rounded peak of Sibtok to the right, and includes the flat Chowragadh, and, next to it, the well-defined double peak of Makrangadh, whose two humps and the connecting ridge between look quite like a saddle. Between these two last, from behind the connecting hills, stand out against the southern horizon the distant hills of Parbat, the southern limit of Satara separating it from Ratnagiri. To the south-east is the hill of Kelgar, close to Mahableshtar on its south, and equally well and thickly wooded, though lower in height. Between these ranges of hills on either hand, in a beautiful valley, green with woods and lawns, winds the Koyna, which flows from its source in these parts on to Satara and the country beyond, receiving on its left, below Kelgar, the stream of Solshi.

THE QUARTER.

IF we except the great public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall, on the 8th April, to protest against the exemption of cotton goods from the new import duties, and the mysterious smearing of mango trees in certain parts of Behar, the past twelve weeks in India have been more than usually uneventful. The legislative session at Simla has not yet begun, and the Viceroy has as yet made no sign, unless the somewhat stand-off attitude of the Government of India in the Financial Department, can be regarded as such.

The Financial Statement was presented by Mr. Westland on the 22nd March, and passed the following week. after a debate which was noteworthy as showing how completely the forms may be divorced from the spirit of constitutional Government. From the speeches it was transparent that, with possibly a single exception, the Council unanimously condemned the policy imposed upon the Government by the Secretary of State in the matter of the cotton duties, the only difference being that the non-official members voted in accordance with, and the official members in opposition to, their convictions.

The Statement itself had been largely discounted by that made by Mr. Westland, in connexion with the Tariff Bill, on the 1st March. The Revised Estimates for 1893-94 showed a deficit of Rx. 1,793,000, being worse than the Budget Estimate by Rx. 198,000. The Imperial Revenue was better than the Budget Estimate by Rx. 319,000; but there was a great loss on Opium, the revenue from which was lower by Rx. 1,185,000 than any recorded in recent years, and the expenditure exceeded the Budget Estimates by Rx. 517,000.

The Estimates for the current year showed: a deficit of Rx. 2923,000, which it was proposed to meet in part by the new Import duties, expected to yield Rx. 1,140,000; by a suspension of Railway expenditure on Famine Insurance account, to the extent of Rx. 1,076,000, and by contributions from Provincial revenues to the extent of Rx. 405,000, leaving a final deficit of Rx. 302,000. Loss by Exchange was estimated as worse than the Budget Estimate for 1893-94 by Rx. 1,371,000, and there is every prospect of its far exceeding the amount thus anticipated.

The meeting at the Town Hall, to which we have already referred, was largely attended by all classes of the community. The first Resolution, which was moved by Rajah Peary Mohun

Mookerjee, was to the effect :—" That this meeting most emphatically protests against the exclusion of cotton goods from the Indian Tariff Act, a course which, without providing for the whole of the deficit, has led, as a consequence, to the diversion of the Famine Insurance Fund, an appropriation of a large portion of the Provincial balances to Imperial purposes, and the suspension of public works urgently required to maintain the development of the resources of the country."

The second Resolution, moved by Mr. Pugh, ran :—" That this meeting views with the gravest alarm the action of the Secretary of State for India on this occasion, since it appears that, besides setting aside the unanimous public opinion of this country—an opinion the existence of which he has admitted—, he overruled the recommendation of the Government of India, and determined the course to be followed in India, against the dissent of every Member of the Council of India, and, on this and other occasions, has unduly fettered the action of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General."

The third, moved by Mr. Womack, was as follows :—" That, in order to bring home to the people of England the grievances of the people of India, and with a view to the principles upon which English rule is founded being once for all enunciated and placed beyond doubt, the petition, which is before the meeting, be adopted for submission to the House of Commons."

The Resolutions were all unanimously passed.

In the House of Commons on the 14th March, Sir George Chesney moved a Resolution that the House had "learnt with regret the determination of Her Majesty's advisers, contrary to the wishes of the people of India, to restrain the Government of that country from taking the measures proposed by them for meeting the deficit in their revenues, and that, in the opinion of the House, such a disregard of the feelings and interests of the people of India was at variance with the principles which should regulate our conduct towards them." Mr. Fowler, in replying, pleaded that the mandate of the House of Commons which had led to the abolition of the duties on cotton goods, barred the Government from re-imposing them without its consent, conveniently ignoring the fact that the mandate in question was so worded as to make it conditional on the financial position of the Government of India being such as to justify the abolition. At the same time, he admitted that a countervailing excise duty on Indian manufactures would remove the chief objection to the duties, though he added that there were formidable difficulties in the way of an excise. He further promised that the question should have the careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government. He has since denied that any question exists.

Public interest on the subject in India has, of late, somewhat abated, but the question is destined to be revived at an early date.

Local opinion regarding it found an echo in the speech of Sir Frank Forbes Adams, the President, at the recent meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Referring to the widespread preference of both Natives and Europeans for this form of taxation, as shown by the recent agitation, the speaker advised its acceptance, on the condition that it was accompanied by a corresponding excise on Indian goods.

Exchange has continued to fall, till within the last three weeks, with successive sales of Council Bills, and though, for the moment, it shows slight signs of improvement, it is probable that the recovery is only temporary. On the 19th ultimo the Indian Currency Association, whose energy seems to outrun their discretion, addressed a letter to the Government of India, strongly urging them to ascertain the Secretary of State's intentions regarding the "forced sales" of Council Bills. To this the Government of India have replied, that the Secretary of State has adhered strictly to the programme laid down in the Financial Statement; that it is incorrect to speak of "forced sales" of Council Bills, as the sales, so far, have not exceeded the amount due to the period of the year which has passed; that the Government of India cannot undertake to be the intermediary of criticism of the policy of the Secretary of State, and that they have stated their general policy in the Budget, and, while recognising the gravity of the situation, adhere to it unreservedly.

Sir David Barbour has somewhat surprised the more thorough-going advocates of the closing of the mints by a speech on the Currency question which he delivered recently at the Egyptian Hall, and in which, while stating that it was as yet too soon to say whether the attempt to establish a gold standard would be successful, he said it was clear that it would be a work of time, and would require further heavy sacrifices. In this he is considered to have blown cold on the work of his own hands; but it is really no more than he said in Council, when the Government scheme was launched. The great mistake which the Government have made is in thinking that they could establish a gold standard without paying for it. The heavy sacrifices which Sir David Barbour has in view, should have been accepted frankly, and provided for in the first instance; and every day's delay in accepting and providing for them, must add to the ultimate cost of establishing the new standard at a given rate.

The vague apprehensions that have been aroused, in England in a greater degree than in this country, by the smearing of the mangoe-trees in Behar, furnish a striking testimony to the last-

ing character of the shock to public confidence caused by the events of the great Mutiny. It is quite possible that the incident possesses no serious import whatever, and more probable than not, that, if it possesses any, it in no way directly concerns the European community. But a fancied analogy between it and the famous incident of the ehuppattis, combined with the theory, evolved on the *post hoc propter hoc* principle, that the latter was connected in some way with the terrible events which followed it, has set timid people imagining coming troubles of a similar order, under conditions, humanly speaking, incompatible with their occurrence, and foolish people talking and writing about them with an indiscretion which is really much more alarming than the incident itself. The gravest offender in this respect has been the London *Spectator*, which made the matter the occasion for an article virtually predicting another Mutiny, if not a widespread popular insurrection, within a week. This was followed by a letter from Colonel Malleon, who ought to know better, to the *Times*, endorsing the writers views and fears, and there was every chance that, had not men so much more competent, from their comparatively recent experience of India, to speak with authority, as Sir Alfred Lyall, Lords Lansdowne and Roberts, and Sir Lepel Griffin, come forward to re-assure the public, a most unfortunate and discreditable panic would have been created. Sir Alfred Lyall's opinion is, that the significance of the incident is religious rather than political, and that it need create no such alarm as that which the *Spectator's* article was calculated to create, and this view of the matter is generally endorsed by the other authorities named. The worst feature, however, in the discussion to which the incident has given rise in England, is the attempt to which certain writers have descended, to make political capital out of it, by roundly declaring it to be an expression of the indignation excited in the native mind, by what they happen to consider the latest example of British tyranny and injustice. For one writer this is the refusal of the Government to accede to the demand for simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service ; for another it is the exemption of Cotton goods from the import duties !—suggestions which, to people on the spot, seem too preposterous to be seriously entertained by any sane human being. By an unfortunate coincidence, in the midst of the excitement caused by this incident, it has become known that a spirit of insubordination, of a somewhat grave kind, has exhibited itself among a portion of the 17th B. N. I stationed at Agra. The men paraded without orders, refused to disperse when called upon to do so, and expressed in emphatic terms their dissatisfaction at the admission of certain recruits into the regiment,

which is a caste one, more distinguished for its gallantry in the field, than, it is said, for its peacefulness in cantonments. Thirteen of the men and one native officer have been tried by Court Martial in connexion with the matter, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and to be struck off the rolls of the Regiment.

The despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the subject of the recent religious disturbances, especially those in connexion with cow killing, has been published. The Government of India attribute the growing frequency of such occurrences mainly to three causes: (1) the greater frequency of communication and interchange of news by post and telegraph; (2) the greater forwardness of the Hindoos in the race for life, and their participation in the spirit and practice of political organisation after modern Western methods, and (3) the Hindoo revival at present in progress, as a re-action against the spread of religious indifference caused, in the first instance, by Western education.

The simultaneous examinations question has been disposed of, for, let it be hoped, at least a generation, in a despatch of Mr. Fowler to the Government of India, dated the 19th April, in which he states that, while anxious that the natives of India should enjoy every facility for entering the public service compatible with the security of British rule, he is convinced that insuperable objections exist to the proposed scheme. The best method of meeting the legitimate claims of natives, it is added, is to bestow the available higher posts on tried and trustworthy subordinates, and that the system lately established by the Government of India, appears to be based on wise and just principles and should be maintained.

A Bill to enable Indian Railways under construction to pay interest on capital, has been read a second time in the House of Commons, and will remove a serious obstacle to the investment of private capital in such enterprises.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Bengal Municipalities Bill, which, among other things, enables the local Government to disestablish or alter the boundaries of Municipalities; to appoint *ex-officio* Commissioners; to appoint an auditor, when the accounts of a Municipality are found to be in confusion, and what is, perhaps, the most important change of all to the rate-payer, to appoint an official assessor, if dissatisfied with the valuation of the Commissioners, was passed on the 28th April; and the Bengal Sanitary Drainage Bill, which is justly exciting considerable dissatisfaction and alarm, has been advanced a stage. An important Bill to amend the Revenue Sale Law was also introduced in the Council on the 31st March, by which it is proposed to abolish the discretion, at present

vested in the Collector, to exempt an estate from sale on the day of sale, giving the proprietor, instead thereof, power to prevent the sale before that day, by full payment of all arrears with interest and penalty. The Bill also contains a dangerous provision, depriving the Civil Courts of the power to annul a sale on account of arrears of revenue.

An interesting ceremony was performed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the 23rd April, when he opened the water-works at Arrah. The works, the cost of which is close on four lakhs of rupees, of which a lakh and a half was contributed by Raja Rajgurni Prasad Singh, a lakh by the District Board, a similar sum by the Local Municipality, and the rest by public subscription, were completed in less than a year by Messrs. Martin & Co., the contractors. The intake stands on the rightbank of the Sone, about five miles distant from Arrah, where is also erected an engine-house with a large pump-well. From this centre the water is carried through a cast-iron pipe, ten inches in diameter. There are three engines in all, manufactured by Messrs. Tangye Brothers, of Birmingham, on an improved principle. The water is discharged into four settling tanks drawn through a suction-pipe. The settling tanks are built to hold a day's supply of water, or, roughly, 300,000 gallons. Here the water undergoes a process of settling, and is conveyed to three filters, the total area of which is 6,000 superficial feet. Thence it passes into a clear-water reservoir, and is distributed by one of the large engines through a cast-iron main into the town. The water will be distributed to the precincts of the Municipality by forty stand-posts of one tap, and five of two taps. Besides these, there are eleven hydrants. The water will be led to the stand-posts by more than five miles of piping. It will be delivered, in the first instance, into a large wrought-iron cistern, 30 feet above ground-level, and will flow thence into the main by gravitation.

An important discovery has been made at Ferozepore of systematic robbery of the Government arsenal at that place. Through information given by a prisoner under trial for receipt of stolen goods, a large quantity of rifles, locks and barrels were found concealed in the bazaar, and the investigation which followed, disclosed long continued dealings in these articles by former European Conductors with men in the bazaar, who resold them to Pathans at a large profit. Three of the culprits have been arrested in England, and charged before the extradition Court at Bow Street.

It is hoped that this exposure will put a stop to the pernicious traffic which has, for a long time past, been going on between the bazaars in the Punjab and the frontier tribes. An

even more serious mischief would be prevented if the less dishonest, but not less iniquitous, trade in arms of sorts, which has long been carried on by British subjects, not always bazaar dealers, with Nepal, could also be put a stop to.

The failure of the wheat crop in certain parts of the Central Provinces, especially in the Saugor and Damoh districts, owing to rust, is causing considerable distress, and it has been found necessary to start relief works on a small scale.

A committee, whose investigations, if they do their work thoroughly, should be attended by important economies, is sitting at Simla, under the Presidentship of Mr. D. Lyall, to enquire into the establishment charges of the Department of Military Works, and the causes of the reluctance of Royal Engineer Officers to volunteer for service in the Public Works Department.

Among the personal changes of the quarter, we may note the appointment of Mr. D. R. Lyall to officiate as Chief Commissioner of Assam, *vice* Mr. Ward, and of Mr. Hewett to act for him in the Home Secretaryship to the Government of India; of Major Temple to officiate as Chief Commissioner of the Andamans; of Colonel Bissett to succeed Mr. O'Callaghan as Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Department, and of Mr. Pearson, of the Calcutta Bar, to succeed Mr. Marsden as Chief Presidency Magistrate.

Though, owing to the defection of the Parnellites, the Ministerial majority has been reduced by half, and notwithstanding one or two serious contretemps, the predictions of an early dissolution, as a result of the change of Premiers, has been signally falsified. Sir William Harcourt's Budget, which was read a second time on the 10th ultimo by 14 votes, has, on the whole, been favourably received by the country. The accounts for the year show a deficit of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, which is reduced by nearly one half by the repayment from the new Sinking Fund of portion of the burdens arising from the Naval Defence Act. To make up the rest, it is proposed to equalise the death duties, and introduce a graduated scale, according to which estates under £500 will pay 1 per cent.; estates from £500 to £1,000 2 per cent.; estates from £1,000 to £10,000, three per cent.; from £10,000 to £25,000, four per cent.; from £25,000 to £50,000, four and-a-half per cent.; from £50,000 to £75,000, five per cent.; from £75,000 to £100,000, five and-a-half per cent.; from £100,000 to £150,000, six per cent.; from £150,000 to £250,000, six and-a-half per cent.; £250,000 to £500,000, seven per cent.; £500,000 to £1,000,000 seven and-a-half per cent.; over a £1,000,000 eight per cent.; to add a penny to the Income Tax, at the same time extending the limit of exemption from £120 to £160, and to increase the spirit duty by

6*d.* a gallon and the beer duty by 6*d.* a barrel. In the debate on the second reading, the rejection of the Budget was moved by Mr. Grant Lawson, seconded by Mr. Cosmo Bonsor, and supported by, among others, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Balfour. In the division the Parnellites voted against the Government, and three Liberal brewers abstained.

The Registration Bill, which abolishes plural voting, and provides that the Register shall be revised twice a year and all elections be held on the same day—Saturday—, was read a second time, on the 4th ultimo, by a majority of 14, the Parnellites abstaining. The Scotch Grand Committee was passed on the 25th April, and the Miners Eight Hour's Bill was read a second time on the 25th idem.

The Evicted Tenants Bill was introduced by Mr. Morley on the 19th April, and the Bill for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales was read the first time on the 30th idem. Under the latter Bill, disendowment will be gradual, the corpus of the Church property will pass from the Church to the nation, to be enjoyed locally and parochially, a measure of compensation being granted to clergy and patrons. Mr. Asquith, in the course of the debate, gave a tempting list of the objects to which the property might be devoted. This included the support of cottage or other hospitals, dispensaries or convalescent homes, the provision of trained nurses for the sick poor, the foundation and maintenance of public parish and district halls and institutes of learning, the erection of labourers' dwellings, the promotion of technical and higher education, including the establishment of a national library and museum and an academy of art, and the promotion of any public purpose of local or general utility for which provision is not made by statute out of public rates.

The Government have determined to withdraw the Bill for the local control of the sale of liquor. Colonel Nolan's Bill for the repeal of the Coercion Act was read a second time, by a majority of sixty votes, on the 17th April.

Lord Rosebery has won golden opinions by the firmness, we might almost say the boldness, of his Foreign policy. As a party tactician, he has, perhaps, failed to realise the full measure of the duplicity required from a man in his exalted and responsible position. His speech in the House of Lords, on the 19th March, furnished a notable instance of this failure. England, as the predominant member of the partnership, he said, must be convinced before Home Rule could be given to Ireland. The effect of this reckless frankness on his Irish supporters, however, proved so serious, that he found it advisable, at Edinburgh the following week, to qualify his statement, by explaining, that it was by no means intended to imply that

a majority of English members must be in favour of Home Rule. On the contrary, if a majority of 100 members in the entire House were in its favour, but a majority of 45. in England against it, he would consider the voting a sufficient proof that England was convinced ; after which, it would be interesting to know Lord Rosebery's definition of conviction.

Through what can be described only as gross carelessness on the part of the Liberal whips, Mr. Labouchere was allowed to carry an amendment to the Address in reply to the Queen's speech, praying her Majesty that the Lords' power of veto might cease, by a majority of two, and Sir William Harcourt had to extricate the Ministry from the difficulty by a motion proposing the rejection of the Address, and the substitution of another, which was carried unanimously. Mr. Morley, speaking at Newcastle on Tyne recently, declared that the House of Lords had gone too far to be mended and must, consequently, be ended, a statement, which taken in connexion with what Lord Rosebery has said, and what are known to be the views of the more moderate Liberals on the subject, seems to foreshadow a split in the party over the question, should it ever come up for legislation.

The Government have announced in both Houses of Parliament that, after full consideration of the late Sir Gerald Portal's Report, they have determined to establish a regular administration in Uganda, under a British Protectorate. A no less important event, and one which threatens to lead to serious complications, is the conclusion of a treaty between Britian and the king of the Belgians, by which the province of Bahr el Ghazal is leased to the Congo Free State, thus barring the road of France from the westward, and Great Britian secures a strip of territory uniting Lake Tanganyika with Lake Albert Edward, and completing her communications by road, lake and river between the Cape and Cairo. The treaty has caused great indignation in France, which claims a right of pre-emption over the territory leased, and declares its determination to contest the matter with Great Britain. The German Ambassador at Brussels is also said to have lodged a protest against the treaty on behalf of his Government ; but this is probably a purely formal step. A treaty has also been concluded between Great Britain and Italy, by which the two Powers agree to a delimitation of their respective spheres of interest in the territory about Aden,

Commercial treaties have also been concluded between Germany and Russia and Austria and Russia.

In France the late Ministry have resigned, owing to the passing of a socialist resolution, demanding that the servants on State Railways should be allowed to attend the Railway Men's

Congress, a somewhat small matter, it might seem, to upset a Government. A new Ministry has been formed by M. Dupuy with M. Hanotaux as Foreign Minister and M. Faure as Minister of Marine.

A series of severe earthquakes in Greece have desolated the Atalanti district, completely destroying the city of Thebes, which seems to have been the centre of the disturbance, and causing considerable loss of life. Some of the shocks were felt at Athens, and the Parthenon has suffered considerable damage.

Among noteworthy personal events of the quarter have been the marriage of the Princess Victoria Melita, second daughter of the Duke of Coburg, to the Grand Duke of Hesse, son of the late Princess Alice, at Coburg, in the presence of her Majesty the Queen; the betrothal of Princess Alix of Hesse to the Czarewitch, which was announced at the Coburg wedding, and the appointment of Lord Roberts to succeed Lord Wolseley in the command in Ireland.

The obituary of the quarter includes the names of Lord Hannen; Lord Justice Bowen; the Marquis of Ailesbury; Major Le Caron; Mr. Edmund Yates; Mr. Henry Morley; Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, B. C. S. *Ret.*, formerly Minister at the Court of Nepal, and well-known for his philological investigations; Mr. George James Romanes, F. R. S., the naturalist, and Mr. F. W. Broughton, dramatist; Rai Bunkim Chunder Chatterjea, the Bengalee novelist, and Mir Ali Murad Khan, Chief of Khairpur, in Sind.

June 10th 1894.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year 1892-93.

IN 1892-93, 204,556 boys and girls were under instruction in 4,845 State and aided institutions under Departmental control, compared with 204,568 in 4,975 institutions in 1891-92. The total attendance was thus almost the same in the two years, though there was a slight increase in the number of boys and a corresponding decrease in that of girls. The decrease in the number of schools was due to the closing of inefficient primary schools for boys and girls. The aggregate *direct* expenditure shows an increase on that for 1892-93, and the portion of that expenditure borne by the public revenues also increased. The *indirect* expenditure was Rs. 8,91,659, against Rs. 8,40,974 in 1891-92, showing an increase of Rs. 50,685. Of the indirect expenditure Rs. 6,09,804 was borne by public revenues. The large increase in these indirect charges was mainly on account of buildings and apparatus, and was for the most part met from endowments.

The proportion borne by the expenditure from public revenues to the whole direct expenditure on each of the main classes of education was—

					1892-93.	1891-92.
University	...	...	...	...	50	47
Secondary	...	...	...	...	45	40
Primary	...	...	...	...	79	78

The number of students attending Arts Colleges and collegiate classes attached to certain high schools increased by—
126.

An increase in the number of candidates at all the University examinations and in the number who passed is noticeable. In the Intermediate examination of 1891-92 failures were exceptionally numerous, owing to the severity of the papers in English and Mathematics. This defect from candidates' point of view has been *redressed* in the examination of the year under report. The Canning College was remarkably successful in both the B.A. and the Intermediate examinations, passing 35 students in the former, out of 53 sent up, and 50 in the latter out of 84. The corresponding figures for the Muir Central College were 37 passed out of 68 sent up for the B.A. examination, and 54 passed out of 106 sent up for the intermediate. The B. or scientific course in the B.A. examination appears to be growing in favour in the larger colleges.

In the law departments of the different colleges 615 students were enrolled, and 24 obtained the degree of bachelor of law. In the Sanskrit College, Benares, and the Arabic department of the Canning College, useful work is adjudged to have been done during the year.

State secondary schools, commonly known as zila schools, numbered 37, with an enrolment of 7,036 boys, and an expenditure of Rs. 37.7 per head, of which Rs. 23.2 was defrayed from public funds. The aided secondary schools numbered 76, with an enrolment of 12,009 boys, and an expenditure of only Rs. 26.2 per head, of which Rs. 11.6 was met from public grants-in-aid. The branch schools, which numbered 34, with an enrolment of 2,500 boys and an expenditure of Rs. 7.5 per head, are restricted to primary classes, and their object is to relieve the zila schools of the burden of teaching the primary classes. The average tuitional expenditure in State secondary schools is considerably greater than that in aided schools of the same character; but the higher tuitional expenditure results in a higher average standard of instruction. In 34 of the 37 State schools there is a high, or matriculation, section: but this is the case in 44 only of the 76 aided secondary schools. Again 50 per cent. of the scholars in the aided schools are in the lower primary section, while in the Government schools the proportion is only 20 per cent. The fact is that the aided Anglo-Vernacular schools are so varied in character that a general average either of expenditure or of examination results is misleading. The expenditure of a first class aided school like the Jubilee High School in Lucknow is as great as that of a first class State school, and the efficiency is the same. At the other end of the scale is the lately opened aided school at Bilgrám, which does not profess to teach the Anglo-Vernacular course beyond the middle standard, and which has a staff barely sufficient for even this modest ambition. An important class of the aided Anglo-Vernacular schools are those managed by the different missionary societies. We are glad to hear that it is within the knowledge of the Government that not a few of them are doing excellent work. It has been recognised by liberal grants.

The introduction of science and drawing teaching into five selected high schools, with the object of enabling students to be prepared for the School Final examination, was the chief event of the year. To Professor Murray, of the Muir Central College, the Government is indebted for the supervision which he voluntarily gave to the science teaching at the outset. The drawing classes have from the first been under the superintendence of Mr. Crosse, Officiating Inspector for Oudh, and appear to be progressing satisfactorily. Statistics show that the

science and drawing classes are well filled in four of the five schools, the Meerut Aided School being the exception. The revision of the Middle English curriculum which has lately been sanctioned has now brought the bifurcation of studies to as early a stage in a student's life as is possible. Under the revised scheme, a boy, on entering the middle section of an Anglo-Vernacular school, may take up elementary science and drawing instead of a classical language, and thus begin to specialise for the School Final examination, or the B course of the University.

During the year a punishment code was experimentally introduced, which, by defining the powers of head masters and specifying the punishments awardable for particular offences, will, it is hoped, be of some disciplinary value. In the matter of out-door games and gymnastics considerable progress is chronicled, and inter-school tournaments were held with success in every circle. School fines have been transferred to the recreation fund, and, furthermore, the grant to the fund of a sum equal to the subscriptions raised in its behalf in each district, has greatly improved the prospects of school sports in the provinces.

Vernacular middle, or "town," schools are all maintained by the State. In 1892-93 they numbered 315, with an enrolment of 29,171 on the 31st March 1893, and an average monthly enrolment of 27,729. In 1891-92 the average monthly enrolment was 26,915. Of the total number of enrolled scholars 5,631 were in the middle section, 5,950 in the upper primary, and 17,590 in the lower primary. Thus the schools classed as middle, as having classes which teach up to the vernacular middle examination, are really primary schools in respect of two-thirds of their attendance.

There is an increase in the number of candidates for the vernacular middle examination and in the number who passed. The popularity of this examination, on account of its being the obligatory educational qualification for appointment to inferior posts of Rs. 10 and upwards in the public service, leads to the frauds and mean devices which have lately been notorious. The Lieutenant-Governor stigmatises it as a matter of deepest regret that the difficulties attending popular instruction in this country should be increased by chicanery and despicable tricks on the part of masters and scholars.

It is noted that subordinate officials who have not passed the middle vernacular examination at schools, not unfrequently present themselves in later life in order to obtain the qualifying certificate.

Of State vernacular primary schools there were 3,878, with an enrolment of 140,395 scholars on the 31st March 1893. The

policy which has been pursued for some years back of improving the village schools, rather than of increasing their numbers, has, in the year under report, been marked by an increased enrolment of scholars. The average cost per scholar was something under Rs. 4 a year. The Director of Public Instruction remarks, that the great majority of the pupils attending village schools are of the higher castes, and that "the ultimate substratum, the actual tillers of the soil," remain absolutely untouched. It is a trite, but true remark of the Lieutenant-Governor's in this connection, that an education that frequently results in profound dislike of manual labour, is not an unmingled good. Nor is it good that primary education does not keep up with the progress made in higher education.

The special schools in the North West Provinces and Oudh comprise the three normal schools at Agra, Lucknow and Allahabad, for the training of teachers in vernacular schools, and the Industrial School at Lucknow. In the three normal schools there were 322 pupils, being fewer by 26 than the average enrolment in 1891-92. At the final examination of 1892-93, 53 received the "upper grade," and 91 the "lower grade" certificate. The number of "upper grade" teachers turned out from the normal schools has been considerably in excess of the demand. This is admittedly distinct mismanagement, and should be put a stop to.

The Industrial School at Lucknow is the first attempt in the North-West Provinces to combine manual training for native boys with elementary general education. So far as admissions are an evidence of success, the school is succeeding. But it is well observed that the real test of success will be the extent to which the students, on leaving the school, prove able and willing to engage in handicraft trades; and this cannot be known for some years. In rigorously restricting admission to the sons and near relatives of artisans, and in insisting that most of the school hours shall be spent in the workshop and the drawing room, the Government has done what it can to prevent boys resorting to the school for the gratuitous instruction which it gives in English and the Vernacular. The progress reported to have been made by the pupils in carpentry and drawing is encouraging; and if the school proves able to turn out cheap and suitable apparatus for elementary science teaching and gymnastic appliances, it will be of material service.

There is no general wish for female education, and so long as that is the attitude of the popular mind, little can be done. For the progress that has been made, the Government is indebted mainly to missionary efforts. In 1892-93 there were 128 vernacular primary schools for girls maintained by Government, or by municipalities, at a cost of Rs. 16,285, and with an enrolment of 2,880

scholars, all but 162 of whom were in the lower primary classes. The reports on the progress made by these schools are, as usual, not encouraging, though the ten schools maintained in the city of Lucknow by the Municipality are said, owing to the efforts of the Deputy Inspectress, Miss D'Abreu, to be an exception. There were also 128 aided vernacular schools for girls, with an enrolment of 4,417 scholars, and costing Rs. 59,412 a year, of which Rs. 16,730 was contributed by public funds. These schools are all the fruit of missionary enterprise. Many of the girls are said to be Native Christians ; but little is known as to the quality of the instruction, and grants-in-aid are given more on general repute than on hard and fast lines. Missionary societies also support 16 Anglo-Vernacular schools, with a total enrolment of 1,229 girls, at a total cost of Rs. 44,621, of which Rs. 13,956 is contributed by the State. These schools, which are attended exclusively by the daughters of Native Christians, are reported the most promising girls' schools in the province.

In 1892-93 there were 30 schools for Europeans and Eurasians receiving aid under the code, of which 16 were for boys and 14 for girls. Of the boys' schools, nine teach up to the High or Final Standard of the special code, the passing of which is recognised by the University as equivalent to the University Entrance examination ; two teach up to the Middle Standard only ; and five up to the Primary Standard. Of the girls' schools, nine are High schools, two middle, and three primary. The aggregate enrolment in these 30 schools was 1,329 boys and 942 girls, or 2,271 in all, against 2,271 in 1891-92. About one-half of this school-going population attended hill schools and one-half schools in the plains. The sum earned from Government by these schools was Rs. 90,346 in 1892-93, which, however, included Rs. 7,300 on account of school fees and boarding charges of indigent children placed by orders of the Director of Public Instruction, on the recommendations of District Magistrates, on the Government list. In 1891-92 the sum earned was Rs. 83,678, of which only Rs. 3,949 was on account of indigent children. The above figures are exclusive of special building and furniture grants, and are held to indicate that the State is not indifferent to the special claims of the European and Eurasian population domiciled in the province. Of the necessity for State aided schools for the poorest section of this population, such as the free schools in Allahabad, there can be no question. But doubt is expressed as to whether the aid given to high class European schools is in all cases required, and whether it does not tend, by keeping the scale of tuition fees and boarding charges extremely low, to drive unaided private enterprise out of the field. Some of the State-aided schools in the hills

received the children of persons who might reasonably be expected to bear the entire cost of their children's education. Judging from one or two cases which have recently been before the Lieutenant-Governor, there appears to be a disposition on the part of persons or societies interested in schools of this kind, to think that their responsibility ends when the school has been started; and that the existence of a building debt, the absence of all endowment or private support, and a scale of fees too low to pay, are good grounds for invoking the help of Government. He thinks it desirable that such misconceptions of the duty of the State in this matter should be removed.

The results of the Primary, Middle, and High or Final Standard examinations of 1892 held under the special code applicable to European schools, were highly creditable to La Martinière College and the Girls' Diocesan School, Naini Tal. The La Martinière College for boys is not aided by the State, but the governing body have decided to adapt its curriculum to that prescribed for aided schools, and to send up candidates to the public examinations framed on that curriculum. The successes won by its pupils in these examinations show that the school has nothing to fear from public competition with others.

The last two paragraphs of the report deal briefly with the special schools for the education of Muhammadans, and the special school at Lucknow for the education of the sons and relatives of Oudh Talukdars. The latter, which is better known as the Colvin Institute, is still in the experimental stage, but is fortunate in having secured the services of an exceptionally qualified Principal. The wards are reported to have made satisfactory progress both in their studies, and in riding and school sports. The list of special schools for Muhammadans enumerates 1,846 institutions, attended by 22,731 scholars, of whom 20,691 were Muhammadans. Of a total enrolment of 221,022 scholars of all creeds in State-aided or unaided "public" schools and colleges in the provinces on the 31st March 1893, 35,530 were Muhammadans. Of the 68,394 other scholars attending "private" schools, 30,144 were Muhammadans. Thus nearly one-half the Muhammadan school-going population is being instructed in private schools. It may be conjectured from the classified list of these schools, the greater number of which do not profess to take their pupils beyond the elementary stage, and many of which teach the Korán only, that their instructional value is small. Applying the test of the results of the public examinations held in 1892, the relative numbers of Muhammadans and Hindus among the passed candidates stand thus :—

				Hindus,	Muham- madans.
Master of Arts	...	...	...	16	2
Bachelor of Arts	...	...	...	105	24
Intermediate	...	...	...	213	52
Entrance	...	...	...	540	109
Middle	...	...	...	2,229	706
Thomason Engineering College.	Engineer	...	...	8	0
	Upper Subordinate	...	...	5	0
	Lower	...	...	32	5
	College Entrance	...	...	52	8

As the Muhammadan population stands to the Hindu in the proportion of 1 to 6 in the province, the above comparison of examination results is pronounced not unfavourable to it. It has to be borne in mind, on the one hand, that in these provinces the Muhammadans are, to a larger extent than the Hindus, dwellers in towns and dependent on clerical or official pursuits: and, on the other, that many Muhammadans, through prejudice, apathy or poverty, will not give their children the education which the State has placed at their doors, and without which the lowest paid clerical post is not to be obtained.

General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1892-93.

THE Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1892-93 is submitted by Dr. C. A. Martin, who received charge on the 27th December 1892, on the retirement of Mr. C. H. Tawney, C.I.E.

There has been an increase in the number of pupils under instruction, *viz.*, from 1,392,371 to 1,400,067, in public institutions, and a decrease from 139,594 to 134,989 in private or indigenous institutions. On the whole, the number of pupils has increased from 1,531,965 to 1,535,056. At the same time the aggregate number of public institutions has decreased from 53,956 to 53,131, and that of private or indigenous institutions from 13,868 to 13,473. Among the schools classed as "Public Institutions" which adopt departmental standards, the number supported or aided by public funds has decreased from 43,972 to 41,697, and the number of unaided schools has risen from 9,984 to 11,434. The number of pupils receiving University and secondary education has increased from 202,510 to 207,192, while the number in primary schools, upper and lower taken together, has slightly fallen, *viz.*, from 1,123,560 to 1,123,225, the upper primary having gained almost as many pupils as the lower primary have lost.

The population of Bengal, excluding Kuch Bihār, Hill Tippera, and the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur, of which the schools are not included in the Educational returns, is 73,043,697, of whom 36,412,749 are males and 36,630,948

females. This gives, at the conventional rate of 15 per cent. 5,461,912 male children and 5,494,642 female children of a school-going age. Of the scholars on the Educational returns 1,431,528 are boys and 103,528 girls. Hence of all boys of a school-going age, 26·2, and of all girls of a school-going age, 19 per cent. are at school. The percentages in the previous year were 26·2 and 17, respectively. While it thus appears that one boy in every four throughout these Provinces is receiving instruction of some kind in schools, public or private, the Director's report shows great differences in the degrees of educational progress attained in the various districts and divisions. According to the figures given in that table, Hooghly shows 63·8 of the boys of a school-going age as actually at school, against 42·6 in the 24-Parganas; Balasore shows 48·2 per cent. as against 27·8 per cent. in Puri, while Cuttack shows 33·8 per cent. of its boys at school in 1892-93, against 43·3 in the preceding year. Patna gives 31·9 per cent. against half that (ratio) 15·8 in the neighbouring district of Gaya and 11·1 in Shahabad. Assuming the correctness of the figures, the great disparity in educational progress between the different districts and divisions might be accounted for by differences in material comfort or in the habits of the people, or in the varying degrees of interest in the subject and of energy displayed by the local educational and district officers.

The total expenditure on education, including all disbursements from public and private sources, such as the fees and contributions paid to the University and in all public schools and colleges, amounted to Rs. 96,45,408, as compared with Rs. 93,52,000 in the preceding year, an increase of Rs. 2,93,408. The expenditure from Provincial revenues decreased from Rs. 24,96,000 to Rs. 23,87,906, or by Rs. 1,08,094. Expenditure from all public sources, including District and Municipal Funds, decreased from Rs. 36,29,000 to Rs. 34,66,457, or by Rs. 1,62,543, while expenditure from private sources rose from Rs. 57,23,000 to Rs. 61,79,000, or by more than four-and-a-half lakhs. This is a satisfactory feature in the year's retrospect. Collegiate education cost less by Rs. 11,265; secondary education cost more by Rs. 1,19,810, primary education by Rs. 35,853, and female education by Rs. 1,10,085, of which the share from private sources came to Rs. 1,06,000. Under primary education District Funds contributed Rs. 45,000 less. This, however, is attributed to the fact that uncashed cheques, though issued, were not included in the accounts of the year. Under female education they contributed Rs. 2,000 more than in the preceding year. Municipal funds contributed under the two heads Rs. 8,000 more than in the preceding year. The expenditure by Municipalities on secondary education is still more

than 50 per cent. in excess of that on primary education, which means that children who cannot pay for education are refused it in order that children who can pay may receive it gratuitously. Admittedly, this is not as it should be.

The number of colleges stands at 34, the same as last year, divided into Government 11, Municipal 1, Aided 7, and Unaided 15. The students on the lists are returned as 5,443 instead of 5,225 as last year. The Aided colleges have, taken together, gained 70 students. The Government colleges show a decrease of 133 students. The Midnapore College had 39 instead of 46 youths under instruction. The Unaided institutions have attracted 288 more than last year.

Out of 3,766 youths reading on the 31st December 1892 for the F. A. Examination, 2,216 attended the examination: the proportion was lowest in Aided colleges. The percentage of successful candidates decreased from 44 to 37. In Government colleges the percentage was 44, in Aided colleges 36, and in Unaided colleges 36. The most successful Unaided Mufassal College was the Jagannath College, Dacca, which sent up 172 candidates, of whom 61 passed.

Of 118 candidates for the Mastership of Arts 54 passed, as compared with 46 out of 128 last year.

The suggestion made by Government in paragraph 7 of the Resolution on last year's Education Report, that the University authorities should make efforts to secure uniformity of standard by continuity in the examining body, was referred to the Syndicate by the Director of Public Instruction. That body have replied that they are very sensible of the importance of attaining and of preserving uniformity in the standard of examination, but they think that the present system secures this as far as is practically possible, while at the same time it enables the Syndicate to exercise a control in the matter which it is desirable they should retain.

The number of candidates who took up the A or Literature Course has risen this year from 967, to 987, while that of the students of the B or Science Course increased from 182 to 220. The increase in the former case has been two per cent.; in the latter about 21; thus showing the growing popularity of the B Course. On the other hand the percentage of success is 1 in the A Course and 42 in the B Course.

The relative position of the different classes of secondary schools remains the same as before, institutions under public management standing at the top, with 84 per cent. of their candidates passed, the Aided schools next with 66 per cent. and the Unaided schools last, with 59 per cent.

Sir Antony MacDonnell sees much reason in the Director's view that the vernacular schools of the Dacca Division are

being stifled owing to the scholarships being awarded in that division on the aggregate marks obtained, so that students even with a smattering of English get a great advantage over the vernacular candidates, and will be prepared to consider the question when proposals are submitted in a definite form.

In para. 60 of his Report Dr. Martin gives a table showing the progress made in drawing in those Entrance schools in which drawing-masters have been appointed. Out of 13 pupils from nine schools who took up drawing, only two passed, both of whom came from the Hare School. The moral is that the artistic sense cannot be, like a Course of "public instruction in Bengal," acquired by rote.

Almost every high school under the department is supplied with a gymnastic teacher, one teacher sometimes working in a group of schools, two or three months at a time in each school of the group. Many high English schools under private management have followed the example of the zilla schools, according to their resources. The middle and primary schools mostly satisfy themselves with indigenous games which, though not costly in their apparatus, are none the less useful in promoting muscular development. The Boards of Nadia and Midnapore are making commendable efforts to introduce physical training in middle and primary schools, and other Boards might follow their example with advantage. It is noticed with satisfaction that Mr. Growse at Faridpur, Mr. Greer at Tippera, Mr. Oldham, the Commissioner of Chittagong, and the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners of Chota Nagpur organised inter-school cricket and football matches, which they encouraged by their presence, and the Lieutenant-Governor agrees that kindly sympathy like this will do much to popularise games among the pupils. The Society for the higher training of young men, for which a grant of Rs. 100 a month was sanctioned during the year, has given prominence to the question of physical training, but nothing practical has yet been done—nor will be, until the meaning of practicality is understood by the people of Bengal.

The Director reports that there has been a perceptible change for the better in the *morale* of school-boys, and that serious breaches of discipline and offences against morality were in most divisions very rare. Nevertheless some very disgraceful cases of breach of discipline and of disrespect towards teachers and other constituted authorities occurred in Noakhali and in Backergunge.

The importance of boarding-houses as a powerful factor in promoting school discipline has not been lost sight of. Most Government institutions have attached boarding-houses, in

which the pupils live under the charge of one or more of the resident teachers. Schools under private management follow the example of Government schools, whenever their means allow and the exigencies of the localities require such establishments.

There was a steady advance in the numbers of upper primary schools and pupils, while there was a loss of 1,090 lower primary schools and of 4,672 pupils. The fluctuations in the numerical statistics of lower primary schools originated, as explained by Dr. Martin, from different causes, *viz.*, the state of the public health, the price of food-grains, floods or drought—in fact all the agricultural circumstances of the year; but, allowing for these considerations, it is still unsatisfactory to find that there has been little or no progress in primary education during the past five years. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that, in a country in which only one boy in every four of a school-going age is learning to read and write and the other three are absolutely illiterate, the statistics of primary education ought not to show merely a few more one year and a few less the next, but they should show increases in all years. He agrees in the opinion that the loss in primary education during the year points to a decline in efficiency and activity of the inspecting staff, and thinks that, if more money were spent throughout the Province in this branch of education, the result would be increased numbers at school.

In the Resolution accompanying the Report stress is once again laid on the ruling that, when due provision has been made for the required number of primary schools, but not before, any further sum which a Municipality is desirous of expending on secondary education can be so devoted.

The Bihar Industrial School was opened during the year. The total capital of this school is Rs. 2,50,411, of which Rs. 2,39,900 is invested in Government securities and Rs. 10,511 deposited in the Bank of Bengal. The monthly establishment charges amount to Rs. 182, and the total cost came to Rs. 16,011, the chief portion of which was devoted to the erection of a building. The institution had 32 pupils on the rolls, divided into two departments—the apprentice with 20 pupils and the artizan with 12. Twenty-five of the pupils received stipends varying from Rs. 7 to Rs. 3 a month. The course of instruction includes Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, Drawing and Carpentry. The management is vested in a Committee with the Commissioner of the Patna Division as President. A new Industrial School was opened during the year at Pabna; the Comilla Artizan School was brought on to the books of the department, and a new technical school was opened at Noakhali.

Dr. Martin believes that District Boards and other local Educational authorities are becoming alive to the importance of technical education, and that, year after year, there has been not only an advance in the number of such schools, but a steady endeavour to place the existing ones on a better footing. Sir Antony MacDonnell hopes that this is only the beginning of a great movement. Higher education, he declares, has now taken such firm root in Bengal, that it has ceased to require from Government the same fostering care as formerly. The educational authorities are enjoined now to pay special attention to the preparation of the youth of the country for new industrial and scientific pursuits, and to the fostering of primary education among the poorer classes.

If it lay with Sir Antony MacDonnell, we are informed, to decide whether the Sibpur Workshops should remain under the control of the Public Works Department or be transferred to the Educational Department, he would have no hesitation in deciding in favour of the transfer. Under the Public Works Department the Workshops serve no substantial purpose, while they compete with private enterprise. Under the Educational Department they would form a necessary and most valuable adjunct to a broad scheme of technical instruction for the Province.

A material advance in female education is reported. The number of girls' schools increased from 2,706 to 2,821, and their pupils from 54,199 to 56,579. The number of girls in boys' schools also increased from 32,749 to 34,200. The net gain of schools was therefore 115, and of pupils 3,831. The only Government schools are the school department of the Bethune College and the Eden Female School in Dacca. The *Bethune School* passed two girls at the Entrance examination, the Dacca Female School sent up two, of whom one passed. Mrs. Wheeler, the Inspectress of Schools, furnished examination returns of 5,537 pupils; the number of schools examined by her was 104, of which 46 are in Calcutta. In Calcutta there were 150 primary girls' schools with 5,872 pupils against 162 schools with 5,516 pupils in the preceding year. Arrangements have recently been made and rules framed under which the grants to schools in and near Calcutta will be revised, so as to bring them to some extent into proportion with the actual work done. The special standards for girls' scholarships that were originally decided for Calcutta and its neighbourhood, could not be largely extended to the mufassal for want of funds. It is a matter for congratulation to read that, in the last examination under these standards, out of 276 examinees, 236 passed against 175 out of 292 in the preceding year.

Though the total number of schools remained unchanged,

there was an increase of 346 scholars during the year. With the exception of a slight falling off in 1886, the number has steadily increased since 1883.

The total number of Muhammadan pupils decreased from 448,847 to 447,485, or by 1,362, and the percentage from 29.2 to 29.1. In public institutions the Muhammadan pupils increased by 4,430. A large increase, *viz.*, 3,094, of Muhammadan pupils, took place in the upper primary schools. The private institutions sustained a loss of 5,792 Muhammadan pupils. In advanced private schools there was a loss of 1,793 Muhammadan pupils, while in the elementary schools there was a gain of 2,753. In other schools not coming up to departmental standards, there was a loss of 56 pupils.

The number of passes gained by Muhammadan candidates was greater in 1892-93 than in the preceding year at all the examinations except the First Examination in Arts. The percentages also of Muhammadans among successful candidates advanced except in the case of the First Arts Examination. The Lieutenant-Governor considers that, though these results show some slight improvement, they are disappointing when the proportion which the Muhammadan element bears to the total population is considered. The ratio per cent. of Muhammadan pupils at schools, of all kinds, to the total number of Muhammadan pupils of a school-going age, is 25 against 29 per cent. in the case of Hindus. Of pupils receiving secondary education, 81 per cent. are Hindus and only 14 per cent. Muhammadans, while of students receiving collegiate education, 90 per cent. are Hindus and only 5 per cent. Muhammadans.

In the general results of the central examination of the Madrasahs 169 out of 313 passed this year, as compared with 224 out of 270 last year. The total number of candidates increased by 43, but the total number of passes diminished by 55. Three of the seven Madrasahs are maintained from Provincial revenues; the rest from the Mohsir Fund. The 1,722 pupils at the seven Madrasahs cost Government Rs. 25,231, and the total expenditure on their account was Rs. 59,933. Physical training is receiving attention both in the Calcutta and in the Nawab of Murshidabad's Madrasahs. On the subject of the comparative backwardness of Muhammadans in education, especially of the higher kind, the Director remarks:—

“One of the most depressing influences which have had the effect of discouraging the advance of education among the Muhammadan community, arises from the fact that so little has hitherto been done towards giving employment to Musalman gentlemen in the Department of Public Instruction. This is a matter which I have recently brought to the notice of Government in a separate report, so I need not do more than allude to it here. Another matter upon which I wish to

make a passing remark is the constitution of the District Boards, upon which in the majority of cases Muhammadans are not represented in such proportions as their numbers would seem to demand. This is a difficulty for which, seemingly, a remedy might easily be found. The Muhammadan Assistant Inspector for Patna and Bhagalpur Divisions, pointing to the fact that some of the Boards in Bihar 'have no Muhammadan members at all, and some perhaps only one or two,' goes on to say :— 'The result has been just what could be anticipated, with such imperfect and one-sided representation, so that even in some cases the presence of a European Magistrate-Chairman, with all his powers and endeavours, cannot do anything to help the cause of Muhammadans and check the growing tendency to retard it.'

The number of pupils of aboriginal races under tuition increased from 21,657 to 31,712 or by 2,055. The Christians advanced by 964 and the non-Christians by 1,091. The divisions in which the aborigines chiefly live are Burdwan, Bhagalpur and Chota Nagpur. In the first of these there were 3,426, in Bhagalpur 6,231, and in Chota Nagpur 17,579, of whom 4,424 are Christians and 22,812 are non-Christians. The five missions in Chota Nagpur maintained 136 schools, as compared with 146 in 1891-92, and the pupils attending them decreased from 4,194 to 3,920 or by 274. The aboriginal pupils gained 133 more passes at the Entrance and other examinations than in the previous year.

Under the heading the figures for the last five years are as follows :—

	1888-89.	1889-90	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.
Schools ...	11,709	13,867	13,387	13,868	13,473
Pupils ...	117,284	139,603	132,057	139,594	134,989

The total number of institutions decreased by 395 and the pupils attending them by 4,605. The largest decrease was in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and is attributed by Mr. Oldham to the fact that foreigners are imported to supervise education.

The advanced schools for teaching Arabic or Persian decreased by 77 and their pupils by 1,933, while the Sanskrit tols increased by 102, but their pupils diminished by 202. Under the orders of Government Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna, C.I.E., visited the Sanskrit tols in the Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts. His visit to Orissa proved a success, and evoked much enthusiasm in the cause of Sanskrit teaching in that province. Under his auspices three Associations have been established for the promotion of the study of Sanskrit.

Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies during the year 1892.

TAKING a period of seven years (1886—1892), the number of suits instituted annually has averaged about 245,400. In the year 1888, the number rose to its highest point, namely, 257,975, and in the year 1892, the lowest figure of the period has

been reached, namely, 239,028. The number of suits instituted represent 11 per thousand of the population. In Simla, which is altogether exceptional, the proportion was 46 per thousand. The number of suits per thousand of the population was above the average in the following districts besides Simla :—

Gujránwála	...	17	per 1,000 of the population.
Amritsar, Muzaffargarh		16	" "
Siálkot	...	15	" "
Jullundur, Lahore, Jhang		14	" "
Hoshiarpur	...	13	" "
Delhi, Ludhiána, Bannu		12	" "

The Ferozepore, Ráwalpindi, Gujráť, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Gházi Khan districts stood at 11 per thousand. In the Gurgáon, Karnál, Hissár and Hazára districts the number was five per thousand or less.

There has been a decrease, as compared with the figure for the year 1891, which was itself above the average, of 7,331. but the number is only 1,651 below that for 1890. In dealing with such large numbers, fluctuations of three or four per cent, may be expected. The cholera and fever which prevailed for several months of the year under report over large areas of the Punjab, and the scarcity in some parts, sufficiently account for the general decrease in institutions.

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No man who hath taste and learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 198.—OCTOBER 1894.

ART. I.—THE EXISTING STOCKS OF THE PRECIOUS METALS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA.

SILVER.

IN statistics relating to the production and distribution of the precious metals it has hitherto been customary to omit any exact references to the outturn and absorption of the East. Though the omission is generally admitted to be of the first magnitude, it recurs, owing mainly to the fact that those who have devoted their lives to monetary statistics have generally been foreigners, with no special knowledge of Indian history or Indian trade.

It is to narrow the gap so left that the present essay is written, and my purpose will have been fulfilled if attention is drawn to a branch of the subject too long neglected.

A few words are necessary to explain the arrangement of what follows. I have divided the past history of the precious metals into five periods. The first commences with prehistoric times and ends with the Christian era. The second takes us from then to the discovery of America. The third comes down to the commencement of the century; the fourth to 1835, and the last to the present day. The first and second periods coincide with the division made by Jacob. In dealing with them I have briefly summarised the most salient of the known facts in the history of the metals, and have postponed any discussion as to their volume, or distribution until the close of the second period. The present century has been split into two periods at 1835, because prior to that year the official statistics are less reliable.

FROM EARLY TIMES TO ANNO DOMINI.—From the writings of Manu it is certain that gold and silver were known to the East fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, and from about the same period, may be dated our earliest knowledge of their production. Silver was, according to Jacob and Delmar, first produced in Egypt, Greece, Sardinia, and Spain, whilst gold came from Bactria, Thrace, and Illyria. The

latter metal was also, I believe, largely worked in India, being found not only in placers, but also in the bed rock of Mysore, which was undoubtedly denuded of much of its wealth in a remote and civilized past. Silver, on the contrary, has never been found in India, and this fact affords a key to much that it would be difficult * otherwise to explain in the movement of the precious metals for the last three thousand years.

The Phœnicians worked the silver mines of Spain, paying their tribute to Persia in silver; and this metal left their prosperous cities of Tyre and Sidon, to be exchanged against pearls, diamonds and gold, which metal the East held in less profound esteem.

In these prehistoric times, as Jacob acutely observes, gold and silver were not the property of the individual, but of the State, and naturally found their way into the hands of the most powerful nation for the time being. The great wealth of Solomon and of Egypt was carried into Assyria and Persia by Scriptural Nebuchadnazar and the "Cambuscan bold." Later, under Darius, Persia and its dependencies possessed, concentrated in magnificent capitals, the accumulations of preceding centuries, and preserved them till the invasion of Alexander, who, scattering much on his return journey, carried away into Macedonia a large part of the wealth of Northern India and Persia. Macedonia, in its turn, was obliged to yield up its treasure to Paulus Emilius, the Roman, and Ptolemy Euergetes. Meanwhile the wealth of Carthage, drawn from Spain, Sicily and Sardinia and its Oriental trafficking, excited the avarice of Rome. And at the end of the Punic wars that great republic held not only the source of the silver supply, but also, through the marauding of Marius, Scylla, Paulus Emilius, Pompey and Cæsar, the product of the past.

In the latter days of the Empire the demand for the luxuries of the East became very great. Robertson, in his interesting monograph upon India published in 1790, mentions that two hundred and ten burdens of spices were consumed at Scylla's funeral, while Nero burnt at the pyre of Poppœa a greater quantity of cinnamon and cassia than was produced in a year. Every school boy has heard of the pearls of Servilia and Cleopatra, whilst silk in the time of Aurelian was valued at its weight in gold. These products found their way westwards from Barygaza (Broach) and Musiris on the Malabar Coast, to Berenice in the Arabian sea, and from thence to Palmyra. Although much in the days of the Empire may have been obtained by plunder, more must have changed hands by trade.

* Up to the opening of the Suez Canal gold has been relatively cheaper than silver in the bullion markets of India.

Payment, moreover, could only have been in silver, for India had few desires, and gold on balance was an export. It may, I think, be said, therefore, that, of the treasure then existing, both the gold and the silver were mainly in Italy, except a very considerable quantity of the latter metal, which had travelled Eastwards in payment for the luxuries of Rome.

A. D. 1-1500. —From the Christian Era till the discovery of America the outturn of the precious metals dwindled, owing to the disturbed condition of Europe and Asia Minor. The production of Spain, France, and Macedonia shrank rapidly with the decline of the Roman Empire, and experienced only a shortlived stimulus during the Mahomedan occupation of Spain. From about 1200 the art of mining revived in Saxony, Hungary, Germany and the Tyrol, but the quantity produced, according to modern ideas, was not large.

When the centre of the Roman Government shifted to Constantinople, the power of that nation rapidly declined, and, with it, their trade; Persia, having defeated the Parthians, regained some of its ancient prestige, and plundered the Greek caravans, despatching others of its own. In 551 A. D., two monks brought, concealed in a cane, the eggs of the silk worm from China, and numbers of this insect were bred in Greece, Sicily, and Italy. With the disappearance of the main incentive to Eastern trade, direct commerce with the East languished, and finally ceased with the rise of the Mahomedans. From 640 A.D. till the capture of Constantinople by the Venetians in the fourth crusade, the Mahomedans held the monopoly of the caravan trade, which was much interrupted by the general insecurity prevailing in Asia Minor.

The Venetians did not long enjoy undisturbed the commercial advantages granted by the Latins, for the Greek Emperor bestowed Pera on the Genoese, and the latter nation established itself also on the Black Sea and at Caffa. Owing, however to the sentiment against any peaceful intercourse with the infidels, trade was much hampered, until the commercial instincts of the Venetians prevailed over religious scruples, and they, with the sanction of the Pope, came to terms with the Soldans of Egypt and established consulates at Alexandria and Damascus at the close of the thirteenth century. Florence next made its entry into the marts of Egypt importing spices in the following century into England. As before, the products of the East came through one of two main channels, either by sea to Alexandria, or by river to Bussorah, and from thence by land through Bagdad to the Mediterranean. With the revival of trade came the revival of letters, and a period of great material prosperity.

The commodities imported by the Italian merchants were

distributed throughout Europe by the Hanseatic League, whilst Bruges, Antwerp and Augsburg rose rapidly into commercial and political importance. The trade, however, of the Adriatic received a shock at the reconquest by the Turks of Constantinople in A.D. 1450, and was finally dislocated by the discovery of the passage round the Cape. Towards the close of the period now under review, the traffic with the East began in some degree to assume a more modern complexion. Instead of what was practically an exchange of bullion or treasure for oriental goods, the Venetians had commenced an export trade in arms, glass, mirrors, ornaments and woollen cloth. The largest export, however, remained silver.

As indicated in my prefatory remarks, all allusions to volume have hitherto been studiously avoided, and it is with reluctance that I enter upon the domain of speculation and guess work. Jacob was of opinion that the quantity of gold and silver existing in A.D. 14 might be put down at 358 millions, but his opinion appears to have been largely coloured by his theory that the annual rate of waste was 27 per cent. According to Soetbeer, the average annual production of silver from 1493 to 1520 was about half a million sterling. It would, perhaps, be reasonable to suppose that during the preceding three centuries the average yearly production was about 200,000 £, and somewhat less for the prior three hundred years. From A. D. 300 to 900 (the Dark Ages) the outturn was probably very small, barely half of that under the Empire. Taking all known facts into consideration, the table given below presents a reasonable guess at the gross product of silver up to the discovery of America :—

	Average.	Total.
Up to A.D. (1500 years)	... 40,000 £	60 millions.
1—300 A. D.	... 150,000 £	45 "
300-900 "	... 75,000 £	45 "
*900-1200 "	... 150,000 £	45 "
1200-1500 "	... 200,000 £	60 "

The total so calculated is 255 millions sterling. Some deduction, however, is necessary on the score of waste. After causing a quantity of the present rupee coinage to be weighed, I have ascertained that the annual abrasion is at the rate of 03 per cent. In earlier times, when the rate of circulation was slower, the abrasion was no doubt correspondingly less. In addition, however, to the abrasion on silver coins, the wear on ornaments, the loss in manufacture and disappearance by burying or disaster by water have to be also considered. In

* Jacob estimates the production at an average of 100,000 £ from 800 to 1500, but he avowedly omits to make any allowance for Mexico and South America, where the mines were prolific.

troubled times treasure is frequently buried and never recovered, whilst the loss by river and sea cannot have been small in the days of primitive navigation. Soetbeer and modern statisticians have usually omitted to make deductions of this kind, but, in justice to Jacob, it must be remembered that, when the annual production was small and the period under review long, the allowance to be made for loss is of greater relative importance. Taking .06 per cent. as the rate, the 255 millions mentioned above must have dwindled to a little more than 152 millions in the year 1500 A.D. Much of this must have travelled eastwards, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that India's share totalled forty millions.* Gregory King, whose estimate was accepted by Newmarch, estimated that the European stock of coin bullion and plate at the period was 45,000,000 £. I am inclined to think this is an under-estimate, and that the silver alone may be placed at forty millions. There is then 72 millions left as the mass in existence in America, China, Japan, the Eastern Archipelago, Siberia, Thibet, Persia and Egypt. Before leaving this part of the subject, I wish, at the risk of being thought tedious, to reiterate that nothing more is claimed for these guesses, than that they accord with general impressions derived from a study of the works of Jacob and others, and a considerable acquaintance with the history of oriental trade.

A. D. 1500-1800.—The region of speculation has now been traversed, and I enter with relief that which has been the scene of the labours of modern statisticians.

Before giving details relating to the production of the precious metals after 1500, I propose to trace the history of European and other traffic with India; to bring together the materials that are available relating to that traffic, and then to compare the estimates so formed with the estimates of production given by Soetbeer.

THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.†—After Vasco de Gama's voyage in 1497, the Portuguese commenced trading with Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore. In 1507 they visited Sumatra, and in 1510 they captured Goa, henceforward their capital. Two years later Albuquerque sent three ships to the Spice Islands, and the Portuguese rapidly obtained command of the commerce in spices, then the monopoly of Venice. In the next few years they plundered several towns on the East and

* Akbar's nett revenue (A. D. 1593-1605) has been estimated at 42,000,000 £ much of this was, no doubt, collected in kind, and in copper and somewhat in gold.

† The account of the trade from 1500 to 1800 has been mainly borrowed and condensed from Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, a book published in 1813.

West Coast and established themselves at Bassein, Diu, Mangalore, Masulipatam, St. Thome, Pegu, and Malacca. From 1580, on the annexation of Portugal by Spain, their Empire rapidly declines. In 1605 the Dutch expel them from Amboyna and Tidore and engross their trade. In 1635 they turn them out of Formosa, in 1640 out of Malacca, in 1656 from Calicut, in 1661 from Quilon, in 1663 from Cochin, and in 1669 from Macassar and St. Thome. Meanwhile we compelled them to vacate Ormuz, and the Arabs recapture Muscat. In 1699 Dr. Gemelli reports, after his travels, that their Settlements scarcely defray their cost.

When their power was at its zenith, in the 16th century, their annual export of silver probably touched 100,000 £, but after 1580 it must have dropped greatly. Towards the end of the 18th century, it was known to be about 50,000 £, but I do not think it was so high for much of the intervening period. Taking an all-round annual rate of over 30,000 lb., the estimate from 1500 to 1800 may be put down at 9 millions.

THE DUTCH IN INDIA.—The Dutch commenced trading direct with the East in 1596, and in 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed. Two years afterwards they are stated to have had factories at Mocha, Cambay, Malabar, Ceylon, Coromandel, Golconda, Bengal, Aracan, Pegu, Achin, Palembang, Bantam, Cambodia, Siam, Cochin China, Tonquin and Japan. In the first instance their trade was mainly with the Spice Islands, and it was not until 1618 that they had dealings with Surat. The next year they established themselves in Java, Batavia being their principal seat of Government. Three years later they massacred the English at Amboyna, who abandoned one factory after another, and retired to Bantam. In 1654 peace was signed, and they turned their attention to attacking the Portuguese.

Throughout this century and half way through the next the Dutch trade was most prosperous. In 1780 war with England broke out and continued until 1783. By the sixth clause of the Treaty of 1784, they undertook not to obstruct British navigation in the eastern seas. In 1795 hostilities recommenced; in 1802, by the Treaty of Amiens, Ceylon was ceded to England; in 1804 the war was resumed, and the English took Amboyna in 1809 and Batavia itself in 1811. Some statistics relating to the trade are given by Milburn and are quoted below :—

	In Florins. Value of Cargoes.	Average Dividend Unknown.
1614-1643	52,008,771	
1644-1665	58,748,652	20'5
1666-1791	121,961,523	19
1698-1719	129,223,504	28'75
	<hr/> 361,942,450	

About one-third may be deducted on account of the China trade, leaving a sum of about two hundred millions to represent the cargoes of the 17th century. As it is known that more than two-thirds of outward cargoes usually consisted of bullion or treasure, the export of the precious metals may be taken at 133 millions of florins, of which at least 125 millions would be silver. For the remaining period the export may be placed at 180 millions, and the whole at 305 millions of florins, being equal to 25½ millions sterling.

THE FRENCH TRADE.—Abortive Companies were formed in 1604 and 1611, and the two coalesced in 1615. Four years afterwards two ships proceeded to Sumatra, of which only one returned, with a cargo of pepper, the other being burnt at Bantam. Several years later the French establish themselves at Madagascar; but no trade further East is seemingly attempted until after Colbert's Company is formed in 1664. In 1668 the French visit Surat, and in 1669 they settle at Masulipatam, and obtain rights to trade from the King of Golconda. In 1672 they obtain permission to form a factory at Pondicherry.

In 1698 M. Jourdan, a rich merchant, made two very profitable voyages in the "Amphitrite." The Company, however, was never very prosperous, and in 1708 became practically bankrupt. In 1720 a new Company was floated amidst great excitement, and the management of the Bank of France was entrusted to it with disastrous results. This year, however, saw the establishment of a factory at Mocha, and the despatch of three ships to India, conveying a large quantity of silver.

After 1722 two or three ships sailed yearly, and the number rose to fourteen in 1733. The next year the Government of Pondicherry obtained permission to coin, and for several years 50.60 lakhs of rupees were annually struck, giving the Company an annual gain of nearly four lakhs. In 1744 war is declared with England and terminates in 1748 by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By it Madras was restored to England. The French troops then join in the war for the Arcot succession, and obtain the grant of Mustaphanagar, Ellore, Rajamandry, and Chicacole from the victor. War with England again breaks out in 1757. We take Chandernagar, and M. Bussy captures Vizagapatam. In 1759 the English factories at Gambroon in the Gulf and at Bencoolen are also taken. The next year the tables are turned, Mahe and Pondicherry surrender, and the French are left without an Indian town. The public sales of oriental products at Port L'Orient, about this period, amounted to 20 millions livres, and rose in 1769 to 37 millions, but the Company never prospered. In 1778 war recommences, and the English take Chandernagar, Ganaon, Karical and Masulipatam, but by the treaty of 1783 a general restitution

of the French settlements was made. A new Company is formed in 1783, but makes an unprofitable voyage, and another Company is chartered in 1785. In 1786 eight ships sail for India and China, with cargoes valued at 20 millions livres, and soon after other ten ships are despatched. In 1790 the trade was declared open. Three years later the Convention declare war. In 1799 the English take Tippoo's capital, and their ascendancy in India is finally established. During the numerous wars the French privateers from Mauritius and Bourbon, inflicted great damage on our commerce. In 1820 the garrisons of these islands surrendered to General Abercrombie, and a vast quantity of booty came again into our possession. A review of all these facts points to the conclusion that from 1600 to 1700 the French export of silver was inconsiderable, and probably did not exceed a million sterling. After 1720, however, the trade grew rapidly, although it was never very profitable to the Companies that promoted it. From 1727 to 1741, on an average, four ships sailed yearly from Pondicherry to France, with cargoes costing about 425,000 pagodas, or 1,450,000 rupees. Two-thirds of these cargoes, costing $14\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees, may be said to have been paid for in silver. Besides this trade there were, as already mentioned, several other French factories in India. It would not, therefore, be extravagant to suppose that the total export amounted to about 15 lakhs yearly. Trade for the rest of the century was much interrupted by war; but I am not inclined to put the yearly export at less than 20 lacs up to 1765. The receipts of the Hughli Custom House alone from 1765 to 1770 show that the French themselves stated their annual trade there at 56 lakhs yearly. From 1770 to 1778 the sales at Port L'Orient of Indian produce averaged $10\frac{3}{4}$ millions livres, but dwindled to nothing in 1781. A sale in 1791, at the same place, of purely Indian goods produced £1,150,000. Perhaps the import may be placed at an average of 25 lakhs from 1766 to 1778, and at an average of five lakhs for the rest of the century.

Putting, then, the import from 1700 to 1727 at ten lakhs, we have $10 + 225 + 360 + 325 + 110 = 1030$ lakhs, as our total for the French import of silver during 1700-1800. In the previous century a sufficient estimate would be 50 lakhs.

DANISH, TRADE.—A Company was formed in 1612 at Copenhagen, and the first journey was to the Coromandel Coast. Three years later the Danes purchased Tranquebar from the Rajah of Tanjore. The materials for their commercial history are scanty, but it is said they opened a trade with the Malaccas, and were able to send westwards rich cargoes laden with all kinds of Indian goods. In 1654 their trade was so reduced

that they offered to surrender Tranquebar to the Dutch on payment by the latter of their debts. In 1670 another Company is formed which proves even less prosperous. In 1698 it obtains a new charter, but the trade still languishes. In 1728 another charter is given; but, in consequence of remonstrances from England and Holland, the King closes the Company's Head Office. Four years later he gives yet another charter for 40 years, and the Company's financial position improves. From this year to 1753 it sent 28 ships to India, of which 20 returned safe. Abbe Raynal states that for the 40 years of the Company's existence the cost of their ships and their outward cargoes was over four millions. More than half the trade was, however, to China, and from the insignificance of these figures, it may be inferred that the quantity of silver shipped cannot have been considerable. From 1782 to 1790, owing to the American war, the trade was exceptionally good and the dividends remarkable. Many of the voyages were to Canton, and the return cargoes were made in tea, which was most extensively smuggled into England until 1800, when better precautions were taken to prevent the contraband trade.

Perhaps the import since 1700 may be taken at 10 lakhs up to 1732, at an average of 4 lakhs up to 1780, and 12 lakhs from then till the close of the century, *i. e.* a total of about 450 lakhs. In the previous century 20 lakhs would be a fair estimate.

OSTEND TRADE.—In 1717 and 1720 a few voyages were made by private individuals, and in 1723 a Company was formed. Its affairs were most flourishing, but the English and Dutch memorialised the Emperor, and in 1727 he agreed by treaty to suspend the Company's charter.

In 1775 Mr. William Bolts secures a fresh charter, but the Company becomes bankrupt in 1784. The total import of silver from Ostend cannot have been great and may be placed at ten lakhs.

THE SPANISH TRADE.—The Portuguese remained in undisturbed possession of the Malaccas, until their union with Spain in 1580, from which year till 1640 the Spanish traded under the Portuguese flag. Under the Treaty of Munster, signed in 1648, they bound themselves not to use the passage by the Cape, and confined themselves for nearly one hundred years to the trade from their American Settlements. In 1733, the King granted a charter to the Philippine Islands Company, permitting them to export bullion without payment. The trade, however, with India was not a success, until it revived in 1764, in which year the King's ship, '*Buen Consejo*,' commenced a series of successful voyages round the Cape. In 1785, the Philippine Company was amalgamated with the Caraccas Company, and

in 1803 a new charter was given. Thirteen years earlier the King had declared Manila open for the importation of Asiatic, but not European produce, and for the export of everything but cotton, including silver. Judging from the export of silver from Manila, from 1802 to 1806, to India, the export from 1764 may be taken to be 150 lakhs, to which may be added ten lakhs for the previous period.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE.—In 1599, the Dutch put up the price of pepper from Rs. 3 to Rs 8 and 9 a pound, and the aggrieved merchants of London convened a meeting on the 22nd September at Founders' Hall, and subscribed £30,133-6-8 towards establishing direct commercial intercourse with India. On the last day of 1600 the Crown granted the first charter. In it was a clause, authorising the Company to export £30,000 in foreign coin or bullion, provided that, six months after completion of a voyage, the same quantity as exported should be returned, the first voyage excepted.

This restriction was, perhaps, operative during a few years, for the export from 1600 to 1621 totalled £348,087 only. It then commenced to rise rapidly, and the total export up to 1753 was £5,756,778. Some examination of this total is necessary for three reasons: (*a*) this export was not only to India, but also to Persia, the Eastern Archipelago and China; (*b*) it includes gold; (*c*) it takes no count of the export from 1675 to 1698, the figures not being available. On the last mentioned ground £6,900,000 may be added, being an average export of £300,000 for 23 years, the average for the preceding five years being £200,000, and the succeeding five years about £500,000. There is no doubt that the great bulk of this was silver; it will be sufficient, therefore, to deduct 5 per cent. for gold. The remaining deduction cannot be made so summarily.

The first few voyages were made to Bantam, Amboyna, Sumatra, or the Malaccas direct, the return cargoes being in pepper, nutmeg, maces and cloves. Very soon, however, it was found more profitable to trade at Surat and the Coromandel Coast, and to take in Indian piece-goods, which could be bartered to greater advantage in the Spice Islands. Besides spices, the Company imported, amongst other articles, Persian raw silk from the Gulf, China raw silk, precious stones, indigo and saltpetre from India, gold and camphor from Siam and Sumatra.

In 1660, however, the Company determined to confine itself to direct trade out and home, leaving the port to port, or country, trade to their servants in India. The trade commenced to grow, muslins appearing, for the first time, among the imports. In 1664 the Company ordered that their master attendant do go on board the ships now arrived, and enquire

what varieties of beasts, birds, or other curiosities there are on board, fit to present to His Majesty," and in consequence an entry appears in their books "of a case of six China bottles, headed with silver and 2 lbs. 2 oz. of thea. (sic) for His Majesty." In 1679 a factory is established at Amoy in China, but does not prosper, although tea creeps gradually into the trade returns, coming, as a rule, from Bantam and India and not from China direct. These desultory notes point to the fact that the import of bullion by the English to the East during this period was mainly to India, and I take 11 millions as my estimate for the century—1600 to 1700.

In 1698 a second Company was chartered, and in 1702 it was amalgamated with the Old London Company. In 1703, it is said, silver coin was scarce and gold more plentiful in England, owing to the vast export of the former to the East, and import of gold from India and China. In 1772 the Company fall into financial difficulties, and are advanced £1,400,000 by the Parliament on the security of Indian surplus revenues. Other stipulations of the loan had the effect of throwing the Government of the Company into the hands of 487 proprietors. It is also arranged that the 24 Directors should remain in office for four years, six retiring by rotation annually. The loan was paid off in 1779. In 1781 two Acts were passed by which the charter was extended to 1791. Three-fourths of the profits, after paying 8 per cent., were declared to belong to the public, for the remaining fourth an additional one per cent. annually might be paid. In 1793 a most comprehensive Act was passed, extending the Company's privileges for 20 years, but laying down minute directions as to the application of the Company's profits and the conduct of Government and of trade. According to the figures given by Milburn, the Company's exports of gold and silver to India and China during the century—1700-1800—amounted to a total of 39½ millions sterling. The trade with China was mainly in raw silk and tea, the importation of the latter in 1810 being 23½ million lbs., worth 3¾ million sterling, whilst it was only 2½ millions lbs. worth ¾ of a million in 1757. Some, however, of this trade was paid for in Indian goods. On the whole, I am inclined, after making a small allowance for the inclusion of gold, to place the silver import into India at over 26 millions sterling.*

* The following table shows the recorded exports by the East India Company according to Milburn. It will be noticed that there are gaps. Some allowance has been made on this account in the text:—

In decimals of a Million £					
1601-12	·13	1658-60	·22	1708-35	12·18
1616	·05	1667-75	1·48	1735-66	16·08
1620-23	·2	1698-03	3·29	1766-1800	8·07

I have now finished the examination of the European countries exporting silver by the Cape into India from 1500 to 1800. There yet remains for consideration the American trade, the China trade, the Overland trade and the local trade on the West and East Coast.

AMERICAN TRADE.—Immediately after the Declaration of Independence, the American Legislature promoted trade with India by confirming privileges on importers of Asiatic goods. From 1795 to 1799 the recorded exports of treasure to Bengal were over 63 lakhs of rupees, and may be put down as totalling about 90 lakhs of rupees up to 1800.

SOUTH AMERICA.—After the cessation of the direct trade between Portugal and the East Indies, the centre of the Portuguese trade shifted to Rio Janeiro, from which port treasure to the value of 122 lakhs of rupees was shipped to India between 1802 and 1806. Perhaps, the exports from all South America, from 1654, when the Dutch were finally expelled, may be estimated at twice this amount, or 250 lakhs.

CHINA.—The net exports of treasure into India from Canton, for the five years, from 1802 to 1806, averaged over 50 lakhs yearly.

The opium trade was, however, of comparatively recent growth, China only taking $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs worth in 1795-96. The other principal export was cotton, and in this staple Calcutta only commenced in the next century to compete with Bombay. I am not, therefore, disposed to place the import of silver during 1700 to 1800 at a higher all round rate than six lakhs, *i.e.*, 600 lakhs.

EASTERN COAST.—There was a considerable trade between Penang and ports further east, and Madras and Calcutta, in piece-goods and Bengal opium at the close of the eighteenth century. The opium export, in particular, was at this period greater to these parts than to China. The import of silver may, perhaps, be taken at an average of seven lakhs from 1700 to 1800, and at five lakhs for the previous century.

WESTERN COAST AND OVERLAND TRADE.—This trade was not merely a local one with the Arabian and Persian Gulf, but also in its earlier days an indirect trade with the European Companies, Turkey and Russia. The import was latterly, with the exception of coffee, almost entirely treasure, the export being practically nothing but piece-goods and a little grain from Calcutta and Bombay with the addition of sugar, also from the former port. The trade with Mocha, Muscat and Bussorah was of very considerable value, until it was destroyed by the competition of English piece-goods, and at the commencement of the century brought on balance over fifty lakhs of treasure

yearly into India. In 1750 the import can hardly have been less than 25 lakhs a year, and about 1,500 lakhs would probably be a moderate estimate for the antecedent period, commencing with 1600. In these figures is included the caravan trade, which may be taken at five lakhs a year between 1500 and 1600.

The examination of the period of three centuries is now complete, and the result is tabulated below. In converting, figures which have been given in the preceding pages in sterling, I have taken the value of the sovereign at Rs. $7\frac{1}{2}$, Rs. $9\frac{1}{2}$ and Rs. 10, respectively, for each successive century.

Import of silver into India from 1500 to 1800 in decimals of a lakh.

Whence imported.	1500-1600	1600-1700	1700-1800	Total.
The Portuguese ...	300	190	300	790
The Dutch ...	...	1104.99	1591.19	2696.18
The French ...	...	50	1050	1100
The Danes ...	...	20	450	470
Ostend ...	...	...	10	10
The Spanish ...	...	...	160	160
E. I. Company ...	...	1040.5	2600	3640.5
America ...	...	...	90	90
South America ...	...	59	200	250
China ...	...	...	600	600
Penang and Eastward ...	100	500	700	1300
Arabian and Persian Gulf and Westward trade ..	500	1500	2000	4000
Total ...	900	4455.49	9751.19	15106.68

A.D. 1800 to 1835.—I have fortunately been able to unearth the original manuscript reports of the Calcutta Custom House for the next period and subjoin a table showing the yearly export and imports of silver. They, however, require somewhat careful handling. The dollar being overvalued about 8 per cent. by importers, the value of trade when expressed in them has been to this extent reduced.

TABLE

The movements of silver from 1800 to 1835, according to Calcutta Custom House returns, together with a statement of the Company's coinage at Calcutta. In decimals of a lakh.

Period.	In Sicca Rupees			Coinage.	Period.	In Sicca Rupees			Coinage.
	Total Import.	Total Export.	Nett Import			Total Import.	Total Export.	Net Import.	
1802	106'73	.....	106'73	30'73	18 19	451'04	2 37	448 67	166'40
3	129'52	.....	129 52	46'64	19 20	373'30	64 39	308 96	263 46
4	36'69	.....	39'69	77'41	20'21	215'74	12 25	203'49	108'36
4-5	106'89	.....	106'89	100'41	21 22	209'56	123 96	85'6	73'42
5-6	114'93	.....	114 93	71'20	22'23	164 49	51'35	113'13	68'52
6-7	161'92	.....	161'92	163'14	23 24	116 76	122'53	-5 76	42'10
7-8	121'38	.....	121 32	145'80	24'25	111'55	34 90	76 64	67 37
8-9	67'14	.....	67'14	111'30	25'26	107'32	1'12	106 2	97'19
9-10	165'99	.....	165'99	82'76	26'27	93'54	10'4	83'14	80'97
10-11	177'15	.....	177 15	165 81	27'28	120 15	36 55	83 59	66 69
11-12	56'68	6'14	50 53	83'83	28'29	57'77	17'18	40 59	57'00
12-13	53'	'60	52 40	78'51	29 0	97'59	16'25	81'34	83'95
13-14	49 47	'42	49'04	28'31	30'31	47'44	32'9	14 53	38'13
14-15	96'49	1'54	94 95	71'29	31'32	39'58	1'4'23	-74'65	44'77
15-16	180'37	'15	180 22	137'89	32'33	39'80	77'64	-37 83	76'90
16-17	309'6	'9	309'51	221 48	33'34	46 40	60'39	-13'98	82'82
17-18	302'93	1'41	301 52	55'15	34'35	51 69	3'75	47 93	521'52
Grand Total.					...	4580'7	792'6	3788'1	3211'7
Grand Total in Current Rupees.					.....	4619'3	845'4	3773'8	3425'8

The gross import of silver, as above shown, amounted to 4,619 lakhs. The accuracy of this total can be in some degree measured by mint statistics. The total coinage of the Calcutta Mint for this period was 3425·8 lakhs. Figures, however, exist, showing that 650 lakhs of the mint receipts, from 1812 to 1835, were classified as "cake silver," and 'mixed ingots'! For the whole period such receipts may be estimated at about 900 lakhs. The accountant of the mint, from whom I made enquiries, has informed me, that although so classified, the bulk of this silver was undoubtedly imported by sea during this period, although its form may have changed, before it reached the mint. The Company itself sent in 1000 lakhs to the mint, and of this at least 750 lakhs must have been currency tendered for recoinage, since the imports by that corporation only totalled 250 lakhs. The public not infrequently also tendered rupees of other mints for conversion. Taking, then, these considerations into account, *viz.*, silver other than that entering by sea, coin tendered by the Company and coin tendered by the public perhaps 1200 lakhs may be deducted from the total mintage to enable us to arrive inversely at the receipts from the sea board. The figure thus calculated is 2225·8 lakhs and considerably less than the gross import shown on the preceding page.

The latter figure is, however, seen to be approximately correct when it is recollected (*a*) that the Company's mints were also at work at Benares, Furruckabad and Saugor ; (*b*) that native mints were numerous, and (*c*) that the entire import does not pass through the mint.

I now pass to the Madras figures which are not nearly so complete. From Milburn's Commerce (page 28, vol. ii.) I find that the gross import of gold and silver into Madras from 1802 to 1806 inclusive, was 219 lakhs, and the export 9·5 lakhs, the net import being 210 lakhs, or an average of 42 lakhs. This valuable information can also be supplemented from statistics quoted in 1852 during the discussion relating to the abolition of the Madras Mint.

Major Smith, the Mint master, quoting from the Reporter of External Commerce's returns, then stated that the sea borne bullion imported from 1820-21 to 1833-34 was 215 lakhs, *i. e.*, an annual average of 15 lakhs. The mintage, however, for this period was 576 lakhs, or an average of over forty lakhs. This unusual difference excited attention, and was due to several causes : (*a*) considerable remintage ; (*b*) the war with Tippoo, the spoils coming into the mint to be converted into coin ; (*c*) the occurrence of famine in 1822-23 and 1832-33, which caused a heavy influx into the mint of silver ornaments and utensils.

For the periods for which statistics are not available (1807, 1819-20 and 1834-36) the coinage amounted to 451 lakhs, or an average of 41 lakhs.

To recapitulate—the coinage and net import for the years for which both are known are respectively 938 lakhs and 509 lakhs, whilst the coinage for the period for which the net import is unknown was 451 lakhs.

Assuming that the net import for this period bore the same ratio to the coinage as in the other periods, it would amount to 280 lakhs. The total net import will then be 749 lakhs.

It will be noticed that, unlike the Calcutta figures for the same period, the net import is much less than the coinage. This fact has already been partially explained above, but not, I think, fully. I am inclined to think the import figures are defective (it may be that Government imports have been omitted), and to raise this figure to at least 900 lakhs.

The Bombay figures are in some respects more, and in others less, complete than the Madras figures. An old statement, which I extracted from the Bombay Mint records at the India Office, shows the movements of bullion from 1802 to 1813. In this period traders imported 582·27 lakhs and exported 325 lakhs, whilst Government imported 182·47 lakhs and exported 133 lakhs. The total net addition is therefore 306·72 lakhs, whilst the coinage at Bombay and Surat for the same period

was 150 lakhs. The coinage for the whole period, from 1800 to 1835, was a little under 400 lakhs; the net import may, therefore, be taken at about 820 lakhs. There is, however, reason for thinking that these figures are underestimated in consequence of the imports and exports from subordinate ports having been included. As, however, the import from Bombay to Baroda and Surat was probably far greater than the export from these places to Bombay, the net figure has been unduly reduced. I propose to take 1,500 lakhs as the import and 500 as the export.

The annexed table summarises the foregoing estimates:—

Period.		In lakhs of rupees.		
		Import.	Export.	Net.
1800-35	Calcutta	4,619	845	3,773
	Madras	...	...	900
	Bombay	1,500	500	1,000
Total		6,119	1,340	5,673

These results can be compared with the figures given by Jacob on page 409 of his second volume. He there exhibits a table showing the export and import of bullion into India and China from 1810 to 1829. On page 317 he mentions that the figures, which were taken from official returns at the India Office, do not include the exports of America to India, nor the exports made by other nations. On page 319 he assumes, in consequence, that, taking all omissions into consideration, the yearly export amounted to about two millions sterling. The same average would be applicable to the years immediately preceding and succeeding, and therefore his estimate from 1800 to 1835 is approximately 70 millions. From this deductions have to be made on account of the export of gold to India and gold and silver to China. The former can hardly be taken at less than fourteen millions. I have no means of estimating the China figures, but it is clear that Jacob's figures work out to a somewhat smaller total than my own, although the difference is not very great.

It is difficult to say which estimate more closely approximates to the facts, but in my opinion circumstances are in favour of the higher figures. In a previous article contributed to this *Review* I have estimated the gross coinage of silver in India at this period to have been one hundred and ten crores of rupees, and the net 75 crores after deducting re-coinage. This figure is in excess of the gross import for the same period, and it is, therefore, likely that my estimate (the higher one) is correct.

It is, however, possible that both my figures and Jacob's may be attacked from another direction, on the ground, that they are too low, and it is therefore necessary that I should defend

them also from the opposite side. Trade at the commencement of the century was in a state of transition. From a remote past India had sent out piece-goods, silk, spices, and occasionally gold, to receive, in return, silver, together with woollen cloth, glass, ornaments, and cutlery. The desires of the inhabitants were few, and the traffic of Companies trading with the East largely took the form of exporting silver to buy goods for re-sale in Europe. Things, however, began to alter. In 1806 India's great staple, pepper, was a drug in the market. The next year trade was dull, owing to the European blockade; and America to preserve neutrality interdicted all trade except under license from the President. In consequence England began to feel the cutting off of her cotton supplies, and, two years later, the privilege was granted to private ships to export cotton to London. History repeated itself in 1866, when, for the second time, the world was thrown back from American to Indian cotton, and a stimulus again given to India's trade, the effect of which is still felt.

But to return, in 1813 trade was thrown open under certain restrictions. Merchants who obtained a license from the directors, were permitted to export to India on the condition (which was abolished in 1823) that their ships were of not less than 350 tons burden, and that they imported into certain ports where docks and ware-houses were provided. The opening of the trade was a death-blow to the Indian weaver. Manchester piece goods poured into India, and, had not cotton become an export, the balance of trade for several years would have turned against the East. In fact, for the first time in the history of India, this actually occurred in 1823-24. America, having acquired Carolina from Spain, and being at peace, regained the command of the cotton trade, and silver left India on balance.

Cotton, however, remained an article of export, and gunny bags became more prominent in the trade returns, aided by the abolition of the export duty in 1824-25. Gradually Indian commerce began to assume its modern complexion, and the trade in manufactured goods and spices was replaced by an enormous export of raw stuffs and grain. I must not, however, allow these interesting details to distract attention from my thesis, which is, that, owing to the transition state of trade from 1800 to 1835, the import of bullion was not likely, *a priori*, to be higher than it has been placed in my calculations.

1835-1892.—The last period has at length been reached, and, owing to the excellence of the data, can be dismissed in a few lines.

Complete figures are given in the third volume of the
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miscellaneous statistics of the Government of India, published in Calcutta. Up to 1865-1866 the details for that compilation were taken from returns submitted to Parliament and onwards from statements furnished by each local Government. From 1875 the figures are entirely reliable.

For the entire period the import into India is 40,928 lakhs, and the export 6,643 lakhs, leaving the net figure at 34,285 lakhs.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.—The annexed table gives a synopsis of the world's production, period by period, with my estimates of the Indian absorption in juxtaposition.

	World's Production.			Absorption by India.		
Period.	In Millions.					
	Silver Kg.	Reduced to Oz.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Oz.	Kg.
1493-1600 ..	22'8	733'02	2,132 16	90	30 93	'96
1601-1700 ...	37'2	1195 98	3,479'04	445 54	153 15	4 82
1701-1800 ...	57	1832'55	5,330 88	975 11	335'19	10'42
1801-1835 ...	21'9	704'08	2,048'24	535 8	184'18	5'72
1836-1892 ...	93'7	3014'21	8,768 61	3,428'5	1178'54	36'65
Total ...	232'6	7479 84	21,758'93	5,474'95	1881 99	58'57
Pre-existing Stock ...	11'78	386'28	1,102	290	99'68	3'1
Grand Total ...	244'38	7866'12	22,860'93	5,764'95	1981'67	61'67

The ratios of conversion employed have been :—

I Kg. = 32'15 Oz.

II Oz. = 32 Rs

The production from 1085 to 1892 has been taken from the reports of the Directors of the American Mint and for the previous period from Soetbeer.

It will be noticed that I have made no allowance for production within India, or for any export, or import by land after 1500. It is, however, known that silver is not and never has been an Indian product. The other point raised cannot be dismissed so summarily. In an article published in the December (1891) number of the Economic Journal, I have estimated the net inland export of rupees at about a crore yearly for the six years ending 1890. This trade has, however, reached these dimensions only very recently ; allowance also

must be made in the present essay for the reverse movement of silver bullion. Silver is mined beyond our Northern and North-Western border, and enters India by way of Ladakh and Muttra, whilst Chinese shoe silver also trickles in by way of Thibet. Perhaps on balance a few crores may be deducted on this score. Account must also be taken of the silver carried away by Nadir Shah in 1739 and in the invasions of Ahmad Shah Durani. Taking waste, as before, at '06 per cent., I am inclined to believe that the silver in India at the present day is not less than 5,100 millions, that is, 510 crores of rupees.

GOLD.

Until the opening of the Suez Canal levelled up the ratios obtaining between gold and silver, gold was always relatively cheaper in the east than in the west. From early times and during the Dark Ages it is, therefore, probable that gold left India intermittently for Europe and Asia Minor. On the other hand, it entered India from the north-east from Siam, from China indirectly, and from the Eastern Archipelago. There is no question also, but that at an unknown period the mines in Mysore, which are now yielding increasing quantities of gold, were very prolific.

In making a detailed estimate of the amount existing in India, I propose to work backwards from 1892.

1835-1892.—From the year 1835 to 1892, according to the figures given in Vol. III of the Indian Miscellaneous Statistics, the totals of the gold import, export and balance, respectively, are 150 millions, 11·5 millions, and 138·5 millions of pounds sterling, equal to 35·28, 2·66, and 32·61 millions of ounce fine. A word of explanation is necessary to show how these totals have been calculated. From 1835 to 1871 sterling silver was converted into rupees at the Custom House at the conventional rate of Rs. 10 to the £. I have therefore, of course, reconverted at the same rate. From 1871 to 1885-1886 gold was entered at the valuation of the day. I have reconverted these figures by taking for each year the average annual price at Bombay of the British sovereign. Then, I have turned silver into weights by taking 1,200 ounces fine, as equal to 5098·3 £. Subsequently to 1885-86 the official returns are stated in weights.

Owing to a misclassification at the Custom Houses, China leaf gold was omitted from these returns up to a few years ago; the figures shown above should, therefore, be somewhat increased.

1800-1835.—For the period from 1800 to 1835 the following statistics are available :—

				In crores of rupees.			Coinage.
				Import.	Export.	Balance.	
Calcutta	...	...	...	5.47	16	5.30	3.75
Bombay	...	...	...	2.12	83	1.38	1.48
Madras	...	...	...	—	—	—	5.34

The Bombay figures are for from 1802 to 1813 only. For the whole period the coinage at Bombay may be taken as equal to that of Calcutta, and the native mintage estimated at an eighth of the whole. Thus calculated the total coinage amounts to 12.84 crores of rupees, equal to 2.99 millions of ounces fine.

The import export, and balance for the same period may be taken at 16 crores, 2 crores and 14 crores, respectively, being equal to 3.67, .458, and 3.21 millions of ounces fine.

The production for the whole century, according to Soetbeer and the Director of the American Mint, has been :—

			Million ounces.
1801-1835	...	17.22	
1835-1892	...	265.85	

Total ... 283.07

It will be noticed that the proportion absorbed by India during the earlier period was greater than during the later, the reason being that gold was then used as currency. By Act XVII of 1835, gold was declared to be no longer legal tender, and for many years the imports shrank to almost nothing. They began to rise again in 1861, on the breaking out of the American war, when everything that Europe could lay hands upon was shipped eastwards to pay for Indian cotton, and were until recently very high, owing to the moneyed classes preferring to hoard an appreciating metal.

A. D. 1493 TO 1800 AND EARLIER TIMES.—The total production from A. D. 1493 to 1800 was 114.68 million of ounces, and, for the reasons already adduced in my introductory remarks, I do not think that the proportion of this, which was absorbed by India, could have been very considerable. Perhaps six million ounces is a sufficient estimate, to which may be added two and a half million ounces as a fair estimate for the existing stock.

I do not propose to make any deduction on the score of wastage, for two reasons: firstly, because, as already indicated, I think insufficient allowance has been made by statisticians for the product of the Mysore mines; and secondly, because it is probable that the unrecorded product of the rivers in India and the Eastern Archipelago goes far to counterbalance any loss by abrasion.

Accordingly the gold in India may be taken at 44.32 million ounces or about 180 millions sterling.

F. C. HARRISON.

ART. II.—THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY IN INDIA.

(Continued from July 1894, No. 197.)

Chronicles of the Cumming Club, and Memories of Old Academy Days: MDCCCXLI—MDCCCXLVI. Compiled by Alexander Fergusson, Lieutenant-Colonel; Historiographer to the Club. Edinburgh: Printed for the Cumming Club, by T. and A. Constable, at the University Press, MDCCCLXXXVII.

The Edinburgh Academy Army List, 1824-1894, being supplement to the "*Edinburgh Academy Chronicle*," February 1894.

CHANGES AND CHANCES IN AFTER LIFE.

COLONEL FERGUSSON'S final Chapter, No. VIII, is entitled, "Changes and Chances," and chronicles "a few of the turns of Fortune's Wheel that from time to time became known to the Club, and a few of the chance foregatherings of our class-fellows under various circumstances."

"In certain respects there is a marked difference between those days and these. The 'Services'—Her Majesty's and that of the Honourable East India Company—were the natural outlet for young Scots gentlemen, able bodied and of good education. Commissions in Her Majesty's Service were to be had by purchase at no great expense. Comparatively few went into the Navy. Then few things were 'competed' for, 'cramming' was unknown, examinations for the Army were, for the most part, of the most flimsy description. The Scots Directors of the East India Company were known to keep most of their good things for the hungry young 'sea-maws' at home, and a cadetship for the Indian Army was not difficult to obtain, especially for a lad whose father had done good service before him; and it was worth having. It was common for an aspirant to wait on for several years on the promise of an Indian cadetship, which was certain to be made good.

"Therefore it was, perhaps, no more than a fair proportion of our class—namely, some seven-and-twenty, that found their way into the services—Civil, Army, Medical, Naval, or Military. At the moment of our leaving school there seemed every prospect of peace being continued in Europe, and in the East, and of the lives of these young gentlemen being humdrum enough. The result was far otherwise.

"Even before some of Dr. Cumming's boys had finished their schooling, or ever the Club was thought of, the rough work had begun. The first of this class militant to smell the villainous saltpetre was GEORGE BURNES. He had borne himself and the colours of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers well at the assault of the Fort of Multan in December 1848; in the action of Gujerat; and in the subsequent pursuit and surrender of the Sikh army, when 30,000 soldiers gave up their arms." "The after-story of poor Burnes is one that is most painful to write, and harrowing to read."

The story is given in the latter part of Colonel Fergusson's volume, which contains the Muster Roll of the class.

Several of the class figured in the Crimean War, and, happily, came back safe and sound, or nearly so. JAMES PATON was supposed to have been killed in the trenches, so narrow was his escape. A howitzer shell burst in the midst of a small party of six, including himself: three were killed, and the rest wounded.

"Only small fragments of the corporal's body were afterwards found. Paton, who was close by the corporal, was thrown down, and for some time it was difficult to say if he were killed or not, so ghastly was the sight he presented. Ultimately it was found he was wounded by two pieces of the shell, but not severely."

Another story of the Crimea is a chance meeting on the road from Balaklava to the camp, in the almost impassable mud. A young medical officer, PATRICK HERON WATSON, meets a man "looking with despond at the slough before him, and anon at his neat and natty feat, to whom, albeit unrecognised, Watson addresses the remark: 'Nobby, this is no place for boots like yours.' It was Assistant Surgeon, otherwise 'NOBBY' BROWN, the Maccaroni of our class, at that time serving with that crack regiment, the 13th Light Infantry. Pleased was he to meet with his class-fellow, and sympathy, where least expected."

Then comes the story of how FRANK SUTTIE "well and truly worked his guns in the trenches before Sebastopol." He was an acting Lieutenant of H. M. S. *Bellerophon*, and was on the 17th October, 1854, in charge of two guns, military 24-pounders, on the left attack upon the defences of the city, with the Redan in front of him. "Till past midday the sailors steadily kept their guns going, and for a long time the smoke was so thick, that they could only point their own by the flashes from the enemy's artillery. At one o'clock in the afternoon, however, they were rewarded for their exertions by the explosion of the Redan magazine in front of them."

Another meeting of class-fellows in the field was between our Chronicler, COLONEL FERGUSSON; then a Lieutenant in the 2nd Bombay European Light Infantry, which became the 106th Foot (or 2nd Battalion, Durham Light Infantry) on its transfer to Her Majesty's service, and MATTHEW CORSELLIS UTTERSON, of the 20th Bombay Native Infantry, both of whom went with their regiments to the Persian Gulf, on the declaration of war against the Shah, in December 1856. To take the town and Fort of Bushire a force was landed at Ras Hallila, some miles south of the town. "In the evening Utterson came over to where his (Fergusson's) regiment was bivouacked, to talk of Cumming and the old Academy days, since which time the class-fellows had not met. When they separated, each to look after his men, it was in the hope of being able to meet the next day." Next day Fergusson advanced in command of one of

two Companies of British Infantry included in the advanced guard. The only obstacle met with was a formidable one—the old Dutch Fort of Reshire, held by a body of 1,400 of the Tangastooni tribe, half Arabs. “The advanced guard had enough to do to hold their own till the column came up.”

“An immediate assault on the place was ordered. The point opposite which Utterson’s regiment deployed was the deepest and most difficult part of the ditch. Along the crest of the parapet the enemy had dug a line of pits, or trenches, from which they kept a heavy and unceasing fire, nothing seen but the heads and matchlocks of the Arabs. As soon as the line was extended a rush was made at the fort. Utterson succeeded in crossing the ditch and gallantly led his company up the steep slopes of the rampart. The last that was seen of him, before he fell mortally wounded, was his figure, his sword raised, leading on his men, *too far* in front of them, through a cloud of smoke and fire. He had passed the pits, but a shot from one of them laid him low. Lieutenant Warren, a brother officer of his, fell beside him. Likewise Brigadier Stopford, C.B., leading his old regiment, the 64th Foot, was killed but a few paces off before he had reached the top of the parapet.

“So the obstacle was ‘cleared,’ but at a heavy price.

“An officer of Utterson’s regiment, the 20th Bombay Native Infantry, was at the same time wounded in several places, and afterwards received the Victoria Cross for his part in the affair. I believe he was no whit more forward than our class-fellow in the assault.”

In a foot-note Colonel Fergusson mentions that in the pursuit of the flying enemy along the beach Major Malet, while leading a detachment of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, was shot; and at the same moment the news spread that the Brigadier, Stopford, was shot; also how Lieutenant Ballard, R. E., C. B., an Academy boy, at the top of the school when we entered it, displayed singular gallantry by riding into the sea, and rescuing one of the enemy from the fire of our own soldiers, who, “by one of those sudden freaks that soldiers take, began to renew the fire, discharging volleys at the unfortunates in the water. A mill pond, with handfuls of gravel thrown into it, such was the surface of the tranquil sea.”

A dramatic incident of the Indian Mutiny, mentioned in this Chapter of “Changes and Chances,” was HENRY COCKBURN’S way of being even with some of the revolted troopers of the Irregular Cavalry of Scindiah’s Contingent, in which he was serving at Hattras, in June 1857. Having failed to get more of their comrades to join them, they rode off to stir up the villagers to join in their evil courses, and succeeded but too well. They were carrying on a successful system of plunder and infesting the roads. Cockburn got a bullock-cart covered with a heavily curtained canopy, such as is used by native ladies when making a journey, and placed in it as many of his troopers as it could hold, with loaded carbines, and one of his men as driver. He sent the cart along the road that passed near the rebel camp,

and with his troop took up a position whence he could watch what passed.

"Never did a hungry shark rise more eagerly to a bait. No sooner did the rebels see the carriage than they mounted and galloped forward to secure the fair lady and her jewels, that they doubted not were inside. The troopers behind the curtains waited till the foremost men were within easy range, when they discharged their carbines with fatal effect. At the same moment, Cockburn and the rest of his men dashed out and fell upon the rear of the astonished force, killing forty-eight and dispersing the remainder."

Cockburn (afterwards General) had a curious almost fore-gathering with a class-fellow in the higher ranges of the Himalayas,—ANDREW (nick-named "Skinny")—WILSON, a great traveller, and writer in the Bombay Press, and in *Blackwood*, but known best, perhaps, as the author of the "Abode of Snow." Cockburn was on a shooting expedition, and Wilson was being carried towards the snows in search of health. Wilson made inquiries as to routes in passing Cockburn's camp, and passed on, and Cockburn only found out afterwards from his servants who the sick man was.

The last Military incident mentioned by Colonel Fergusson in his "Changes and Chances" chapter, and which, he says, had not long before he wrote come to the knowledge of the Club, acquires fresh interest from events recorded in India early in the present year. I quote Colonel Fergusson in full :—

"In Southern India, on the Malabar Coast, there has been for ages past a race of fierce and fanatical Mahomedans (*sic*), Moplahs by name. They have been a long-standing source of trouble to our Government. Seeking martyrdom for the faith of Islam, sometimes under the leadership of wildly fanatic Arab priests, they were a difficult and dangerous set to deal with. To put down a rising of these people, and disarm them, our class fellow, ALEXANDER STRANGE, a Lieutenant in the 25th (K. O.) Borderers, was detached with a company of his regiment. The outbreak had caused a considerable sensation in India at the time, culminating, as it did, in the murder of Mr. Connolly, the Magistrate of the district.

"These Moplahs had repulsed and severely handled a detachment of Native troops sent against them. The insurgents had taken up a position in front of the bazar of a populous village. A volley of musketry and a charge is the approved method in such a case; but Strange knew of a better way. He was most unwilling to order his men to fire, seeing that had they done so there must have been loss of innocent life. Accordingly, he drew up his Company in front of the enemy's position. The Moplah leader stood facing them, flourishing his 'tulwar', and inciting his followers, in the name of 'the Faith', to the attack.

"Strange, who was a powerful man, fully six feet in height, did not draw sword, or pistol, but, leaving his men halted, walked up alone to where the leader of the Moplahs stood gesticulating, seized him by the wrist, and, wrenching his sword from his hand, snapped it in two under his foot!

"Then, even as the Trojan warriors shrank at the awe-inspiring

voice of the unarmoured son of Peleus, so these wild beings, at the call of Strange to yield up their arms and surrender—did so !

"Alexander Strange is remembered as a singularly quiet and reserved boy." And it will readily be believed these details were not related by himself. The incident is given as told by a brother officer of his. The narrative comes to us from the foot of the Rocky Mountains, where the brother of our class-fellow is doing a great work in the interests of military colonization ; thus he signs himself—' Thomas Bland Strange, Major General, R. A., retired ; formerly of Pat. Macdougall's Class, Edinburgh Academy."

I remember the two Stranges a little ;—somewhat strange they seemed to us other boys, by nature as well as by name—quiet and thoughtful ; and I think I remember their father, in uniform. The " Muster Roll " tells that the race was one fruitful of good soldiers, the Stranges, of Balcaskie, in Fife, a family dating from the 14th century. Their father commanded the 25th King's Own Borderers. The father, or one of the sons, had " Mountain " in his name, and we school boys did not fail to make the surname an adjective qualifying Mountain. Fergusson has missed this.

Colonel Fergusson thus winds up the Chapter I have been noticing—

" It might be interesting, were there space, to tell of some of the changes and chances in life that have led to some of our members being discovered, in view of the completion of these veracious *Chronicles*." . . . " Or, again, how the announcement of a Baronetcy having been conferred on a gentleman of a surname we knew led to the Mayor of Belfast being recognised as the long ' wanted ' EDWARD HARLAND, remembered as the ingenious worker with a preternaturally sharp penknife ; with which, by the way, he has cut out fame and fortune for himself. These and others all write in the same cordial and hearty strain their recollections of the dear old Master of the old Academy Days, and many named class-fellows, showing a singular and gratifying unanimity which long separation has not impaired. They will, doubtless, join with us in the sentiment expressed by an old Academician—

' If any here has got an ear
He'd better tak' a haud o' me,
Or I'll begin wi' roarin' din
To cheer the old Academy ;
Dear old Academy,—queer old Academy ;
A merry lot we were I wot
When at the old Academy.'

SOME NON-INDIAN MEMBERS OF THE CLASS.

Before picking out of the Muster Roll (which occupies the last hundred pages of the *Chronicles*) particulars of the members of the Class who went to India, I must mention a few of those who staid at home, and yet have achieved great distinction in various civil walks of life.

SIR EDWARD J. HARLAND, BART., who attended the Second and Third classes, under Mr. Cumming, decided to be

an Engineer, and on his fifteenth birthday began a five-years' apprenticeship in the works of Robert Stephenson & Co., Newcastle-on-Tyne, on the expiration of which he was employed by Messrs. J. & G. Thomson, Marine Engine-builders, at Glasgow. After other experience of his profession Mr. Harland became manager of a ship-building yard at Belfast, which was afterwards sold to him and Mr. G. W. Wolff, whom he took as a partner. "From that time," says Colonel Fergusson, "dates the marvellous success of an entirely new branch of industry in Belfast, which has made the name of Harland and Wolff famous, and has been the means of increasing the extent of their building-yard from four to *thirty-six* acres."

"The theory and practice of Harland, now so largely followed, in his building of steamers, aimed at securing greater carrying power and accommodation for cargo and passengers by increased length rather than beam. The system was first tried in steamers 340 feet long, beam 34 feet, hold 24 feet 7 inches, built for Messrs. Bibby & Co., of Liverpool. Further improvements, with ever-increasing length in proportion to beam, were made upon what went by the name of 'Bibby's Coffins.' To give great carrying capacity, increased flatness of bottom was given, and squareness of bilge. Perfect success followed these designs of what came to be known as 'Belfast bottoms.'"

"During the last few years Harland and Wolff have built some of the largest iron and steel sailing-ships that have ever gone to sea. In the year 1883 they launched thirteen vessels of iron and steel of a registered capacity of some 30,000 tons. The 168 vessels of this sort which they had then built, it was calculated, if laid close together, would measure nearly *eight miles* in length."

These details, Colonel Fergusson says, are chiefly taken from Dr. Smiles's *Men of Invention and Industry*, Chap. XI of which is devoted to a most interesting autobiographic sketch of Edward Harland.

"Harland has long been Chairman of the Belfast Harbour Trust. He was Mayor of Belfast at the time of the Prince of Wales's visit to that City, in 1885. In July the honour of a Baronetcy was conferred on our old class-fellow."

HENRY CHARLES FLEEMING JENKIN was the only child of Captain Charles Jenkin, R. A., of Stowting Court, Kent, and was connected with Scotland through his mother's family. She was an author of some repute. Jenkin attended three classes at the Academy, and in 1846 went to school in Germany. As a student, in Paris he witnessed many of the scenes of the Revolution of 1848. At the University of Genoa he devoted himself to the profession of an Engineer, and took the degree of Master of Arts in 1850, when he could not have been more than 20 years of age. Returning to England in 1857, he was apprenticed to Fairbairn, at Manchester, and afterwards did survey work in Switzerland. He then entered the service of Messrs. Newall, of Birkenhead, and took part in the preparations for laying the first Atlantic cable.

"In Messrs. Newall's service Jenkin was intrusted with their chief engineering and electric work, and designed many appliances connected with the machinery used in laying cables, electrical testing, &c. He was at this time concerned with the first Atlantic cable, the Red Sea cable, a line between Singapore and Batavia; and that between Malta and Alexandria. He likewise accompanied several other cable expeditions in the Mediterranean."

On one occasion, some objects caught Jenkin's eye, adhering to a broken cable, the end of which he had fished up. They were *living creatures*, which had grown to maturity on the cable at the depth of 1,200 fathoms. They were examined and described by naturalists, and "this incident is acknowledged to have been the means of definitely deciding, once for all, the important fact of highly organised creatures living at great depths—depths at which the knots in a beam of pine wood are made to project under the tremendous pressure of the water."

In 1861, Jenkin established himself in London as a Civil Engineer, in partnership with Mr. H. C. Forde. He soon began to write on electric telegraphy, and was closely associated with his old school-fellow (who was in the class above us), Clerk Maxwell, in important scientific researches. Jenkin was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1865, was appointed Professor of Civil Engineering in University College, London, in 1866, and after two years exchanged that office for the Chair of Engineering in Edinburgh. In addition to his patents for inventions in electricity, Jenkin held others for Bridge-work, Hydraulics, Gearing, and Caloric motors.

"But his attainments in science was not the only striking characteristic of Fleeming Jenkin; he was an excellent draughtsman, a good shot, a successful fisherman, a hardy mountaineer, and his yachting and boating enterprises were many, and boldly carried out. Intimately acquainted with continental literature, he gave special attention to the study of the French drama. In the admirably managed dramatic reunions at his house, in Edinburgh, that for so many successive years delighted his numerous friends, no one was more successful than Jenkin himself in a light French comedy part; certain of the plays of Sophocles adapted for the occasion by our old school-fellow, Professor Lewis Campbell, of 'St. Andrews, and the rendering of various parts by Mr. Fleeming Jenkin, will not be soon forgotten by those fortunate enough to witness them."

"At the time of his death, 12th June 1885, Professor Jenkin was intensely interested in an invention to which he had given the name of *Telpherage*, a system for the transport of loads by means of electricity."

Professor Jenkin's writings were very numerous. Of his books may be mentioned "*Magnetism and Electricity*," published in 1873, which by 1887 had reached a seventh edition, and had been translated into German, Italian, and French. Of papers there is no end. His review of the '*Origin of Species*,' published in the *North British Review*, for June 1867, induced

Darwin to modify certain of his arguments. When reading the 'Life of Darwin,' sometime ago, I made the following extract of Darwin's own words :—

"F. Jenkin argued in the *North British Review* against single variations ever being perpetuated, and has convinced me, though not in quite so broad a manner as here put."

Darwin's son, and biographer^f says :—"It is not a little remarkable that the criticisms which my father, as I believe, felt to be the most valuable ever made on his views should have come not from a professed naturalist, but from a Professor of Engineering."

"Jenkin," says Colonel Fergusson, "was for many years a Director of the Edinburgh Academy, and such faith had he in that good old school, that he placed his three sons there as pupils. His wit and quaint humour were nowhere better seen than at the meetings of the Cumming Club."

Another distinguished Engineer, who was of our class, is ALLAN DUNCAN STEWART, of Strathgarry and Inchradden, in Perthshire. Stewart passed through the first six classes of the Academy, and, if I remember rightly, was second in mathematics to Tait's first. He went to the Edinburgh University, and to St. Peter's, Cambridge, with Tait, and in 1853 obtained the position of Ninth Wrangler. In 1861, after some years spent in practical work, Stewart began business as a Consulting Engineer in Edinburgh, where he continued for some twenty years before moving to London.

"During that time he carried out several important works ; but he was principally engaged in advising other Engineers as to the strength of structures, in which an intimate knowledge of the application of mathematics was required, and in assisting them with detailed designs.

"Two such works are of special interest—namely, the great railway bridges over the Firth of Tay and the Firth of Forth."

Stewart was not responsible for the failure of the first bridge built over the Firth of Tay. "A very careful examination by many of the most able Engineers in the Kingdom showed that all portions designed by Mr. Stewart, or portions with regard to which he had been consulted, were amply sufficient." He did not design, nor was he consulted about, the piers. Stewart had been for years studying the question of a bridge to cross the Firth of Forth at Queensferry, and works for a bridge from his designs had been begun when the Tay Bridge fell.

"The Forth Bridge Company then consulted three of the most experienced Engineers in London, and they referred the consideration of the details and expense of various forms of spans of 1,700 feet for the bridge agreed on to Mr. Stewart. After several months of study he selected the plans to be adopted, and the works are now in progress. The Engineers for this great undertaking are Sir John Fowler and Mr. B. Baker ; and Mr. Stewart is the head of their staff in London."

So wrote Colonel Fergusson in 1887. I saw the Forth Bridge nearly finished in June 1889, and it was opened, I think, in that year. Stewart, along with Sir Benjamin Baker, I think, is the designer of the steel tower, now being built for Sir Edward Watkin and others, at Wembley Park, some six miles north of London, which is to be much higher than the Eiffel Tower in Paris. Three of Allan Stewart's sons have been educated at the Edinburgh Academy.

Now I come to PETER GUTHRIE TAIT, our great glory, among the men-of-peace at least,

"Through all the classes, from the first to the Sixth, when he left the Academy, Tait was easily our leader. After studying in companionship with James Clerk Maxwell" (who was in the class of the Academy above us), "under Professors Forbes and Kelland, at the Edinburgh University, he proceeded to St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Great things were expected of him; nor were his old Masters and class-fellows disappointed, for in due course he became Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman for 1852. This afforded an occasion of high festival and rejoicing to his school-fellows, as has been fully detailed elsewhere. From 1852 to 1854 he was one of the Mathematical lecturers in his College, and took his degree of M. A. in 1855. For six years—that is, from 1854 to 1860—he was Professor of Mathematics in Queen's College, Belfast. In the latter year he returned to Edinburgh, having been, to the satisfaction of very many, elected to the Chair of Natural Philosophy in the University. Year by year his reputation as a lecturer has increased. The crowded class-room, and the rows of eager and interested faces, show that the art of holding fixed the attention of his hearers is with the lecturer. Absolute clearness of vision, great simplicity and frankness of speech, a dash of humour of a very delicate and subtle nature, are adjuncts to—or it may be, in some measure, the explanation of—this rare and excellent gift."

"Professor Tait's reputation as an author was established by the production of the *Dynamics of a Particle*, 1856, a work executed in conjunction with the late Mr. W. J. Steele," (who, I think, was 2nd Wrangler to Tait's 1st.)

"The *Treatise on Natural Philosophy*, written by Professor Tait in conjunction with Sir William Thomson" (now Lord Kelvin), "has been pronounced one of the greatest books which have appeared since the *Principia*—a book not only profound, but full of original methods of treatment."

Tait's *Elementary Treatise on Quaternions*, 1867; his memoir on *Mirage*; the *Kinetic Theory of Gases*; *The Pressure Errors of the Challenger Thermometers*; papers on *Thermo-Electricity*; and, along with Dr. Andrews, a memoir on *The Volumetric Relations of Ozone*, are mentioned by Colonel Fergusson.

"One of the most attractive and 'popular' of his works is his *Lectures on Some Recent Advances in Physical Science*, 1876, which has since reached a third edition, and has been translated into French, German, and Italian. Hardly less popular are his recent works on *Light, Heat, and Properties of Matter*.

"But, it may be said, that the work which, more than any other, with

which Professor Tait's name is connected, has proved acceptable to readers beyond the circle of scientific enquirers is, *The Unseen Universe*, which he and a fellow-worker, Professor Balfour Stewart, produced in 1875. The views propounded in this work, and the assaults made in it—up to this present moment unanswered—upon Materialism in Science, and anti-theological doctrine sometimes advanced in connection with this branch of knowledge, support in no slight degree, the position taken by our school-fellow, James Clerk Maxwell, and thus possess peculiar interest for his old friends, as to many others."

"At the Royal Society of Edinburgh P. G. Tait is well seen ; and at the meetings of the Cumming Club, year by year ; not less so on St. Andrews Links, where, at early morn, while others sleep,

' Agile and light, each tendon strung,
With healthy play of each active lung,
He strides along o'er the dewy ground,"

As he himself sings sweetly.

Lastly, says Colonel Fergusson, it may be noted that all four of Tait's sons have been pupils at the Edinburgh Academy.

The last of the Class who did not go to India, whom I will mention, is PATRICK HERON WATSON, who attended not only the whole seven classes at the Academy, but a supplementary Eighth class. He afterwards studied medicine at the Edinburgh University, devoting the greater part of his four years there to Surgery and Hospital work ; and took his degree of M. D. in 1853. On the advice of Professors Syme and Simpson, Watson got into the Army Medical Department, and went to the East in December 1854, to join the Crimean Expedition. Owing to hard work in the Hospitals, on the Bosphorus, he was attacked with typhus fever of a severe type. Recovering, he was, by his own desire, sent to the Front, and attached to the Castle Hospital at Balaclava. Soon, at his own desire, he was transferred to the Heavy Howitzer Field Battery of Royal Artillery in Camp at Karani. But not long afterwards over-work and bad water, with exposure, when in a debilitated state, brought on serious illness, and it was with difficulty he reached England again. Watson resigned his Commission in August 1856, and resumed hospital practice in Edinburgh ; also giving lectures. His lectures on Military Surgery and Hygiene "became extremely popular, and usually commanded a voluntary attendance of from three to four hundred students and medical practitioners in each session. The secret of this success has been attributed, in part, to characteristics akin to those which have won for him his reputation as one of the very few great Surgeons of our time—namely, absolute precision, perfect coolness, great capacity, with gentleness of hand, mind and manner."

In July 1882, Dr. Watson was appointed to the post of Surgeon to the Queen in Scotland. Space fails me for enu-

meration of the posts he has filled, and the titles he bears. Finally, says Colonel Fergusson, Watson has missed few Meetings of the Cumming Club, and his elder son is now (1887) a pupil in the Sixth class at the Academy.

THE MUSTER ROLL.

I must now condense, as much as I can, the particulars given by Colonel Fergusson, in the last section of the *Chronicles*, of the careers of our class-fellows who went to India. Twenty-eight there were, a large proportion of the sixty-five, which was about the number in the class in the first two or three years. While agreeing with Colonel Fergusson, in the words already quoted from his Preface, that we cannot pretend that our class was other than an average sample of the good old Academy's raw material, and, in our manhood, of her completed work, I cannot help asking—if this was an average sample, what must the aggregate of the whole export to India from the Academy, from 1824 to the present day, have been, and what the aggregate benefit to India that has resulted therefrom? The items taken from the Muster Roll are in alphabetical order: I have prefixed serial numbers.

1. PATRICK CHARLES ANDERSON, son of Major Charles Anderson, of Montrave, in the county of Forfar, attended the Fourth and Fifth classes under Mr. Cumming. His father was in the Madras Engineers, and lived to send three of his sons to the East in the service of the Honourable East India Company. Patrick was appointed to the Bengal Artillery, and served in the expedition which led to the annexation of Lower Burmah (Pegu) in 1852. He received the India war medal, with clasp for "Burmah." He rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and died at sea on 15th February 1882, and was buried in the Indian Ocean.

2. ALEXANDER A. BRUCE, son of Major David Bruce, for many years a Commissariat Officer of the Indian Army, attended the Second and Third classes at the Academy in 1842-44 and, having received a commission in the Bengal Army, he went to India in 1844, and joined the 3rd Regiment, Native Infantry. "His service was chiefly regimental, until 1882, when he retired with the rank of Major-General and settled in Edinburgh."

3. JOHN HENRY BRYCE, only son of the Rev. James Bryce, Senior Chaplain of the Church of Scotland in India, entered the Academy in our Second class, and staid through the Seventh. Failing to obtain an appointment to the Indian Civil Service, he received instead an appointment to the Company's Military Service, involving two year's study at their College at Addiscombe. He left College in 1852, ninth in his

term, and first in Artillery. In 1857 he was ordered to Lucknow immediately before the outbreak of the Mutiny. "In the disastrous engagement at Chinhut, on the 30th June, when the garrison moved out to meet the rebels, Bryce and another artillery officer, an old Academy friend, Lieutenant David Macfarlan (now Major-General), succeeded in saving their guns and in retiring in good order to the Residency; a service which gained them some distinction." On the 16th July, Lieutenant Bryce was shot through the thigh, and while rapidly recovering from his wound, but still weak from it and from exposure, on the 7th of August he was attacked by cholera in its worst form, and died the next day. Bryce's short but honorable career and good services are referred to in Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, and other books relating to the Mutiny. "Our class-fellow had the reputation among those who knew him best of a 'brave and good soldier, and a consistent Christian,' and 'an excellent fellow in every sense of the word.'"

4. GEORGE JAMES HOLMES BURNES. "His story is a narrative of a gallant young life cut off in the most cruel manner; his fate is one of the most melancholy incidents of the Indian Mutiny. He was the son of Dr. James Burnes, Physician-General in the Bombay Army, D. C. L., F. R. S. His uncle, Sir Alexander Burnes, it will be remembered, was treacherously murdered in Afghanistan." George Burnes joined the Academy in 1843, and remained till the end of the Session of 1845, the Fourth class. Naturally he became a cadet for the Bombay Army, and was posted to the 1st Bombay European Fusiliers, with which regiment he served in the Punjab Campaign of 1848-49. He received the Punjab war medal and clasp. After the annexation of Oudh, Burnes was posted to the 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry, which corps was one of the first that figured as mutineers. They rebelled at Seetapore, and very few of the European residents escaped from their murderous hands. The story of the small party, including Burnes, who escaped, is told in Kaye's *History*. From June till the middle of November, they, with other fugitives from Seetapore, endured hardships and exposure, imprisonment and ill-usage, partly from a friendly Rajah, such as can hardly be conceived, until at length Burnes and three others of the party, by this time in Lucknow, were shot. In the vestibule of the Parish Church of Montrose there is a monumental tablet, erected by his brother officers, commemorative of Burnes's valour. Burnes was descended from a relative of the poet Burns, as I remember him telling. His great grandfather, says Colonel Fergusson, was elder brother of William Burnes, the father of Scotland's immortal poet.

5. WILLIAM CLEPHANE, fourth and youngest son of Andrew

Clephane, sometimes Sheriff of Fifeshire,—brother of Lieutenant-Colonel R. Douglas Clephane, late of the 79th Cameron Highlanders and of Strathendry, Fifeshire,—attended the first four classes under Mr. Cumming, and proceeded to Addiscombe in 1847. He passed into the Bengal Artillery, and came home on sick leave, which enabled him to attend the dinner of the Cumming Club on 16th January 1854. He returned to India in the winter of 1855, and was thereafter stationed in the Punjab. During the Mutiny he was quartered with his battery in the Fort of Govindgarh, near Amritsar, where he died of cholera, on 1st September 1857, contracted after returning from a long and fatiguing march. "Gentle, kindly, and lovable, was a description given of him in his later years."

6. HENRY ALEXANDER COCKBURN, an Edinburgh boy, son of John Cockburn, and grandson of Baron Cockburn of Cockpen, attended the First Class of the Academy. In 1849 he went to Addiscombe, where he passed for the artillery; but he preferred an infantry commission, as more likely to be a stepping stone to service with a cavalry regiment. In October 1851, he was posted to the 53rd Bengal Native Infantry; and in 1854 he obtained his wish, being transferred to the 1st Regiment of Cavalry in the Gwalior (or Scindiah's) Force. "On the night of the 11th May 1857, within two hours of the receipt at Morar of the news of the outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut, Cockburn and a detachment marched out, and reached Agra, a distance of eighty miles, by the night of the 13th." Thence by another rapid march, Cockburn reached Aligarh on the night of the 20th, during which the 9th Native Infantry mutinied. "All the cavalry could do, in the dark, was to protect the officers, civil and military, and their families, and escort them to a place of safety." For the work he did in the next six weeks he received on four occasions the thanks of Government. Ultimately his regiment also mutinied, but the officers were escorted to within sight of the British pickets at Agra *by a squadron of the mutineers!* Cockburn assisted in the defence of Agra, and was severely wounded. Afterwards he assisted in raising Meade's Horse—now Central India Horse—which, with Cockburn as second in command, did excellent service under Sir Hugh Rose in Central India. Succeeding to the command of his regiment in June 1859, he was at the same time placed in command of a Field Force, embracing all arms of the service, and including two hundred British Infantry, with which he acted against the rebels still holding out in the Gwalior jungles. Much, says Colonel Fergusson, might be written of Cockburn's adventures in the year 1857, and his hair breadth escapes, as described in the despatches written by his superior officers. The incident of Cockburn's ruse, which I quoted

under "Changes and Chances," was introduced in James Grant's Novel, *First Love and Last Love*. Cockburn was transferred to the Military Finance Department in 1867. He returned to Scotland in 1882, and attained the rank of Lieutenant-General in 1887.

7. JAMES THOMAS CRASTER, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Craster, attended the Third Class, and afterwards studied at the Military Academy in Edinburgh, whence he joined the 38th (First Staffordshire) Regiment, with a commission dated 19th September 1848. The whole of his service was in that corps, first in the Crimea, and afterwards in India, where he assisted in the suppression of the Mutiny. He was present at the battle of Cawnpore and at the capture of Meeangunge, for which services he received the Indian Mutiny medal, with clasp for Lucknow. He retired from the service in January 1872, on being promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, unattached, and settled in Normandy.

8. WILLIAM DONALD, eldest son of Mr. Alexander Donald, writer to the Signet, was in six classes at the Academy, 1841-46, and subsequently at the Edinburgh University. Donald, after having been two years in a law office, served a five years' apprenticeship to a Chartered Accountant in Edinburgh, and in October 1856 was appointed an assistant in the Madras Branch of the Agra and United Service (?) Bank. In May 1859 he entered the service of the Indian Government, was employed in the Civil Pay Department at Madras and Bombay, "and has ever since been connected, in various capacities, with the Financial Department of the Government of India." In 1886 he was Deputy Accountant-General at Madras.

9. WILLIAM SCOTT DREVER, son of Colonel David Drever, was in the First and Second Classes at the Academy. Very early, June 1847, he joined the Madras Army, in which his father had served. He was appointed to the 31st Regiment, Native Light Infantry, and in 1856-57 and also in 1859 he was employed in suppressing insurrections, for which services he received the Mutiny medal. Subsequently Lieutenant Drever was appointed to the Military Police Force of the Madras Presidency, and ultimately became Commissioner of Police. During the Famine of 1878 he so distinguished himself that, by command of the Queen, the Companionship of the Order of the Star of India was given him, at which time he was the only military officer in the Madras Presidency on whom the Order had been bestowed. Colonel Drever acted for some time as Inspector-General of Police. He died at Madras in 1880.

10. HENRY NAPIER BRUCE ERSKINE is the youngest son of Mr. William Erskine, of Blackburn House, Linlithgowshire, author of a *History of India under the two first Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Baber and Humayan*, and translator of

the *Memoirs of the Emperor Baber*. Mrs. Erskine, his mother, was a daughter of Sir James Mackintosh. He attended the Academy during two sessions in 1841-43, entered Haileybury in January 1851, and left it, with mention as 'highly distinguished,' in 1853. At the outbreak of the Mutiny, Erskine held an appointment at Belgaum in the Southern Marathi country, where much disaffection was known to exist, and he was appointed Special Commissioner with a field force, during which service he was of necessity frequently under fire, and had some very narrow escapes. "An interesting narrative," says Colonel Fergusson, "might be written of the stirring events of this period in which Henry Erskine bore a part." "For his services at this most trying time Mr. Erskine received the special thanks of Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay." From 1861 he served in Sind, and after an interval of about two years, during which he was Commissioner of the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency, he was appointed Commissioner of Sind. In 1882 he was offered a seat in the Council of Bombay, but the state of his health forbade his acceptance of it. In 1887, on leaving Sind (and India?), Mr. Erskine had the honour conferred on him of the Companionship of the Star of India.

II. ALEXANDER FERGUSSON, younger and only surviving son of Staff Surgeon William Fergusson, Governor and Captain-General of the Colony of Sierra Leone and its Dependencies, attended the first five classes at the Academy. In consideration of his father's services he was given a direct cadetship for the Indian Army by the President of the Board of Control, and his commission as Ensign bore date 10th August 1847. He was posted to the 2nd Bombay European Light Infantry, which became the 106th Foot on its transfer to Her Majesty's Service. Lieutenant Fergusson's service in the Persian Gulf has already been mentioned, under "Changes and Chances." For this he received the Indian war medal, with clasp for Persia. During the Mutiny he did good service in Sind, and in November 1857 went with his regiment to Belgaum, where Erskine was. Fergusson was subsequently employed on the staff of the Army at various stations. At Aden he was Brigade Major. After reaching the rank of Major in the Staff Corps, Fergusson retired on 17th November 1869, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

"Since his retirement Lieutenant-Colonel Fergusson has given some attention to literary pursuits. In 1882 he produced *Life of the Honourable Henry Erskine, Lord Advocate for Scotland*, the subject of the work being his wife's great-grandfather; and in 1884 *Letters and Journal of Mrs. Calderwood of Polton*. Both works were speedily out of print. More recently, 1886,

The Laird of Lag, a Life Sketch of Sir Robert Grierson, has been published.

"Colonel Fergusson, has been for some years an occasional contributor to the *Athenæum* and other such journals, usually writing on subjects connected with old Scots literature or history. He took an interest in the formation of the Scottish Text Society, of which he has been a Vice-President from the formation." (All this work must have been good training for what—until I see the other books,—I must consider Fergusson's *magnum opus*—*The Chronicles of the Cumming Club*!) Colonel Fergusson's two sons were at the Academy in 1887. His death, in 1892 has been recorded in a former part of this article

12. JAMES ARTHUR FORBES, seventh son of Mr. George Forbes, West Coates House, Edinburgh, and grandson of Sir William Forbes, Bart., of Pitsligo, attended the First and Second Classes of the Academy, and joined the Royal Navy. While serving in the *Salamander*, 6 guns, he was present at the capture of Maitaban and Rangoon, in the Burmese War of 1852. Having passed for Lieutenant in 1853, Forbes was appointed to H. M. *Cressy*, and assisted at the blockade of Cronstadt and other Baltic Ports in 1854; and being again sent to the Baltic in 1855, he served as Lieutenant in all the blockading operations there till the close of the war with Russia. Forbes served in various parts of the world, and was promoted to the rank of Commander in June 1866. In October 1870 he was appointed Inspecting Commander of Coastguard at Berwick-on-Tweed, which post he held till September 1873, when he retired from active service, and settled near Berwick. He was promoted to the list of retired Captains in 1881. He has received the Indian war medal, with clasp for 'Pegu;' and the Baltic Medal.

13. JOHN HOLMES HOUSTON GAMMELL is son of Captain Gammell, of Ardfeiry, Aberdeenshire (late of 92nd Highlanders, who in 1887 had attained the good old age of ninety years and more), and youngest of four brothers who were all at the Academy. John Gammell passed through the first five classes under Mr. Cumming. He was gazetted Ensign of the 76th Regiment on 15th October 1847. Subsequently he was promoted to Lieutenant in the 22nd Cheshire Regiment, in December 1852. With this regiment Gammell served on the North-West Frontier of India, and in the Campaign of 1854, against the Mohmunds, for which he received the Indian war medal with clasp. He became Captain in the 63rd Regiment, in November 1855; in March 1856, was transferred to the 9th Foot, was gazetted Major in the 54th Foot, July 1871, and was again for five years in India. He became Lieutenant-Colonel by Brevet on 1st October 1877, and retired as Honorary Colonel on 31st of the same month.

"Recently Colonel Gammell has inherited from his uncle the estates of Lethendy, in Perthshire, and Whitehill in Forfarshire." "After all these wanderings Gammell was in June 1886 welcomed back to the Club, where, as already stated, he had not been seen since the meeting of 8th January 1853."

14. JAMES ROLLINGS GORDON is eldest and only living son of Mr. James Gordon, of Auchendolly, in the Parish of Crossmichael, Kircudbrightshire. He was in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Classes. Leaving the Academy in 1846, he went to Addiscombe, from which he entered the Indian Army, and was appointed to the 15th Madras Native Infantry, 13th June 1851. In July 1862 he was transferred in the rank of Captain to the 3rd Madras European Regiment, afterwards the 108th Foot, and now the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers. He retired from the service with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, 21st July 1877.

15. WILLIAM DRUMMOND OGILVY HAY-NEWTON, eldest son of John Stuart Hay-Newton, of Newton, attended the First to Fourth Classes at the Academy, and was gazetted Ensign in the 72nd Regiment (Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders), 17th May 1850. He was promoted to Captain, 22nd June 1855. Captain Hay served in India during the Mutiny with the 72nd throughout the operations in Central India; and in pursuit of the rebel forces under Tantia Topee and Rao Sahib in 1858-59. In 1863 Captain Hay succeeded to the family estate of Newton, and retired from the army in the following year. "Until recently, when he has been much in England, he was one of the most regular attendants at the Club meetings."

16. CHARLES WILLIAM HOPE, eldest son of Mr. James Hope, Writer to, and Deputy Keeper of the Signet, and grandson of the Right Honourable Charles Hope, Lord President of the Court of Session, went through six classes of the Academy. He came out to India in October 1859, in the service of the East Indian Railway Company, and in October 1861 entered the service of the Government of India, and was employed in the Public Works Department till October 1879, when he came under reduction, after the completion of the Sone Canals, on which he had been employed, and was pensioned. He had served in the North-Western Provinces, Burma and Bengal. Since 1879 Mr. Hope has lived in India, chiefly at Dehra Dún and Mussooree, and spent a good deal of time and trouble in endeavouring to secure railway accommodation for those places. In 1888 he was deputed to London by the promoters of the railway to endeavour to form a Company for its construction, but the terms then conceded by Government were not thought good enough. Improved terms having lately been granted, Mr. Hope still has hopes of success. (I have here

revised Colonel Fergusson's account and brought it up to date.) Since his retirement, Mr. Hope has written occasionally for the Indian newspaper (and periodical) press on subjects with which he is familiar. He is still (1894) in the Dehra Dún district. He was one of the earliest members of the Club, and was in the chair at the dinner of 2nd January 1878.

17. WILLIAM LEARMONTH-MACKENZIE, son of William Colville Learmonth-Mackenzie, of Craigend, Stirlingshire, was for one year at the Academy in the Third Class. He subsequently went to sea, and became second officer of his ship. Afterwards he settled at Bombay, where he was very successful as a merchant. "Our class-fellow, it will be remembered, was known to us as 'William Learmonth;' but his father having succeeded to a considerable fortune by his wife, a Miss Mackenzie, added that name to his own, as did all his family. He died at Bombay, it is understood, some seven or eight years ago, and was succeeded (in business) by his two sons."

18. CHARLES A. MCDUGALL, third and now eldest surviving son of the late Vice-Admiral Sir John McDougall, K. C. B., of Dunolly, attended the First, Second, and Third Classes. From the Academy he went to Addiscombe in 1847, and was appointed to the Bengal Army, his commission as Ensign in the 9th Regiment of Native Infantry being dated 8th June 1849. He was promoted to Lieutenant in June 1854. In August, of that year, he was wounded in an engagement with hill tribes near Peshawar. In October 1854 he was appointed to the 2nd Regiment of Infantry of the Gwalior Contingent. At the siege and capture of Lucknow, in March 1858, he served in the capacity of Interpreter to the 79th Cameron Highlanders, and as Adjutant to Colonel Ross's Camel Corps during the siege and at the capture of Calpee, in May of the same year. McDougall was again wounded in an encounter with the rebels at Jagdispur, in October 1858. Having attained the rank of Major, he retired on 10th June 1871, and was given the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Colonel McDougall received the Mutiny medal, with clasps for Lucknow and Central India, and the Indian war medal, with clasp for the North-West Frontier. He is now resident at Dunolly.

18a. NAPIER KINCAID JOHNSTON MACKENZIE.—His father, Brigadier-General James Mackenzie, was an officer of some distinction in the Bengal Army, and commanded the 8th Bengal Cavalry at the battles of Chillianwallah and Gujerat. The son passed through the first five classes at the Academy, and afterwards studied in England and Germany. He was appointed a cadet of cavalry for the Bengal Presidency and joined the 6th Bengal Light Cavalry. His commission as Cornet is dated 20th December 1848. He was promoted to

Lieutenant on 4th November 1852. His career was a very short one, his health failed, and he died in his father's house, at Simla, on 26th April 1856.

19. PETER WILLIAM MARRIOTT, son of the Rev. Harvey Marriott, Rector of Claverton, Bath, passed through the Fifth and Sixth Classes, and afterwards devoted himself to the study of medicine. In 1854 he became a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries. In 1859 he joined the Medical Service of H. M. Indian Army, and was attached to the 1st European Regiment, Madras Fusiliers, his commission as Assistant Surgeon bearing date 10th February. With this corps he served till 1862, when he went home on sick leave, and seems soon after to have retired from the army. In 1869 he took the degree of M.D. at the University of Giessen, by examination; and the same degree, also by examination, at St. Andrews' in 1877. He is a Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London, of date 1881, and of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, 1883. He is likewise a Fellow of the Linnean Society. Dr. Marriott has been for some years in medical practice at Mentone, and holds the position of *Officier de Santé*, Alpes Maritimes, dating from 1864.

20. JAMES PATON, eldest son of John Paton, of Crailing, County of Roxburgh, attended the First to Fourth Classes. He joined the 4th King's Own Royal Regiment, his Ensign's commission bearing date 15th February 1850. "The departure for the Crimea of the 4th King's Own was a memorable occasion in Edinburgh annals. With it James Paton served throughout the Crimean Campaigns of 1854-55, including the battle of Inkerman, and the siege and fall of Sebastopol, at first as a Subaltern of the Grenadiers, and ultimately in command of them, a distinction—seeing that particular company had a certain reputation in regimental tradition by reason of staunch endurance at Caruina, Bunker's Hill, and elsewhere. While on duty in the trenches before Sebastopol, Lieutenant Paton was wounded, as has been related (under "Changes and Chances"). Captain Paton went to India, and served with the 4th Foot, during the Mutiny in 1857-58. He was promoted to Major in 1865, and retired from active service in 1871; but for twelve years thereafter he held the position of Major in the Border Rifle Regiment of Volunteers; and he is now settled with his wife and family at Fernieherst Castle, near Jedburgh. His good services in the Crimean war gained for him the Chevalier's Cross of the Legion of Honour, the Crimean medal with clasp for Inkerman and Sebastopol, and the Turkish war medal. He also received the Indian Mutiny medal.

21. DOYLE MONEY SHAW.—"Not one of the class is better remembered, or with more kindly feeling, than Doyle Shaw,

and this is not entirely on account of the six years he spent at the Academy. His life has been one of constant activity *per mare per terras*." Doyle was the fifth and youngest son of his father, David Shaw, a Surgeon in the Bombay Army, who died while Doyle was a babe. He studied at the Edinburgh University, and passed the Collège of Surgeons there in 1854, when he entered the Navy, and served in the Black Sea throughout the Crimean war in H. M. S. *Spiteful*, and won the Crimean medal with clasp for "Sebastopol," and the Turkish medal. After that Doyle was appointed to a battalion of Marines, and went with them to China in 1857, and served with them there for three years and a-half, was twice mentioned in despatches, specially promoted, and given the China medal, with clasps for 'Canton,' 'Taku,' and 'Pekin.' After three years on the North American and West Indian Station, Shaw had three years in the Flagship *Octavia*, in the East Indies, in which ship he was present throughout the Abyssinian war, and got the war medal. After some years' service at Malta and at home, Doyle Shaw had three years in the Mediterranean, in the *Alexandra* Flagship, in which he was present at the bombardment of the Forts of Alexandria, and in subsequent operations under Lord Alcester, for which he got the medal with clasp, the Khedive's Star, and the Companionship of the Bath. In February 1883 he was promoted to Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals, and also got married. Colonel Fergusson relates how Sir Hope Grant mentioned to one of our Club the admirable pluck and coolness with which Doyle Shaw, in China, on one unfortunate occasion (the Peiho disaster in '59) accompanied and tended his sailors as they fell wounded, in a dangerous position, knee deep in mud. Shaw was the *originator* and first Secretary of the Cumming Club, and his appearances, from time to time, at its meetings, have ever been of interest to his class-fellows. Dr. Cumming's frequent inquiry used to be—'How many medals has Doyle Shaw now?'

22. JOHN PRINGLE SHERIFF, only son of the late Major Robert William Sheriff (well-known in India as 'Tiger Sheriff'), attended the First and Second Classes at the Academy, under Dr. Cumming. Was at the Naval and Military Academy in Edinburgh, 1848-50. Appointed Ensign in the 35th B. L. I., 20th January 1851, with which corps he served till 1857. Throughout the Indian Mutiny, 1857-58, Sheriff served with the 2nd Punjab Infantry, and was present at the siege, assault, and capture of Delhi; as also at the battle of Najafghar, under Brigadier-General Nicholson, and subsequently under Colonel Greathead at the battles of Bulandshahr, Aligarh and Fatehpur-Sikri.

"Though still a subaltern officer, he was given the command of a

mixed force of the following strength :—2nd Panjab Infantry, all ranks, 110 ; Alexander's Horse, 150 ; Local Infantry, 150—460 men in all, with two guns, in the Etawah District ; and had several sharp encounters with the enemy.

" At Beejhulpore, on the river Jumna, Sheriff and his force captured five guns, and the entire standing camp of the Mutineers. Subsequently Captain Sheriff served in the Looshai Expedition of 1871-72, against the wild tribes on the North-East frontier of India. It was on this occasion that Mary Winchester, a tea-planter's daughter, was carried off by the Lushais, her father having been murdered. She was afterwards recovered."

Major Sheriff was admitted to the Bengal Staff Corps on 12th September 1866. He commanded the 42nd Regiment, Assam Light Infantry, in the Duffla and Naga Expedition of 1874-75 and 1879-80, respectively. His services, on five different occasions, received acknowledgment by the Governor-General of India, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. When a subaltern he was given a Brevet Majority, and, in 1884, a good service pension of £100 a year was conferred on him. Colonel Sheriff was promoted to the rank of Major-General on the 4th March 1883.

•23. JOHN R. SIMPSON, son of Colonel John Simpson, H.E.I.C.S., attended the First, Second, and Third Classes. He joined the Bengal Army, and was posted as Ensign to the 10th Native Infantry, on 9th December 1850. Simpson served in the Burmese War of 1852, and received the Medal and Clasp for the Campaign.

" His gifts as an artist will be remembered by many of his class-fellows. During the operations in Burmah his talents found plentiful opportunities, and many of his paintings executed in that country were, it is understood, in the possession of his friend, the late Sir Arthur Phayre, who commanded in that province."

In 1855 Simpson's regiment went to Fatehgarh, North-Western Provinces, and he was soon after promoted to be Lieutenant. Before the Mutiny, desertions from the ranks of the 10th were frequent. Simpson had great influence with his own company, and apparently with the natives generally ; and his Commanding Officer called him his ' right-hand man,' and mentioned, with warm praise, his ' pluck' in going alone through the villages in the neighbourhood of Fatehgarh, and using his personal influence to induce some of the better disposed to join the ranks of his regiment in place of the deserters.

" The mutiny of the regiment at Fatehgarh, and the fate of the officers and others at that station, are among the most melancholy incidents of the Indian Mutiny. Simpson was with his regiment when it mutinied, and when the officers with their families were forced to abandon the Fort of Fatehgarh, and to seek safety by going down the river Ganges in boats, he was in the large boat belonging to Mr. Robert Thornhill, one of the Civilians of the station. It grounded on a sand bank, and was captured by the Mutineers, not, however, by the

men of the 10th Regiment, who did not molest their officers. According to the account given by Simpson's servant," . . . "his maser was shot through the head while in the act, in fulfilment of his promise, of defending Mrs. Thornhill: 'he fell back into the river, dead, a merciful fate' (it is added) 'as it turned out, for the survivors were among the martyrs of Cawnpore?' The date of his death is 4th July 1857.

"The unfortunate lady mentioned was godmother to a little niece of Simpson's, and he had, in a letter written before the outbreak, said that, in the event of things coming to the worst, he would do his utmost to help her husband in defending her."

24. ALEXANDER STRANGE, son of Lieut.-Colonel Strange, who commanded the 25th King's Own Borderers, joined Mr. Cumming's class in 1842, and remained through the session of 1843-44. From the Academy he went to the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, whence he obtained a commission, dated 16th June 1848, in his father's regiment. While the regiment was stationed in Southern India, Strange was employed in the suppression of an armed rising of the Moplahs, as has been mentioned in an earlier part of this article. Subsequently he was appointed to a company in the 2nd Battalion of the 14th Regiment, and served with them in the war in New Zealand in 1860-61, and again in the war there of 1863-65, including the actions of Korwa and Rangarari, and was mentioned in despatches for 'conspicuous forwardness' with the advanced skirmishers, most of them very young soldiers, in the attack on the enemy's rifle-pits at Korwa, 17th July 1863. For these services he received the Brevet of Major and the New Zealand war medal. "This 'upright and kind-hearted man' died at sea, 11th June 1870, on his way home from service in New Zealand and Australia."

25. ALFRED UTTERSON, third son of the Rev. A. G. Utterson, and Rector of Layer-Marney, Essex, joined the First Class at the Academy, and remained, along with his brother, for several sessions. In due course he went to Addiscombe, and passed out in December 1851. His commission as Ensign in Bombay Army is dated 12th December 1851. He was attached for a short time to his brother's regiment, the 20th Native Infantry, and was ultimately appointed to the 2nd Bombay European Light Infantry (now the 106th Foot). (His brother seems to have received a direct appointment, and to have gone to India three years earlier.) He served with his regiment in Sind and in the Persian Campaign in 1857, arriving in Persia after his brother's death (see a previous part of this article, under "Changes and Chances"). After good service in Persia, Lieutenant Utterson, with his regiment, proceeded to the Southern Marathi country in India, after the outbreak of the Mutiny, and took part in the pursuit of the rebels there. After the amalgamation of the Indian with the Royal Army, Captain

Utterson was attached successively to the 7th Bombay Native Infantry, and the 1st Grenadiers, Native Infantry. Later he was with the 15th Native Infantry, and was finally in command of that regiment. Colonel Utterson served in the last Afghan war, and on his retirement on pension, shortly after, was given the honorary rank of Major-General. General Utterson has received the Indian war medal with clasp for 'Persia,' and the Afghan war medal.

26. MATTHEW CORSELLIS UTTERSON, eldest brother of the above, on arrival in Bombay, was attached to the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, and was afterwards permanently appointed to the 20th Bombay Native Infantry. His commission as Ensign is dated 31st May 1848. With this corps he embarked for the Persian Gulf in November 1856. A narrative of his gallant conduct and untimely death at the assault on the Fort of Reshire has already been given. Colonel Fergusson refers also to an article, entitled, 'The Persian War of 1856-57,' in *Blackwood*, for September 1861.

27. JAMES VERTUE, second son of Mr. William Vertue, Merchant, Leith, attended the First to Fifth Classes. After leaving the Academy, and two years' study at Addiscombe, he was appointed to the Madras Engineers, his first commission being dated the 13th June 1851. He was promoted to Captain on 25th November 1864. From 1867 he served in the Public Works Department in Madras, attaining the rank of Major in his corps on 5th July 1872. Major Vertue was one of the earliest members of the Club, and, when on furlough, attended a meeting in 1865. He died at Trichinopoly in 1876, not long after his return to India from a second furlough.

28. ANDREW WILSON.—"A volume might be written—and a mighty entertaining one—on the career of Andrew Wilson, one of the most remarkable men the Academy has produced. He was the eldest son of Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, the well-known Orientalist and Missionary of the Church of Scotland. He attended the first five classes under Mr. Cumming. At an early age he became connected with the Indian Press as a journalist, and was for some time a writer on the *Bombay Times*. On his return to this country his connection with *Blackwood's Magazine* began, which was maintained during the remainder of his life." When he was about thirty years of age, he took the post of editor of the *China Mail*. In the capacity of journalist he accompanied the expedition to Tientsin; and he travelled a good deal in China, from time to time, living among the natives as one of themselves. "Consequently the task which was entrusted to him of writing the history of the Taiping rebellion, and chronicling the deeds of Colonel Gordon's *Ever-Victorious Army*, in papers originally published in *Blackwood*, could not

have fallen into better hands. The work was completed at home in 1868. I must refer to the *Chronicles* for a further account of Wilson's travels and writings. He died at home in 1881.

I have now finished condensing the Muster Roll, so far as it relates to members of the class who went to India. It must be remembered that the *Chronicles* were published towards the end of 1887, and that, therefore, the careers of "Our Boys" are given only up to that time, and also that when the present tense is used by me it does not refer to the year 1894. I believe, and hope, that most, if not all, of those mentioned in the Muster Roll are still alive, and I live in hope of some day going home, and being able to attend the meeting of the Club regularly, and to renew acquaintance with my class-fellows, some of whom I have not seen since the 'forties.' The Club was founded in 1850-51—forty-three years ago, and has still a good deal of vitality in it; but from the nature of its constitution it must die out, as its members from time to time die. Who will be the last member, and will he dine by himself when the time comes round? and will he be the custodian and owner of the Chest, and the Archives and Museum, including the 'Tawse?' It seems almost a pity that a Tontine was not established in connection with the Club, to provide for such matters, and to keep the members up to the mark when they should come to be few and aged. But I presume the ultimate depository of the Club's Museum will be the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh.

The moral I would draw from the history written by Colonel Fergusson, and point to my readers, is—"SEND YOUR BOYS TO THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY."

C. W. HOPE.

(To be continued.)

ART. III.—THE STUDY OF LITERATURE.

IN order to approach any study in a right spirit, a spirit which will enable us to derive the utmost possible advantage from our labour, it is necessary to have a just conception of its nature and limits. We must ascertain by careful thought what Science, Literature, or Art are in themselves, what their motive power should be, and, by searching below the mere surface, endeavour to discover what part any one of these subjects may play in the completion of human knowledge and in accelerating true progress. Opinions differ so widely as to the value of literature, that it becomes necessary to arrive at some definite conclusion for oneself before entering even its borderlands. To one type of mind the literature of the world is the supreme fact in its history ; to another, it is a phenomenon merely ; to a third, appreciation of it is an accomplishment eminently desirable, and ranking in importance with skill in execution on a musical instrument. Thus it becomes evident that the view we accept, or may have accepted, will alter materially our method of approaching it.

Now the sphere of literature is, if we consider it carefully, a very large one, co-extensive with that of human experience, and dealing with the most interesting of all subject-matter—life ; its appeal is to the intellect and imagination ; its nobility is the nobility of its creator, man, the capacity of dealing with pure ideas, varied in setting by epoch and nationality. This it is which gives permanency and value to literary work ; the great masters are all distinct and separate in manner, but they have this in common : the material with which they wrought was the same ; they deal with life. The setting their works may take is dependent largely on causes outside themselves ; the ground-fabric is always the same.

It is surely a mistake, then, to regard literature lightly ; it is not an accomplishment, but a work, and one requiring special gifts and those of the highest order. It is not a study which some may follow as a luxury, but one in which all should seek for the most valuable of knowledge. When we enter the Temple of Literature we are entering a shrine in which is bequeathed to us the greatest of all legacies, the legacy of human thought and experience ; and, in accordance with ancient usage, we shall do well to purify our minds, so that we may be capable of receiving whatever may add to our intellectual stature.

The claims which literature has on our attention are many ; but none is stronger than that of its widening our experience. All true knowledge is the result of direct or indirect experience.

The experience of the individual varies, but is necessarily limited ; to enrich this store is to open for oneself a new horizon, almost to endow oneself with new faculties. The great literature of the world is a record of its intensest and widest experience in every phase of thought, under every possible condition of surroundings, and, through it, we are able, to some extent, to make our experience identical with the universal. Until this is done, we cannot acquire a large sympathy ; for sympathy is evoked in us only when we have experienced, either actually, or in imagination, that with which we sympathise.

Without raising the much discussed question as to whether the artist is the best judge of art, we may consider with advantage what great writers have defined as the sphere of literature.

The reaction against the affected style introduced by Lyly in the sixteenth century, produced the polished and direct work of Dryden and Pope ; their influence dominated until the end of the eighteenth century, when we find Wordsworth coming forward as the exponent of a new method. Feeling the utter coldness and artificiality of the best poetry of the preceding age, he sought to bring about a return to naturalness, and in the "Preface to the 'Lyrical Ballads'" we find his views on the function of poetry clearly expressed.

'Poetry,' he says, is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge ; it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science.' . . . The poet is a man speaking to men ; a man, it is true, endowed with more lively sensibility, more enthusiasm and tenderness, who has a greater knowledge of human nature, and a more comprehensive soul than are supposed to be common among mankind ; a man pleased with his own passions and volitions, and who rejoices more than other men in the spirit of life that is in him ; delighting to contemplate similar volitions and passions as manifested in the goings on of the universe, and habitually impelled to create them where he does not find them.' ' . . . Aristotle . . . has said that poetry is the most philosophic of all writing ; it is so ; its object is truth, not individual and local, but general and operative ; not standing upon external testimony, but carried alive into the heart by passion : truth, which is its own testimony, which gives competence and confidence to the tribunal to which it appeals, and receives them from the same tribunal.'

In the light of such criticism, literature assumes a new importance, it becomes a powerful factor in the education of humanity, and a subject which, rather than holding a position of aloofness from practical life, is likely to cultivate a largeness of view and rightness of thought which will prove

the surest safeguards of conduct. Definitions of poetry are always unsatisfactory and often misleading : poetry, like religion, is a matter of feeling ; it would be impossible to lay down a set of canons for the production of poetry, even as the scientist finds it impossible to produce life, by combining the constituent elements of protoplasm in their exact proportions.

The poet is an artist, it is true, and the technique of his work is governed by definite rules ; but technical skill is a comparatively secondary gift, and cannot in itself constitute a claim to the title. To quote Emerson " It is not metres, but a metre-making argument that makes a poem—a thought so passionate and alive that, like the spirit of a plant or an animal, it has an architecture of its own and adorns nature with a new thing." The expression is but the vehicle, the thought is antecedent and must mould and fashion it. Consider the exquisite workmanship of the following stanza :—

' Ah ! sad and strange as in dark summer dawns
The earliest pipe of half awaken'd birds
To dying ears, when unto dying eyes
The casement slowly grows a glimmering square ;
So sad, so strange, the days that are no more.'

But it is not the workmanship that strikes us ; it is, to borrow Rossetti's phrase, " the fundamental brain work " behind it. This thought would have appealed to the Athenian contemporary of Pericles, or to the Italian of the thirteenth century, with the same intensity as it appeals to us to-day ; it is truth " not individual and local, but general and operative ; " it is not for *a* man, but for men. This characteristic of great poetry, *viz.*, its permanently human tone, gives it a worth dependent only on mind. Like a mathematical truth, we feel it cannot be otherwise. Mr. Matthew Arnold designated this quality " inevitableness ; " he maintains that the best work always bears this stamp, and in the sentence quoted from Emerson, the same idea is emphasized. The tragedy of " Lear " seems to me the most direct illustration of this, in action, in language, in catastrophe. The play is as it is and cannot be other, it makes the same impression in our mental landscape as a mountain does in our terrestrial one ; we may wish that human erections, a castle, a hamlet, even a cathedral, were not, but we accept the mountain as beautiful and necessary. And this quality is closely connected with another of equal importance, that of seriousness. All great poetry, the above-mentioned critic insists, has this note of seriousness. It is a common error to regard poetic genius as living in a world of false ideals. The charge of its teaching being unpractical is constantly urged, and men generally are contented to admit it. But let us for an instant face the charge. What does it mean ? What is the real, and what is the ideal ?

or is there a possibility that the ideal is the only real? And is the attainment of the practical the all-to-be-desired goal of humanity?

The "practical man," in the modern and degraded sense of the term, is essentially a person who deals with externals; what may lie behind these externals is a question outside his intellectual circle; he does not seek to know truth, for truth is abstract, and his interests are all connected with the concrete. But to arrive at any approximation to truth, we must all be great observers and look quite through the deeds of men. There is a truth behind everything, were we capable of detecting and appreciating it. To see things as they *really* are is to have graduated in a University which admits but choice spirits, men who, I think, it could be demonstrated, are truly noble, practical men, who are hard to deceive, and those who will never put bitter for sweet or sweet for bitter, but who, seeing further than others, preach a new doctrine, which is stigmatised as unpractical by individuals who are always more ready to dogmatise than to think. Of this nobly practical type have our great poets been; they have looked on life with other eyes than ours, they have seen more in everything, and to them it has been greatly serious. Hence this note in their writing. Mrs. Browning said: "Poetry has always been to me as serious a thing as life, and life has been a very serious thing." Thus it is that the poet's treatment of his subject finally refutes the charges brought against him. Hamlet and Macbeth, for instance, are sometimes terrible in their seriousness; they are so practical; that is in them Shakespeare touches our life and thought so closely that we adopt his language to-day, and one of the latest aphorisms of German criticism is "Deutschlandist Hamlet." It is an insult to the poet to consider his work untrue. As Mr. Ruskin has said: "No noble nor right style was ever yet founded but out of a sincere heart." Yes, every line of a great poem is a nett result of experiences, doubtings, passions, yearnings, strugglings which we cannot estimate; in every line the poet pours out for us this divine ichor. The verse is an exquisitely adapted vehicle; the thought is rounded and complete; but let us not, on that account, conceive of it as merely to be read and forgotten; it will bear the most crucial examination. As well imagine that the rainbow is less beautiful when science has explained the laws on which its beauty depends, or that a flower will not bear the scrutiny of a magnifying glass, as believe that a great poetic thought will not bear and does not deserve our most concentrated thought. Emerson has said that "the human *mind* wrote history and *that* must read it," a dictum equally applicable to literature.

I do not forget that the object of poetry is pleasure; but

it should be clearly understood, I think, that it is a pleasure of the mind and not of the senses. To be soothed by the flow of word-music is pleasurable :—

‘ If you were April’s lady,
And I were lord in May,
We’d throw with leaves for hours
And draw for days with flowers
Till day like night were shady
And night were bright like day ;
If you were April’s lady,
And I were lord of May,’

But the pleasure derived from this stanza is incomparably lower than that derived from the following exquisitely musical and thoughtful verse of Wordsworth’s :—

‘ No nightingale did ever chant
So sweetly to reposing bands
Of travellers in some shady haunt,
Among Arabian sands :
A voice so thrilling ne’er was heard
In spring-time from the cuckoo-bird
Breaking the silence of the seas
Among the farthest Hebrides ! ’

There is more to be considered, than this, however. When we say that the object of poetry is pleasure, our capacities for pleasure demand development ; we cannot hope to derive pleasure from a work unless we have to some extent followed the experience of him who produced it. The laurel-crown adorns the brow of the victor-poet, but “ every noble crown is, and on earth will for ever be, a crown of thorns,” and the poet has suffered greatly before he attained. Examine the lives of the *masters* of any literature, and I think it may be hesitatingly asserted that we shall find that they all lived well. Mistakes they have made, misjudgments ; but, despite these surface faults in the great matters of life, they have ever taken their stand on the side of what is externally the best. Unless, therefore, we, as readers, have grappled for ourselves, to some extent at least, with the problems which the poet’s clearer vision has enabled him to solve partially or entirely, we cannot approach his work with appreciation.

“ In Memoriam ” is a poem saturated with modern thoughts. Our social, political and religious problems are the warp and woof of Tennyson’s magnificent elegy ; the pleasure to be derived from it is pure and elevated, of the highest kind ; but the work is meaningless to those who have never felt

‘ The weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world.’

Can one who has not been touched by that most fatal of mental diseases, pessimism, ever understand what the poet had experienced, in other words, what is the real meaning of

‘ Never morning wore
To evening, but some heart did break.

or what Hamlet meant when reminded by his mother that death is common :

‘ All that lives must die,
Passing through nature to eternity,’

and he replies with terribly significant brevity
‘Ay, madam, it is common.’

Or can those who have always breathed the air of an unthinking optimism ever feel the rarefied intellectual atmosphere of such lines as these :—

‘ The love that rose on stronger wings,
Unpalsied when he met with Death,
Is comrade of the lesser faith
That sees the course of human things.’
‘ No doubt vast eddies in the flood
Of onward time shall yet be made,
And throned races may degrade ;
Yet O ye mysteries of good :
‘ Wild hours that fly with Hope and Fear,
If all your office had to do
With old results that look like new :
If this were all your mission here,’
‘ To draw, to sheathe a useless sword
To fool the crowd with glorious lies,
To cleave a creed in sects and cries,
To change the bearing of a word,’
‘ To shift an arbitrary power,
To cramp the student at his desk,
To make old bareness picturesque,
And tuft with grass a feudal tower ;’
Why then my scorn might well descend
On you and yours. I see in part
That all, as in some piece of art,
Is toil co-operant to an end.’

That is the expression of truth won through suffering ; it is the poetic statement of the result of a struggle of soul between the powers of light and the powers of darkness, the vindication that

‘ Knowledge by suffering entereth,
And life is perfected by Death.’

“ We have tears in this world before we have smiles, Francisco.”
“ We have struggles before we have composure.” What Mr. Ruskin has said concerning the Arts is thoroughly applicable here :
“ You cannot paint or sing yourselves into being good men, you must be good men before you can either paint or sing, and then the colour and sound will complete in you all that is best.” The poet has much to bestow, but he cannot endow us with the necessary mental tone, or with appreciation, or with habits of thought ; we must breathe a certain spiritual atmos-

phere ; we must acquire, so far as acquirement is possible, " the great poetic heart," for his gift is only to the worthy.

It must be recognised, however, that the matter of poetry is diverse, it is constituted of other elements as well as the tragic ; the poet has been declared the high priest of nature, and his faculty of joying in ' whatsoever things are lovely ' exceeds that of other men, as does his faculty for seeing truth in questions social or moral. The poetry of every nation illustrates this, but none more than our own. This passionate love of nature is found in the ' Lay of Beowulf,' and can be traced through Chaucer and the Elizabethans, the poets of the eighteenth century, up to Wordsworth and the Moderns. It must, then, be the reader's aim to educate himself, so as to be capable of appreciating the poet's gift of ' naturalistic interpretation,' to fit himself for seeing all that the poet sees, to cultivate the breadth of mind which will enable him to look upon everything as part of a great whole, purpose-fraught, though that purpose be but guessed at :

' Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies,
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little Flower—but if I could understand
What you were, root and all, and all-in all,
I should know what God and man is.'

To sum up briefly what I wish to express : True pleasure can only be derived from poetry by entering a sphere of thought and experience similar to that of the poet.

The field of Literature is so large that it becomes necessary to discover some test by which we may know good work ; some talisman, which will prove helpful in difficulty.

Perhaps the statement may sound heretical, but I think it may be questioned whether the critical spirit is the best in which to approach literature ; the very word 'critical' involves the idea of want of receptivity. Moreover, if the object of criticism be to discover 'the best that has been said and thought in the world, the critic can be in a position to do this only after very extensive reading. There is, too, a degree of excellence before which criticism is dumb ; these are passages which are the testimony of their own excellence, passages which Emerson happily called 'constants—'

" We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."

such lines are above criticism ; nay, more, they are infallible tests of literary taste. Here the position of poet and critic is reversed, and the poet becomes the critic of his reader. Except in the case of the *greatest* work there will always be difference

of opinion, but about the greatest work we cease to hold opinions ; we know and feel its worth.

The function of criticism is a very high one ; but we cannot *enter* upon literature as critics. Insight, training, and that rarest of all mental qualities, *sanity*, are the necessary possessions of the critic. At the outset we cannot hope to have these qualities fully developed ; many influences go to the forming of them, and without them criticism must be unsatisfactory. On the other hand, lovers of literature have what may be termed a literary conscience, which guides them aright, and through which they arrive at a position where criticism becomes possible. I will venture to appeal to this literary conscience through the following quotation :—

‘ Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
And burned the topless towers of Ilium ?
Sweet Helen make me immortal with a kiss !
Her lips suck forth my soul—see where it flies.
Come Helen, come give me my soul again,
Here will I dwell, for heaven is in these lips
And all is dross that is not Helena.
I will be Paris and for love of thee
Instead of Troy shall Wittenberg be sacked ;
And I will combat with weak Menelaus
And wear thy colors on my plumed crest :
Yea, I will wound Achilles in the heel
And then return to Helen for a kiss.
Oh, thou art fairer than the evening air
Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars !
Brighter art thou than flaming Jupiter
When he appeared to hapless Semele :
More lovely than the monarch of the sky
In wanton Ariethusa’s azure arms,
And none but thou shalt be my paramour.’

That I believe every one feels instinctively to be great poetry. It is full of possibility ; the heavens and the earth are its ministers ; its thought looks forward to infinite advance, and throughout it is human. If you feel the worth of such poetry ‘trust the instinct to the end, though you can render no reason. It is in vain to hurry it. By trusting it to the end, it shall ripen into truth, and you shall know why you believe.’

The amount of such truly classical work is, of course, limited. Few poems of any length could be sustained at such a pitch ; the cost is too great for the author to be able to give the priceless always. And, if we consider, we count genius by the number of these supreme results ; we do not demand *even* of genius that they be constantly sustained.

The history of criticism is a chronicle of reversed judgments, chiefly because the critic had no final court of appeal to which he might go when deciding the merit of contemporary work ; his view was not broad or high enough to see the relative value

of what he was criticising, and hence the futility of his judgment.

A selection of passages, which are critical and not to be criticised, will become for us, in Arnold's phrase, 'a literary tribunal,' whose verdict may be relied on with confidence.

It is a direct injury to an author to over-estimate his work, no less than to under-estimate it; the only opinion that can be helpful is one based on wide knowledge and sane judgment. We are inclined to forget that the intellectual, as well as the physical, is determined by law. That action and re-action are equal and opposite, is a demonstrable truth in the physical world; even so the law of compensation is a demonstrable fact in the world of morals. Let a work of literature appear, it bears in it so much genuine worth, so much independent of time, manners, nationalities, so much that goes to the fountains of life and draws its vitality from them. Such work cannot fail; it is impossible; no combination of circumstances can nullify its effect. On the other hand, no power from without can make the work permanent unless its merit be intrinsic. The criticism that would make literature the servant of philology and logic is no criticism. These studies have their sphere, but it is not that of literature; they do not appeal to the soul; they are useful tools, not primal agents in the education of the race. No philological examination would make such lines as these more beautiful—

'Life like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stands the white radiance of eternity.'

My previous remarks have been directed chiefly to poetry, but in spirit, I think, they apply equally to prose. The line of demarcation between the two is very difficult to draw; the only conclusion it seems possible to arrive at is, that they are kindred arts, of which poetry is the higher; prose may be poetical, but poetry, which is merely prose in metre, ceases to have any claim to be called poetry.

As an example of how nearly prose may approach to poetry, I may instance the following passage from Ruskin:—

"Lichens.—As in one sense the humblest, in another they are the most honoured of the earth-children. Unfading as motionless, the worm frets them not, and the autumn wastes not. Strongly loveliness, they neither blanch in heat, nor pine in frost. To them, slow-fingered, constant-hearted, is entrusted the weaving of the dark, eternal tapestries of the hills; to them, slow-pieled, iris-dyed, the tender framing of their endless imagery. Sharing the stillness of the unimpassioned rock, they share its endurance; and, while the winds of departing spring catter the white hawthorn blossom like drifted

snow, and summer dims on the parched meadow the drooping of its cowslip gold,—far above, among the mountains, the silver lichen spots rest, star-like, on the stone; and the gathering orange stain upon the edge of yonder western peak, reflects the sunsets of a thousand years.”

Such writing would seem to be poetry in all, but the essential quality of form, and the reason why one vehicle is chosen rather than the other depends probably on the cast of the individual mind; otherwise it is singular that such a perfect prose-writer as Mr. Ruskin should fail when he attempts verse. The whole question is one of great difficulty; the more thought is devoted to it, the more subtle and baffling does it appear. The simple explanation, that whatever is written in metre is poetry, is an entirely superficial and false one. To such verses as these, the title could not be extended even by courtesy:—

‘To wet the peak’s impracticable sides
He opens at his feet the sanguine tides,
Weak and more weak, the issuing current eys,
Lapped by the panting tongue of thirsty skies.’

Before finishing what I wish to say, I may, perhaps, be excused for suggesting some definite plan in reading literature, as method is essential in any study.

My suggestions are derived from a limited personal experience, and are only put forth in the hope that in their turn they may suggest a more satisfactory scheme to others.

To study any one author with real completeness, it is absolutely necessary to know the part he plays in the history and development of his national literature. No author’s worth is fully comprehended when the influences which moulded his mind are unconsidered. The historical interest attaching to Milton is not that of a person who was born in 1608, and who died in 1674, and wrote ‘Paradise Lost’ and ‘Minor Poems,’ but as a great example of one phase of our national development. ‘Lycidas’ contains much more than the poet’s lament for his dead friend. It contains the kernel of the whole puritan movement in England; it is an index of the nation’s temper. ‘Paradise Lost’ is not primarily interesting as a metrical version of the fall of man, but as the epic of puritanism. Historically it has an importance equal to that of Cromwell’s campaigns, for the spirit which made the one possible also made the other possible.

Firstly, then, I believe, it is necessary to get an enlightened knowledge of the history of the literature which he is studying—*of the whole of it*. By getting a knowledge of its history, I do not mean amassing a quantity of facts about (or even of dates). If we follow its development as we should watch the development of a child, or anything organic we shall

not require to know the exact dates of our great writers. We shall find other and more helpful methods of locating them. Then, assuming that this general knowledge is obtained, let an author be selected for study ; there need be no hesitation about our choice, let it be the one who appeals to us most directly. In this special study, there are two things to be kept in view we must discover the man behind his work, that is, we must read introspectively, and we must study the quality and degree of perfection in the form with which he has clothed his thought. For good form is an essential of all good writing, and especially of poetry. No poet can afford to neglect it; attempts have been made to do so, as for instance, in much of the work of Robert Browning; to him matter was all-important, form was comparatively immaterial. But poetry is an art, and as an art it must be practised. It is improbable that even Robert Browning had a nobler thought to express than Shakespeare, and Shakespeare recognised throughout the restrictions of his Art, and, by attaining perfection in it, conveyed his teaching in the best manner. From the form of expression we can learn much. A master is never imitative in this; the stamp of originality is upon it. In order to illustrate this, I have selected three passages of blank verse, one from Milton, one from Tennyson, and one from Swinburne. It will be seen from them, I think, that in each case there is a distinguishing note; each poet has originated his own style in the verse, and it would be difficult to decide which was the most excellent. I will quote Milton's description of Beelzebub in the Second Book of 'Paradise Lost':—

'Which when Beelzebub perceiv'd; than whom,
 Atan except, none higher sat, with grave
 Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
 A pillar of state; deep in his front engraven
 Deliberation sat and public care;
 And princely council in his face yet shone
 Majestic though in ruin; Sage he stood.
 With Atlantian shoulders fit to bear
 The weight of mightiest monarchies, his look
 Drew audience and attention still as night
 Or summer's noon-tide air, while thus he spoke.

Compare this with the following lines from Ulysses:—

'I cannot rest from travel: I will drink
 Life to the lees: all times I have enjoy'd
 Greatly, have suffer'd greatly, both with those
 That loved me and alone; on shore, and when
 Thro' scudding drifts the rainy Hyades
 Vext the dim sea; I am become a name;
 For always roaming with a hungry heart
 Much have I seen and known; cities of men
 And manners, climates, councils, Governments,
 Myself not least, but honour'd of them all;

And drunk delight of battle with my peers,
 Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy.
 I am a part of all that I have met :
 Yet all experience is an arch where thro'
 Gleams that untravelled world whose margin fades
 Forever and forever when I move.'

and then take this exquisitely classic verse of Swinburne's from
 'Atalanta in Calydon.'

'Son, first I praise thy prayer, then bid thee speed ;
 But the Gods bear men's hands before their lips,
 And heed beyond all crying and sacrifice
 Light of things done and noise of labouring men.
 But thou, being armed and perfect for the deed,
 Abide ; for like rain-flakes in the wind they grow,
 The men thy fellows and the choice of the world,
 Bound to root out the tusked plague, and leave
 Thanks and safe days and peace in Calydon.'

Such instances might be multiplied indefinitely, but these will suffice to make clear the close connection existing between the writer and his mode of expression, and the advantage to be derived from studying both, as necessary parts of a whole.

Lastly, it must be remembered, that no work ; an isolated fact, independent of what preceded and what follows it ; no genius is called into being unrelated to what has shaped the destinies of the world up to his time ; and, therefore, our aim must be to see the relations of every man and his work in that train of development whose goal is completeness.

And now I will leave these imperfect suggestions with the reader, asking him to allow the wealth of the subject to vindicate its claim. I feel sure that it does so to whoever approaches it rightly. It is a subject that requires no advocate, or it must find one wherever there is a living soul.

This story of the 'human mind, so various in revelation, yet ever the same revealing light ; so passion-tossed and apparently vain, yet showing on every page traces of its everlastingness ; like the ocean eternally changing, yet eternally one, *this* is the story of literature, and it is the noblest story which man can learn from man.

The world has been moulded by thought ; its temporary effects, empires, civilizations, creeds, have passed away ; but their motive has lived ; *its* vitality and power know no decline. Athens has perished, but Homer and Plato are living forces among us to-day ; we are sceptical of the possibility of experiencing Dante's Hell, but reverence profoundly the spirit which breathes throughout the 'Inferno.' The phenomena of the past vanish, but in Literature we have the record of the ideas of which they were the material expression : Literature the biography of the soul of humanity.

The satisfying joys of life are few; nor can these joys be bought or sold. The gift of immortal youth is theirs and they whisper a strange story of another land, of vaster possibilities; a land where our "immortal longings" shall be satisfied and where the completion of our knowledge shall be the fulfilment of our joy. The pleasure to be derived from literature is of this kind, for it is based on what is beautiful and good: no study can inform us with a nobler motive power in life than this, and if we claim kinship with the homeless

• " Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns
 And the round ocean, and the living air
 And the blue sky and in the mind of man, "

then truly that kinship must rest on those capacities which touch the infinite and are most fostered and expanded by the Love of Beauty and the Love of Truth.

Art. IV.—THE GERMAN CODE OF JUDICIAL ORGANISATION.

(Independent Section.)

(Continued from July 1894 No. 197).

COURTS OF ASSIZE.

THE Court of Assize is the highest Criminal Court, and tries those crimes which the Criminal Chamber of the District Court is not competent 'to try; broadly speaking, crimes which are punishable with more than five years' imprisonment with hard labour. The principal crimes which are tried in the Court of Assize are the crimes of high treason, acts of violence against the Emperor or the Sovereign of the State, murder, robbery with violence, rape, causing abortion for money, theft with violence, false coin, forgery of a public document, fraudulent bankruptcy, and arson.

The Court of Assize sits at the capital of the District Court; but often there is only one Court of Assize for the jurisdictions of several District Courts. It is composed of Magistrates and Jurors, and is the third form under which criminal justice is administered.

The Jury has been maintained, although it was very nearly being abolished. The Prussian Minister of Justice remarked in Parliament that it was an institution which was leaning towards the decline of its life, 'while the system of assessors was in its dawn. Between the Judge and the Jury misunderstandings are frequent, explanation is difficult, and an *entente cordiale* impossible. There is no discussion to throw light on the matter, and fix responsibility, and the consequence is verdicts which surprise or outrage the public conscience, scandalous acquittals and angry condemnations. Withdrawn from the consequences of its verdict, the Jury fears or ignores them; it is frightened by the unknown, and rarely does the punishment pronounced answer to the feeling which has inspired its decision. Again, the verdicts of the Jury are not based on reasons. What errors, what weaknesses, what corruption, what refusal of responsibility, may not be concealed under the absence of reasons! Without reasons, the decision is often unintelligible, and in case of acquittal, public opinion cannot seize the ground on which it is based.' A justice which is not intelligible or understood, loses its authority. Moreover, it is impossible to separate the domain of fact from that of law, and to prevent the Jury from encroaching on the latter domain.

Then, with juries, the Sessions are few, the accused persons are detained a long time, the jurors are kept a long time from their business ; the system is expensive, and a burden on the people. These arguments produced a profound impression, but the Jury was nevertheless preserved, not so much for what it was expected to be, as for the services it had rendered in the past—*pro servitiis impensis sed non impendendis*.*

The Court of Assize is composed of three Magistrates, including the President and of twelve jurors. The President is appointed for each Session by the first President of the Superior Court, and is chosen without distinction from the members of the Superior Court, or those of the District Courts belonging to the resort of the Superior Court (Art. 83.). The two other Magistrates are appointed by the President of the District Court. The judicial members of the Court, sitting with closed doors, dispose of all questions of law and procedure arising during the trial ; but matters arising outside the Session are disposed of by the Criminal Chamber of the District Court ; for instance, applications of jurors for remission of fines, execution of punishment, and rejections of applications for revision not filed within the prescribed time (Art. 82).

The number of the Jury is 12. They only judge of questions of fact, and their sole duty is limited to giving answers to the questions put to them. The chief (foreman) of the Jury is chosen by the jurors by a majority. For a conviction a majority of eight to four is sufficient: a bare majority suffices for the refusal of extenuating circumstances.

No condition of property or capacity is needed for a juror ; it is sufficient that he be a German (Art. 84). The rules regarding disqualification and exemption are the same for jurors as for assessors, and they get the same travelling allowance. The same person cannot be compelled, during the same year, to perform the functions of both juror and assessor.

The number of Courts of Assize in Germany is 138 for 172 District Courts. In ten States each District Court is also the seat of a Court of Assize. In the other States several District Courts are included in the jurisdiction of one Court of Assize.

In the year 1881, the Assize Courts of Germany decided 5,741 cases, or 41 cases per Court.† 5,809 accused persons

* In England the jury system is coming more and more into disfavour. In civil cases litigants prefer Judges sitting without juries, while the scandalous acquittals in criminal cases have shocked the sense of justice and reason which is shared by almost all educated men. The outcry against the abolition of Jury in Bengal was probably due in some measure to the incompetence of individual Judges, such incompetence being the necessary result of ignorance of the language, the people, their customs, not to mention imperfect acquaintance with Indian law.

† During 1892 there were 100 Session cases in the district of Mymensing.

were convicted, and 2,147 acquitted, which represents one acquittal for 3·75 accused persons.

SUPERIOR DISTRICT COURTS.

The Courts of the Bailiwick and the District Courts are, in principle, Courts of first instance. Above them, the Superior District Court administers justice on appeal. Its resort comprises the resorts of several District Courts.

It is composed of a Chief President, of Presidents of Chambers (*Senatspräsident*), and of Judges, who bear the title of Councillor (*Rath*). It is divided into Civil and Criminal Chambers. The rotation of councillors and the distribution of work are fixed by the Presidium in accordance with the principles indicated above in the case of the District Court. If it is impossible to replace a Councillor prevented from sitting by another member of the Court, the Judges of the District Courts can be called as substitutes; and in some States, Judges of the Bailiwick Courts can so be called. This is a peculiarity of the German organisation which permits a Judge of an inferior jurisdiction to sit in a higher Court. The provision is inspired by the idea that there ought not to be different classes of Judges, inferior Judges and superior Judges, but that all Magistrates worthy of judging can in principle combine in dispensing justice in all instances.

CIVIL JURISDICTION.

On the *Civil* side, the Superior Court hears appeals from the District Courts, and also entertains applications for review (*Beschwerde*) of their decisions, whether given in first instance, or on review.* It similarly hears appeals in commercial cases, and without the addition of any commercial assessors.

On the *Criminal* side, the Superior Court is not a Court of Appeal, but merely a Court of Cassation. As a matter of fact, the original decisions of the District Court in criminal cases are final, and not appealable. But they are subject to revision† on one ground only, namely, that some rule of local law has been violated; whereas the appellate decisions of the District Courts may be revised on other grounds also. On the other hand it can entertain applications for review of all decisions and orders of an interlocutory nature, whether passed by the District Court, in first instance, or on appeal, or by the Court of Assize, or even of orders of review passed by the Criminal Chamber.

All the Chambers of the Superior Court, Civil and Criminal, sit with five Judges, including the President (Art. 124).

* This is called a new or re review (*Weitere Beschwerde*), and is only admissible on some entirely new ground.

† *Revision*. French *revision* or *cassation*.

In States which have several Superior Courts, criminal jurisdiction can be exclusively attributed to one only, in order to secure the necessary unity of jurisprudence.*

The decisions of the Superior Courts can, in certain cases, be revised by the Federal Court. A review is also admitted against orders in civil, but not in criminal, cases.

The Superior Court has, or can be charged with, other duties : the decision of conflict of competence, the supreme regulation of criminal justice, the review of voluntary justice, the administration of endowments, supervision of solicitors, trial of ministers and high functionaries whose prosecution has been ordered by the Chamber of Deputies.

Germany has 28 Superior Courts, of which 13 are in Prussia and 5 in Bavaria. Six other States have one each, and the remaining States are united with Prussia, or form with other States the resort of one Court. For instance, the Superior Court of Hamburg, known as the Superior Hanseatic Court, is for the three Free towns of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, which contribute respectively $\frac{2}{3}$ ths, $\frac{1}{3}$ ths, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ th, of the expenses of the Court, Lübeck appointing one Judge, Bremen two, and Hamburg the remainder.

The Judges of the Superior Court are chosen, like all other Judges, from the regular Magisterial service. But, as an exception, the Superior Court of Jena comprises a certain number of ordinary Professors of Law of the University of Jena, known as Academic Judges (*akademische Rathe*). These Judges have the same rights as the other members of the Court, but keep their chairs in the University, and for this reason draw a smaller salary. In all the common or joint Superior Courts, the laws of each State are applied, and the members of the Court remain the functionaries of the State which appoints them.

The resorts of the Superior Courts are considerable; com-

* This has been done in Italy, where there is one court of Criminal Cassation, which sits at Rome; though there are several courts of Civil Cassation. There ought to be only one court of criminal revisional jurisdiction for the whole of British India. The extraordinary divergence of the rulings of the various High Courts in India might not be so serious, if only civil rights and not life and liberty, were affected. It seems ludicrous, that two Judges of High Courts can upset on technical and even fanciful grounds decisions which have run the gauntlet of lower appellate courts. I refer to Criminal Cases, in which revision is nothing more nor less than a second appeal on the merits. In Civil Cases the Privy Council has recently shown that it will not permit the High Court to ignore and override Section 584 of the Code of Civil Procedure (1. L. R. 21 Cal. 504). But in Criminal Cases the High Court enjoys the position of an irresponsible autocrat, and, as Sir William Harcourt remarked, there is nothing so demoralising as a sense of absolute irresponsibility.

prising a mean population of 1,615,502* ; in Prussia the mean is 2,131,622, and in Breslau 1,056,955. The Breslau Court contains the largest population, 4,007,925, and the Oldenburg Court the smallest, 299,022. The mean area of a Superior Court is equivalent to a circle with a diameter of 78 kilometers, so that, if the Court be centrically situated, its average distance from the localities within $\frac{1}{2}$ is 55 kilometers. The average number of Bailiwick Courts under the jurisdiction of each Superior Court is 68, being 83 in Prussia, 54 in Bavaria, and only 9 in Hamburg, which contains the three large bailiwicks of Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck. Berlin contains 101, Dresden 103, and Cologne 110.

The number of District Courts under each Superior Court is 7 in Prussia, and 5 in Bavaria. It varies from 2 (Brunswick and Oldenburg) to 14 (Breslau). The mean for the whole of Germany is 6.

The *personnel* of the Superior Courts comprises 28 Chief Presidents, 62 Presidents of Chambers, and 432 Councillors,† or altogether 522 Magistrates, of whom 283 belong to Prussia and 91 to Bavaria. This gives a mean of 18 Magistrates per Court. The smallest Superior Court is Oldenburg, with 6 Magistrates, and the largest Berlin, with 59.

Outturn of Work of the Superior Courts.

The following was the outturn of work of the Superior Courts in 1881 :—

				Number per Court.	
Civil, Appeals	...	...	16,742	...	597
(Contested	...	...	14,605	...	521)
Reviews	...	...	4,152	...	148
Criminal, Revision	...	...	1,737	...	62
Review	...	...	2,967	...	105

What is particularly striking to an Anglo-Indian lawyer is that there are only 62 applications for criminal revision per annum for each Superior Court. Of the civil appeals, 2,324 were disposed of by the Berlin Court ; only 4 other Superior Courts disposed of more than 1,000 each, while 2 disposed of less than 100.

Of the 1,737 applications (or "motions") for criminal revision, 496 were before the Berlin Court, while 12 Courts disposed of less than 40 each. Of the applications for criminal review, 661 were against the orders of the Bailiwick Judges,

* In France the mean population per Court of Appeal (excluding the Court of Algiers) is 1,380,950. The largest jurisdiction (Paris) contains a population of 4,625,304.

† The Judges of the Superior Courts are termed Councillors or Counsellors (*Rath*, conseiller). Magistrate and Judge are almost synonymous terms. Magistrate is rather the higher word. The whole judicial service is known as the Magistracy.

or Courts of Assessors, 2,093 against those of District Courts, and 213 against the sentences of the Courts of Assize.

Article 8 of the law for putting the Code in force imports some infringements of the principle which establishes a single Federal Court for the whole of Germany, and authorises those States which have several Superior Courts to establish a Supreme Court (*Oberstes Landesgericht*). Bavaria alone has established such a Court. Bavaria has more than sixty statutes peculiar to itself, and a Supreme Court was considered necessary to secure the unity of jurisprudence and case law in the different Superior Courts.

The Supreme Court of Bavaria is composed of a First President, 2 Presidents of Chambers, and 24 Councillors. Its competence is exclusively civil, and is confined to revision and review of the orders of the Superior Courts in those cases which are governed by local laws, the Court of the Empire having jurisdiction where a federal law is concerned. It follows that the Supreme Court of Bavaria should disappear along with the passing of a Civil Code for Germany. A Full Bench requires the presence of two-thirds of the Court, or 18 members. In 1881 the Supreme Court disposed of 54 applications for revision, of which 47 were rejected, and 83 applications for review, of which 28 were rejected.

THE COURT OF THE EMPIRE.

Its Raison d'être and Seat.

The Court of the Empire is a Supreme Court for the whole of Germany, and supervises all the subordinate Courts in all the States. Such a Court is a necessity in a Federal Kingdom, and is intended to secure the unity of law and jurisprudence, and prevent contradictory interpretations. It is the pinnacle of the judicial organisation.

After the events which led to the confederation of Northern Germany, a High Court of Commerce had been established; but from 1869 German unification made rapid progress. Not only was there a common commercial law, penal law, and procedure law, and a uniform judicial organisation, but a common civil law was announced. Side by side with the unity of the law, it was necessary to give unity to the administration of justice, and a centre to judicial life. The constitution and Federal Laws, which form the common patrimony of the nation, could not be abandoned to the mercy of Local Courts, and a Court administering justice in the name of the Empire, the legitimate guardian of the constitution, the defender of the national idea, the respected interpreter of the national laws, was necessary to range all Courts under its jurisprudence and secure judicial unity. Such is the mission of the Court of the

Empire. It takes the place of Local Supreme Courts, and of the High Court of Commerce, which disappear. A federal institution, its organisations could not depend on local organisations and the sovereignty of German Princes has no authority over it. It belongs to the Empire, and it is the Empire alone, that is to say, the Parliament and the Emperor, who must see that it performs its duties. All question of its *personnel* and details of its administration are settled by the Code, or by Federal Laws and ordinances passed in the execution of the Code.

The Court of the Empire sits at Leipzig. The draft of the Code had reserved to an Imperial ordinance the right of fixing the seat of Federal justice. This proposal was hotly contested, and it was urged that, as the Courts belonged to the whole of Germany, the Imperial Parliament should fix its seat. The draft submitted to the Federal Council proposed Berlin, the residence of the Emperor, the seat of the Administration, of the Federal Council, of Parliament, the Capital of the Empire, where alone could be found the material and intellectual resources necessary for its members, where alone it would be in contact with the national life. This proposal was keenly opposed as a project of Prussian centralisation; the feelings of the Southern States were aroused; the Press took up the question, and the Federal Council, yielding to the movement, voted, by 30 voices to 28, for the amendment brought forward by Saxony, and selected Leipzig as the seat of the Federal Court. Bavaria abstained from voting, and the only States which voted for Berlin were Prussia, Baden, Hesse, the Hanseatic Towns, Reusz (Junior Branch), and Waldeck.

The discussion in Parliament was very keen and animated. Berlin was advocated in the name of German unity and ideas; while Leipzig was claimed in the name of justice. Its situation was more central, the Federal Court of Commerce had its seat there, and it was there only that the new Court, further removed from political passions, would be less under the influence of the administration; its geographical situation, its traditions and precedents, the dignity of justice, and the independence of its decrees, all recommended Leipzig to the choice of Parliament, and the Saxon town was finally chosen by the law of the 31st March 1877. The law provides that the seat of the Court can be altered only by a law.

The Court of the Empire entered on its functions on the 1st October 1879. It was solemnly installed with great ceremony and *éclat* in the Grand Hall (*aula*) of the University of Leipzig, when the members took their oaths. The speeches made saluted the new Court as one of the pillars on which the Empire rested, as the symbol and rampart of German unity,

as the vigilant sentinel, which would guard against its enemies that unity attained at so much cost and suffering. A political character was thus given to its institution. The First President spoke as follows: "Since its foundation, the Empire rests on the pillars of the unity of the army, the unity of foreign affairs, and the unity of commercial communications; to-day is raised a fourth pillar, of the same force, of the same importance, of the same utility, the unity of the judicial life of our country."

The organisation of the Court, its competence, its composition, its duties, and the position of its members are fixed by the Code of Judicial Organisation (Arts. 125-141) and by Federal Ordinances.

ITS COMPETENCE.

A Supreme Court, the Court of the Empire, exercises jurisdiction in the third and last instance. It has a civil and criminal jurisdiction, and controls all final orders which cannot be attacked in the ordinary way of appeal; such is the principle of its jurisdiction.

On the *Civil* side, the final appellate judgments of the Superior District Courts can be attacked by way of revision. This procedure is analogous to the *pourvoir en cassation* of the French law, and has for its object the *cassation* (breaking) of the judgment. The recourse to revision is only permissible against the decision of Superior Courts, and (unlike the French law) there is no revision whatever against the decisions of District Courts passed on appeal from the Bailiwick Courts.* It seemed to the legislature that, in cases of which the value does not exceed 300 marks, the interests involved are not of sufficient importance to warrant revision, and that to allow it would cause injustice rather than justice, by giving an undue advantage to the longer party.

It is not every final decision of a Superior Court that is open to revision, but only decisions in cases of which the value exceeds 1,500 marks. An exception, however, is made in those cases which are triable by the District Courts irrespective of their value, and also in cases in which the public order is interested; as, for example, if the appellate decision is attacked on the ground of incompetence, or the non-admissibility of the appeal. There is also no restriction on the

* This would mean in India that the High Court could not revise any appellate decision of a Sessions Judge or District Magistrate. As a matter of fact there is virtually a second appeal, and that too, on facts. Moreover, the High Court sometimes upsets on the merits (not on points of law) decisions which not only has the District Magistrate upheld, but which the Sessions Judge has refused to refer to the High Court. This may seem almost incredible, but it is true.

exercise of revision in cases affecting personal status, or family rights.

Grounds of revision.—The broad principle of revision is that it can be asked for, or exercised only on the ground of some *violation or misapplication of the law*, and the law violated must be a Federal Law, or a law the application of which extends beyond the resort of the Superior Court, which has given the decision complained of. The application for revision must be made 'within a month from the date the judgment is pronounced, and *there can be no revision before judgment is pronounced.*

The procedure is simple and does not involve the successive phases of the French procedure, which gives jurisdiction in succession to the Chamber of Inquiry (*Chambre des requêtes*), and, if the application be admitted, to the Civil Chamber. The Court is confined to the arguments of the parties, and cannot go into points not raised by them. If the application is allowed, or, to use the words of the Code, if *révision* is pronounced the case is remanded for further hearing before the same Court and the very same Chamber which gave the decision. This is diametrically opposed to the French procedure, which sends the case back to another Court or another Chamber. Some jurists consider the German practice of sending the case back to the same Court as dangerous. This Court is sovereign judge of the facts, though as regards the law it is bound by the decision of the Federal Court ; and, in re-hearing the matter, it will be disposed to uphold its former decision, and may seek in new facts the means of persisting in its jurisprudence. A French writer quotes an instance of this. In consequence of the prohibition of French Insurance Companies in Alsace, complaints for declaration of nullity of such contracts were filed in the Court of Colmar, which pronounced their nullity. Its jurisprudence was found to be in direct opposition to the jurisprudence of the Court of the Empire, and twice its decisions were upset. After the second cassation the Court of Colmar got rid of the difficulty by deciding on facts, and thus maintained its first decision.

The Court of the Empire is not absolutely bound to remand in all cases. It may dispose of the case (1) when the judgment is annulled for incompetence or non-admissibility of judicial remedy, and (2) when it is annulled for violation of the law by its misapplication to facts regularly proved.*

In addition to revision, the Court of the Empire is a Court of Review (*Beschwerde*.) In this capacity it reviews interlocutory orders of a Superior Court, or of a member of the Court of the

* Code Civ. Proc. Arts. 507-550.

Empire. The application must be made within eight days, and, as a rule, does not suspend the order complained of.

Criminal side: The Court of the Empire may entertain applications for revision against the judgments of District Courts and Courts of Assize, and then only, as in civil cases, for violation or misapplication of the law. The appellate decisions of District Courts are, as a rule, revised by the Superior Courts; but, as an exception, the Court of the Empire may receive such applications on the report of the Public Prosecutor of the District Court in cases of infringement of the laws relative to the collection of public taxes and revenues, when such monies are payable into the Federal or Imperial Treasury.

Either the Public Prosecutor, or the accused may apply for revision; but where the order of acquittal has been passed by the Court of Assize, the Public Prosecutor can only ask for revision, if the Court of Assize was irregularly composed, if it included jurors disqualified from acting or challenged, or if the trial had taken place in the absence of the Public Prosecutor or any person, whose presence at the trial is required by the law. The application for revision must be made within a week to the clerk of the Court whose decision is impugned; it is communicated to the opposite party, who is at liberty to reply within a week; and, on the expiry of this last period, the Public Prosecutor attached to the Court transmits the record to the Court of the Empire. It will thus be seen that no misstatements and misrepresentations can be made, as is so often the case in revision before the Indian High Courts. *It is not till the application has run the gauntlet, firstly, of the opposite party, and secondly, of the Public Prosecutor, that it is transmitted to the Court of Revision along with the record.* A Judge of the Court examines all the papers, and *submits a written report on the application before the day of hearing.* This report is read, and then the Public Prosecutor and the accused (or his defender) are heard, and then orders are passed. It is much to be regretted that some such excellent procedure is not prescribed in the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure. Applications for revision to the Indian High Courts are often accompanied by incorrect affidavits, or based on false statements; and even where they contain a thin substratum of something approaching to truth, they are so overlaid with *suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri*, magnification of unimportant incident, or distortion and marvellous manipulation of facts, that the Court naturally receives a monstrously incorrect impression of the case; and, extraordinary as it may seem, and indeed, incredible to lawyers out of India, it is on such misstatements and false impressions that *ex parte* orders are often passed, stopping proceedings, or suspending trials for considerable periods, and wasting the time of the

Lower Courts in submitting explanations which, under any rational procedure, should and could never have been called for. Time is given for tampering with witnesses, great inconvenience is caused to the Courts, the opposite parties, and the public, and the cause of justice is delayed, and often absolutely frustrated. Under the German system there is absolutely no loophole for such ludicrous travesties of justice. An advocate who should get up in a Continental Court of Revision, and, "under instructions," proceed to malign the Lower Court, and make incorrect statements, would be promptly called to order, and if he repeated the offence, would come under the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Court." In Germany, a Judge of the Court, which is to hear the application, has absolutely mastered the record and the facts before the hearing begins, and there is no chance of puzzling or bamboozling the Court, or for aught but serious and honest advocacy.

If the decision impugned is reversed, the matter does not and cannot end there, as it often does in India. There would then be no difference between appeal and revision, fact and law. The case must be sent back to the original Court, or a Court of concurrent jurisdiction in the same State. If the decision is reversed on the ground of the incompetence of the deciding Court, the case is sent to a competent Court. The Court to which the case is sent is bound by the law laid down by the Supreme Court; but it is a sovereign judge of the facts. Where, however, the application for revision was made by a convicted person, it cannot inflict a higher punishment than that previously inflicted.

The Court of the Empire can dispose of the matter finally in a few cases; when an order of acquittal or for cessation of prosecution *must* be pronounced on a point of law; when the offence is punished with a fixed and invariable punishment; or when the Court concurs with the Public Prosecutor in thinking that the minimum punishment should be inflicted. Obviously, in the two latter cases, it would be a waste of time and money to remand the case; and in this respect the German procedure seems to be incontestably superior to that of the French Code, which compels the Court of Cassation to send the case back.

Contrary to the practice in civil cases, it is only in one exceptional case that the Court of the Empire can entertain an application for review; and that is, against the order of the councillor (Judge, charged with inquiry in a matter of high treason.

The Court of the Empire has another special and exceptional function in criminal matters. A Federal Court, it is charged with watching over the safety and integrity of the German Empire, and defending it against those crimes which can menace its unity. It is the High Court of Justice, and as such, alone competent to try the crimes of treason,

against the Empire and the Emperor enumerated in Arts. 80—92 of the Penal Code. It decides without any jury. An amendment was proposed to form a Grand Jury of 80 members of Parliament for the trial of such offences; but it was rejected on the ground that it would be unsafe to leave the trial of offences against the Empire to jurors, who might include persons inimical to the Government or German unity.

In the exercise of its jurisdiction, the Court of the Empire applies the Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, and other Federal Repressive Laws, which have become law for the whole of Germany. One uniform law of Civil Procedure is also applied. But in the matter of Civil Law, unity has not yet been realised. There is no uniform Code for the Empire, and each State has its own Civil Law; Roman Law, Prussian General law, ancient German Law, Saxon Law, Provincial Statutes, the French Civil Code, all laws in their various forms, with their opposite or divergent provisions. Herein lies the most serious difficulty with which the Court of the Empire has to contend;* it must know and be able to apply all laws which form the law of the 26 States of the Confederation; and one may judge from this how heavy a task it has to perform, and what are the variety and extent of juridical knowledge required from its members.

Finally, the Court of the Empire has, in certain special matters, been given jurisdiction by various Federal laws as a Court of third or last instance; for instance, in cases connected with responsibility for accidents,† infringement of copyright,‡ stranded timber,§ wreckage and salvage, and banks. These matters go before the ordinary Civil and Criminal Courts in first instance, and on appeal; applications for revision or review being made before the Court of the Empire.

Similarly, in criminal matters, certain special infractions are punished by the Federal Laws; for instance, contraventions of the laws relating to navigation,|| civil status,¶ banks, socialists,

* The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has a similar variety of laws to deal with.

† The Federal Law of the 7th June 1871 declares the responsibility of the employer (cases of *vis major* and the fault of the victim excluded) in case of death, or wounds occasioned by the exploitation of railways, mines, quarries, &c.

‡ The Federal Law of the 11th June 1870 recognizes the exclusive rights of the author during his life, and of his representatives for 30 years after his death, to writings, pictures, musical compositions and dramatic works.

§ The Law of the 1st June 1870 regarding floatage has abolished the rights of riparian owners to timber cast on the banks of rivers which are navigable and *flottables*.

|| Every ship must be inscribed with full particulars on the register of the port to which it is attached: Art. 5 of the Federal Law of 25th October 1867. This law punishes the carrying of the Federal flag without authority.

¶ Art. 67 of the Law of Civil Status punishes with three month's imprisonment or fine the clergyman who celebrates the religious marriage before the civil marriage.

the press, &c. In these cases revision of the decisions of District Courts is carried before the Court of the Empire.

The principal objects, then, of the competence of the Court of the Empire are revision and review, in civil and commercial matters, of the decisions of Superior Courts, and revision, in criminal matters, of the decisions of District Courts and Courts of Assize. But it has some wider attributes, and special laws have enlarged its competence :—

1. It decides conflicts between different Judicial Courts ; and determines in cases of doubt what Court has jurisdiction ;
2. It enforces Title XIII of the Code, which directs all Courts to give one another mutual aid and assistance.
3. The Court of the Empire is not exclusively a Court of third instance ; it is also exceptionally a Court of Appeal. Germany, like most other European nations, has a right of jurisdiction over Germans, or German subjects in the countries of the Levant and the extreme East.* Consular justice is administered by the Consul or Consular Court, and appeals from their decisions, civil or criminal, lie to the Court of the Empire.
4. The Court of the Empire is a Court of Appeal in the matter of patents (Law of the 16th June, 1879). Patents are granted by a special office, consisting of members appointed by the Emperor. A patent can be cancelled if the invention is not patentable, or has been borrowed from a third person. It can be withdrawn if the invention is not sufficiently exploited, or if the concession of a licence to a third person is called for in the public interests.
5. In the above cases the jurisdiction of the Court extends over the whole of Germany, and is established by a Federal law. But in certain cases it gets its jurisdiction from particular States. For instance, if any State does not establish a Court of conflicts, the Court of the Empire becomes the Court for deciding such conflicts between judicial and administrative authority. Then, in most States a declaration of excess of power is a preliminary condition to proceeding against any official for acts done in the exercise of his functions. This declaration is given by an Administrative Court. The Grand-Duchies of Mecklenburg have no administrative Courts, and the declaration is, there-

* That is, Japan, China, Siam, Turkey, the Isles of Samoa, &c.

fore, made or refused by the Court of the Empire, according as the act complained of does or does not constitute an abuse of power. Again, the Hanseatic Town of Hamburg has conferred on the Court of the Empire, a special constitutional jurisdiction to decide conflicts arising in certain matters between the Senate (the executive power) and the Commons (the legislative power).

It can be chosen as an arbiter by the Federal Council, or the Chancellor of the Empire, to arbitrate in disputes between the Empire and the confederated States. This power has very rarely been exercised, and that only in matters of slight importance.

To ensure uniformity of jurisprudence and case law, the Code contains a most excellent and necessary provision, which the Indian Legislature would do well to impose on the Indian High Courts. When any Chamber,* civil or criminal, is indisposed to follow a decision previously given by another Chamber, it is *bound* to refer the case to all the Judges of all the Civil or Criminal Chambers, who decide in General Assembly.† The reference is made whenever a particular Chamber shows that the judgment it has prepared and wishes to give *modifies the anterior or pre-existing case-law*. The case is gone into anew and argued afresh before the united Chambers; two reporters are appointed, *of whom one must be a Judge of the Chamber which has made the reference, and a copy of each report must be sent before the day of hearing to each member of the united Chambers*. This last provision, the utility of which is not open to question, permits the Judges to study the case before the day of hearing. Having under their eyes the work of the reporters, they can deliberate with the fullest knowledge and with a basis and firm standpoint more solid than the always fleeting recollections left by the rapid hearing of a report.

* Anglo-Indicè : Division Bench.

† This is more than a Full Bench, for it means two thirds of the whole Court. The Court of the Empire consists of five Civil and four Criminal Chambers. It is charming to note the way in which a division Bench of the High Court states its knowledge that there are previous contrary decisions, but that it does not think fit to follow them! Some times a Division Bench gives a decision in absolute ignorance of the fact that a directly contrary decision has been previously given! This could not happen if a *Präjudizienbuch* were kept. Not only is a Division Bench in India not bound to make a reference to a Full Bench, but apparently the Administration has no means of compelling a Full Bench ruling! The result is chaos and uncertainty; and any judicial officer, who thinks his time is not wasted in reading the Law Reports, can support any view he chooses to take with a formidable list of rulings. In Germany, when a Bench does not wish to follow the decision of a previous Bench, it *must* refer to the General Assembly, thereby ensuring certainty and uniformity.

In order to secure the unity of jurisprudence, each Chamber keeps a book of jurisprudence or decided cases (*Präjudizienbuch*). In this book are inserted, in three separate parts, all the important decisions of law or procedure given by the Chamber, the united Chambers, or by the other Chambers of the same order. Each Chamber decides if its decision is of such a nature as to be inserted, and a Judge of the Court is charged with keeping the book. What a contrast does this present to the haphazard system of reporting in Indian High Courts, in which comparatively inexperienced reporters report just what they please. The Calcutta High Court refused to be responsible for the reports, and some of the rules framed under Act XVIII. of 1875, "an Act for the Improvement of Law Reports," appear to be a dead letter.

Both the Civil and Criminal Chambers sit with seven Judges. The General Assemblies must contain two-thirds of the full number of the Court, or 48 Judges! Such decisions are indeed entitled to respect! The decision follows the majority; and when the number of Judges is equal, the most junior Judge has only a consultative voice. Each member has a right to record an opinion of dissent. Such a right is considered to be very dangerous, especially in political cases, and calculated to paralyse the independence of the Court. It is said, however, that it has not as yet produced any practical inconvenience, as the record is carefully kept in the office, and is secret. The Court publishes an official edition of its decisions, each Chamber deciding what decisions are to be printed. The Judge, who prepares the report of the case, or a Judge selected by the President, draws up the report, which is supervised by a Commission of Reports, consisting of Judges of the Chamber.

The Court of the Empire consists of a First President, 8 Presidents of Chambers, and 63 Judges, or 72 members in all.* Before their appointment, they had belonged to the Magistracy of the countries which they represent. The First President presides over the Court in General Assembly and the Chamber to which he belongs, he supervises the work, and the staff, and exercises an administrative superintendence and discipline. The rotation and roster, and distribution of cases, are made by the Presidium according to the rules in force in the Superior Courts. An ordinance (*verfügung*) in these matters is passed every year before the commencement of the judicial year, and remains in force for the whole year.

The Court of the Empire possesses a large library of not less than 45,000 volumes, open to the use of members of the

* The French Court of Cassation consists of 49 members: a First President, 3 Presidents of Chambers, and 45 Judges.

Court, of the Public Prosecution Department, and Advocates. The cost of the Court was entered in the budget of 1884-85 as 1,317,367 marks, including the salaries and lodging allowances of the Magistrates and employés, the hire* of the Palace of Justice, and the cost of the office and library. The cost of the French Court of Cassation in 1884 was 1,190,600 francs.

During the year 1881 the Court of the Empire disposed in its Civil Chambers of 835 applications for revision and 20 appeals in Patent cases. It arbitrated in two instances. Of the 835 applications for revision, 624 were rejected and 211 allowed. Of the latter number, 129 were remanded, and 82 finally disposed of. There were 489 applications for review, of which 96 were rejected, 38 admitted, leaving 55 pending.

In its criminal jurisdiction, the Federal Court disposed of 3,272 applications for revision, allowing revision in 667 cases only. Of these the Court itself finally disposed of 35.

Having now described the chain of Judicial Courts and their powers, a brief *résumé* will be useful.

CIVIL JURISDICTION.

The Court of the bailiwick (deciding cases of less than 300 marks in value) and the District Court (deciding all other cases) are the Courts of first instance. Every judgment of first instance can be appealed against within a month. The appeal from the bailiwick Court lies to the District Court, and from the latter Court to the Superior Court.

The appellate judgment of the District Court is final, and is not open to further revision. The judgment of the Superior Court can in certain cases be revised by the Court of the Empire.

CRIMINAL JURISDICTION.

The Court of Assessors (bailiwick Judge and 2 assessors) tries contraventions and petty delicts; the District Court (Magistrate only) decides grave delicts and the least heinous crimes; the Court of Assize (Magistrate and Jury) try the most heinous crimes. As a matter of fact, the people have a share in the trial of the bulk of criminal cases. In 1881, out of every 1,000 cases tried, 892 went to the Courts of Assessors, 8 to the Courts of Assize, and 100 to the District Courts.

* A sum of 500,000 marks was budgeted for the acquisition of land for the construction of a Palace of Justice; but the Court was in 1886 still sitting in the *Georgenhalle*, a building hired from the town of Leipzig, for an annual rent of 32,080 marks. I am not aware whether the Palace of Justice has since been constructed.

† During 1881 one contravention was committed for every 136 persons, 1 delict for 14³, and one crime for 1205 persons.

The decision of the Court of Assessors can be appealed within a week to the District Court, and the Appellate decision of the latter Court is subject to revision by the Superior Court. There is no appeal against an original decision of the District Court, but it is subject to revision by the Court of the Empire, or exceptionally by the Superior Court, where the rule violated is a rule of local law. The verdicts of the Court of Assize are only subject to revision by the Court of the Empire. It will thus be seen that the verdict of a jury in Germany is not absolutely final.

Revision relates to judgments. Interlocutory orders can be attacked by an application for review. In civil cases, applications for review of orders of the bailiwick Court are made to the District Court; from the District Court to the Superior Court; and from the Superior Court to the Court of the Empire. In criminal matters, applications for review of the orders of the bailiwick Judge and *Juge d'instruction* and of the decisions of the Courts of Assessors are made to the District Court; from the District Court and Courts of Assize to the Superior Court.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

ART. V.—HOME RULE FOR INDIA.

(Independent Section.)

DIS aliter visum est: so John Stuart Mill wrote many years ago, when discussing the change in the Government of India by the substitution of the Crown for the Company as the governing power. In the last chapter of his book on Representative Government, he points out that, though by means of representation a civilized people can govern itself better than in any other way, still that the representatives of one country should attempt to govern another is not the right road to good government in that other country. Mill had been many years in the Company's employment, and probably his feeling of respect for the employers whom he had served so faithfully and so long, influenced his views more than he himself suspected. The change from Company to Crown was probably inevitable. It involved, however, a further change of which few were prescient—Mill being among the few—the eventual government of India by the House of Commons. The modern tendency, not only in England, but in all countries governed by institutions which are parliamentary in more than name, has been for the representatives of the people to take upon themselves to usurp—some of my Tory friends would call it—largely the functions of the Executive. India has not been interfered with as much as might have been expected, for several reasons, of which not the least have been its distance and comparative inaccessibility; but with the Telegraph and the Suez Canal, the obstacles to detailed interference have been much lessened, and every day finds more and more parliamentary talk concerning, and parliamentary pressure on, the Government of India. The last and most striking illustration of this has been the refusal of the Government of Her Majesty to sanction the re-imposition of the cotton duties.

Now, with reference to this matter, I do not wish for one moment to discuss whether the cotton duties are desirable or not. On the face of them they are protective, and, with all due deference to such shining lights of finance as Mr. Henry Chaplin and the editor of the *Pioneer*, protection is not considered beneficial by most of those competent to judge, whether it be practised in England or India. The argument that there is no difference between a duty on cutlery or machinery and one on cotton duties is also fallacious. There are no cutlery or machinery manufactories in India which would be protected by a duty of even fifty per cent.

against foreign producers. But this, after all, is not the real point at issue. Whether the omission to tax cotton goods be wise policy, or not, it is certain that it is condemned by the united voice of vocal India. Officials, save in the Council, where influences, which Mill would have had little hesitation in calling sinister, largely prevail, and European and Native non-officials unite in condemning it. For once the Englishman and the Bengalee agree, and the note struck by the *Pioneer* is hardly to be distinguished from the strains of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. And it is also morally certain that the deciding factor in the question has been the Lancashire vote. In 1879 the same Lancashire vote caused a declaration in the House of Commons that the maintenance of these duties was indefensible: in 1894 it exerts its influence to prevent their re-imposition. Tory Ministry and Liberal Ministry alike have shown themselves amenable to its influence, and it is no insinuation of base motive to say that care for the welfare of Lancashire spinners has more to do with Lancashire opinion than compassion for Indian consumers. Now, whatever may be the actual merits or demerits of these duties, any possible good which may be gained by not enforcing them, is outweighed a thousand times by the impression which journalists of every type, and speakers of every colour of politics in India are consciously or unconsciously conveying, that India is being sacrificed to English needs, and that with England justice cannot hold its own against expediency. The affectation of England ruling India purely for the good of India, and without any respect to the welfare of her own sons, is, of course, nonsense, and I do not think is seriously held by any one. It was Sir John Strachey who, some fifteen years ago, told us he was an Englishman first and then a Governor of India. Englishmen have never scrupled, nor indeed, is there any reason why they should scruple, to make what they can out of India, and Government has certainly not erred by way of making its European employée's lot too hard. John Bright, in the olden days, thundered against the constant annexation of provinces—annexed, he said, to give new appointments and to afford fresh openings for English officials. But, although England has done well for her sons in India, the general belief in India and throughout the world, has been that she has always sincerely tried to serve India well. She has charged for it, true, but she has done the work for which she has charged.

Such has been the belief; but little by little, I am afraid, events have tended to undermine it. The Hill Exodus, for instance, has done much to lessen this belief. I do not for one moment mean to argue that an Englishman, brought up in a temperate climate, cannot do as much, if not more work, in

the cool retreats of Simla and Naini Tal, than he can do in the sultry climate of Calcutta, or Allahabad. But the particular work in this instance to be done is the governing of India, and it is hardly a healthy thing for the country at large that nearly all of the highest rank of officialdom should isolate itself, for the greater part of the year, far away from the great centres of the country, and in the case of Indian officials there is no special excuse for this isolation. A High Court Civilian Judge, of the same or superior standing to the Member of Council or Secretary, manages to stand the heat of June, or the mugginess of September well in both Calcutta and Allahabad. This absence of the Governors has continually caused trouble in the past, and it threatens to cause still more in the future. To take an illustration of more than ten years ago. The greater part of the ill-feeling arising out of the Ilbert Bill agitation was caused by the fact that, soon after this began, the Government cleared out bag and baggage to Simla. Within a month of its return the whole matter was settled, and so it might have been in April, instead of December, if the Government could only have been kept in Calcutta. Again, last year, while angry feelings were rising between the Hindus and Mahomedans in many parts of the country, those who have the direction of Indian affairs were far away. True, both the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and of Bengal, with commendable speed, arrived on the spot after all was over. But circumstances may at any moment arise where immediate instructions and supervision are necessary and where the flooding of a river, or a block in a road, may prevent their forthcoming. The turning point of Luther's career was his journey to Rome. There he saw what Rome really was. Let any one go to Simla, see how money is lavished there in every way, and let him remember that the Province of Bengal, which pays for the greatest part of this extravagance, and which many high officials are believed to think should be taxed still more heavily, cannot get sufficient money to give decent Court-houses to her Munsifs, or Magistrates, and he will come quickly to the conclusion that this gigantic Annual Road Cess is not a benefit to the country.

A wider and a more violent shock has been given to confidence in British justice by the compensation grant of last year. Now, on the one hand, it was not to be denied that the fall of the rupee had caused much distress among English employes. A District Superintendent of Police, for instance, or an Executive Engineer, with a young family at home, and with a salary ample, with a two-shilling rupee, to bring it up decently, found that, with the depreciation of the rupee, his means for giving his children a decent English education were

becoming less and less, and any special steps for relieving hard cases would have been objected to by no one. But to give a compensation allowance all round—to young civilians, for instance, many of whom entered the service long after the rupee had begun to go down, and who are more than compensated for any loss in the value of the rupee by the fact that they hold positions, after five or six years, to which the elder men only attained in fifteen or sixteen—was monstrous. But what has struck the imagination chiefly is that the compensation was granted immediately after the Legislation had prohibited silver coinage. This last measure was professedly a leap in the dark; its effect on the finances could not be foreseen, and yet, immediately after it is promulgated, an extra crore of rupees is added to the debit side of an embarrassed Treasury. No wonder the Services admired Lord Lansdowne, but as little wonder that the outside world hardly consider him a heaven-born statesman.

And now, to crown the whole matter, we have this affair of the cotton duties. The *Pioneer*, which defends both the Simla Exodus and the Compensation Allowance, the *Englishman*, which attacks the former and not the latter, the English official, the native journalist, all describe the position as intolerable. In Lord Lansdowne's speech at the Royal Exchange, he spoke of the danger arising to India from the constant interference of Parliament. Danger there certainly is, but it is as absolutely certain that salvation will not come from the direction towards which Lord Lansdowne looked. It is not likely that ever again a comparatively small bureaucratic body of public servants will be the uncontrolled rulers of India. Before the Mutiny, under the rule of the Company, the local officials, with the Governor-General at their head, were practically the sole rulers of India. A province was annexed, a war fought and won, long before the news reached Leadenhall Street that any disturbance calling for war or annexation was in existence. But, with the Telegraph wire and the Suez Canal, all this has been changed. It is a homely expression that who pays the piper calls the tune, and the British House of Commons, which pays for the Army and the Navy, and has got the control of the finances of India, is not likely to leave the choice of the tune in other hands. A Democratic assembly is not over favourably disposed towards a small bureaucracy, and the increasing tendency of the popular House in England is to look with suspicion on a great deal of the conduct of the Government of India. In regard to commercial matters, especially, it looks askance at governing Councillors who have not one commercial man among them, and who spend the greater part of the year at a place where the only merchants visible are of the honest, but not very elevated, class known to Anglo-Indians as

bokkus-wallas. When I have said that the change from rule by a few officials in India to that of the House of Commons is inevitable, perhaps I have said enough. It is as certain as anything in sublunary politics can be, that there will be no reversal of this change—*Nulla vestigia retrorsum*. But, though the present state of affairs is in many ways disquieting and may at any time become dangerous, I think many will agree with me that it is an improvement on what the state of things would be if India were ruled purely by English officials. Bureaucracy has many advantages, and Indian officialdom will compare favourably, as to its members, or their work, with either Roman bureaucracy of old, or Prussian officialdom of the present day. But all bureaucracies have their weaknesses, and these are as apparent in India as elsewhere. The contempt for popular aspirations, the desire that people should walk in the particular lines marked out for them, the desire to uphold one another *per fas aut nefas*, are products of bureaucratic Government, and may be seen in India as well as elsewhere. The attitude which the Indian Government have taken towards education, especially higher education, is a fitting illustration. It is true that the political aspirations of native Indians are confined to a small body of men, that the masses are much what they were a hundred years ago in political thought, or want of thought; but a little leaven in time penetrates the whole mass, and it seems the height of unwisdom to adopt the attitude which many officials have adopted towards the party known as New India. Then, again, the bureaucracy has become fatally weakened. The number of secretaryships, with residence for a great part of the year in the hills, has gone on increasing. On the other hand, the District Officers, who are really the backbone of the Indian service, are diminishing in number. Twenty years ago, in most districts, the Collector had a Joint-Magistrate of ten years' standing or more as his assistant. As the *Pioneer* remarks, the Joint is now as extinct as the dodo. And the one district official who has now to carry the whole burden of administration on his shoulders, is so overwhelmed with routine and office work, that the time he has for his real work, which is to rule and supervise, is reduced to almost nothing. In Bengal one of the most extraordinary of recent developments is, that much of the most important criminal work in the country—that of Sub-Divisional Magistrates—is done by young men between twenty and thirty. By the time they come to the latter age they attain positions where, save as regards the hearing of appeals, a great part of them have no criminal work whatever to do. The work is done in many cases well, wonderfully well, on the whole, if the circumstances are considered;

but the whole state of things is certainly unsatisfactory, and can hardly be expected to continue permanently ; and so all over the country the governing power of the bureaucracy is getting less and less, and there is no likelihood of its increasing again. Now, what is likely to come about as the end of all this? And what is the desirable end? India is obviously in a state of transition. Where stands safety? To answer that question, I may have to take my readers some way. I should answer, representation of India in the Imperial Parliament, and greater local independence—Home Rule, if you will, as regards local matters. Here those readers who have borne with me up to now, may possibly put this article down with the exclamation, "Behold the dreamer. This way lies madness."

Let me attempt to justify myself. Since the Elections of 1885, when three-fourths of Ireland sent back to Parliament a solid mass of Irish Home Rulers, and since Mr. Gladstone's adoption of a Home Rule policy with reference to that country, and its endorsement by the great mass of the Liberal Party, Home Rule has been in the air. In his first Bill, Mr. Gladstone, with the practical turn of mind of an English statesman, looked only at the immediate question in hand—the Government of Ireland. But in 1893 his party forced him to look further, and his scheme for retaining the Irish Members in the House of Commons would have inevitably led to other portions of Great Britain and Ireland having local houses of representatives, as well as members in the Imperial Legislature. A large portion of the people, and not only of the people, but of the thinkers as well, in both Wales and Scotland, demand Home Rule for their own countries. Without venturing to prophesy as to the special form in which Home Rule will be brought about for the different parts of the United Kingdom, I think that most people who take interest in the politics of Great Britain, are of opinion that inevitably out of the present state of affairs will be evolved an Imperial Parliament which will leave local and provincial affairs in the hands of local and provincial bodies.

And if the British Empire is to continue ; if Canada and the Cape and Australia are to continue a part thereof, it seems to me certain that they, too, must have a share in directing the Councils of the Empire, and that the only really sufficient way of doing this is by their having representatives in the Imperial Parliament of the future. In time of peace, when no demands are made on the Colonies, things may remain for a long time, possibly an indefinite time, as they are, but if once war come, and the sacrifices necessarily attendant on war be called for from the Colonies, they will inevitably demand a share in the

Empire's Councils. And to Englishmen, at least, such a demand will commend itself as right. And if this be so ; if the Colonies' may rightly demand a voice in the Imperial Parliament, why should not India also 'do the same? True, India is not, as most of the Colonies are, inhabited by Englishmen ; but her trade with England, and the position she holds as regards European politics, are far greater than those of any colony. And again, England holds India as a great trust, I might say, her great trust. Now, in order that she may manage this trust aright, India must be known, and those who know her must be able to bring forth their knowledge where it is likely to have the most weight. And where can that be save in the Imperial Parliament? If India had only a dozen or sixteen members in the House of Commons, would cotton goods have ever been excluded from the list of taxable articles? Now, I do not think it necessary to say much as regards the argument that India cannot be represented. We all know that the masses, ninety-nine hundredths, or more if you will, of the Indian people, are absolutely non-vocal as to any wants beyond those of their village ; that they have no interest in, or comprehension of, affairs that are non-local in nature. All this goes without saying. The same was true, probably, of England a hundred years ago. But there is a vocal India—I do not refer principally to New India, or the newspaper press—the component parts whereof represent great interests and are able most emphatically to speak for themselves—Chambers of Commerce, great associations, such as the British Indian, even the much derided Municipalities and District Boards, all have ideas on imperial subjects, and most probably, if occasion required, would have no hesitation in expressing them. Out of such bodies the non-official members of the Representative Councils come, and they might very well send a limited number of members to some future Imperial Parliament.

It is sometimes said that the officials are much more careful of the interests of the masses than the members of the bodies which I have mentioned—the classes, as they may be called. There is an element of truth in this statement ; how much, it would be very difficult to decide ; but as far as it is so, there is no reason to suppose that in any case in which the officials judged the demand of the classes inimical to the masses, they would not, as long as there was a Secretary of State, a supreme official for Indian affairs, have plenty of opportunities for enforcing their views. India's opportunity will probably come in one of two ways : either it will be found necessary in the future for the Colonies to have their representatives in the Imperial Parliament, in which case India's claim can hardly be overlooked or some special

circumstances will bring the necessity of a special scheme for India to a head. Possibly the rapid decline in the value of the rupee, and the consequent total disorganisation of Indian finance, may be the immediate necessity. I do not wish to say a single word as to the merits of bimetallism, or any of the other remedies for India's finances put forward. But it does seem to me a matter in which those most concerned should have a voice. The bankruptcy or non-bankruptcy of India should not be decided by Councils, whether at Westminster or Simla, without those who have the most interest in the matter being allowed to speak.

And this leads me to the second side of my vision for the future. In matters local and provincial more liberty must be given to local bodies, or, in other words, Government will have to be more local than it was before. As long as India is a part of the British Empire, she necessarily will have imperial interests, but the greater part of the governing work now done at Simla could be done more efficiently and expeditiously if done locally. John Bright, many years ago, thought decentralisation necessary for the good government of India. Instead of one monstrous governing machine, with its head-quarters in Calcutta, he believed it all essential that there should be half a dozen local Governments, each dealing with a limited amount of country. At present, I think, we all agree that there must be an Imperial Government dealing with matters military and foreign. But almost all other matters might be better managed by local authorities. In connection with this I might refer to the present state of the Civil Service and the question of simultaneous examinations. Competitive examinations are at best but of negative merit. They are a better plan of selecting untried young men, if properly conducted, than any other system; but they do not necessarily guarantee efficiency. As they are at present carried on, no allowance is made for physical strength, or endurance, though this surely is a factor in determining a civilian's efficiency. The Anglo-Indian papers are full of the cry that, if simultaneous examinations be granted, the service will be crammed with Bengalees and Mahrattas. I do not myself believe this for one moment. I believe the sons of Europeans who, owing to the present rate of exchange, have to forego any idea of sending their children to England, would be the principal gainers. But the point I wish to make is this:—There are two great arguments in favour of the further employment of natives in the Government of this country: one is on the score of cheapness, and the second is on the ground that it is reasonable and right that they should be employed in governing their own country. Now, as regards the second argument,

which seems to me the stronger of the two, if the services were provincial and were fed provincially, much of the objection to simultaneous examinations would disappear. It may be fairly argued that a Bengalee has a right to be associated in the government of Bengal. But what right has he to be a Governor in the Punjab? The Land of the Five Rivers is not his own country, more than Ceylon or Victoria is. And if, instead of one great Civil Service, India had a number of local services, and suitable rules were made for their being recruited partly in England and partly in the local province, whether by simultaneous examination or otherwise, all legitimate aspirations on behalf of the educated native could be met, and there is little fear that Local Government would suffer. I might say in passing that the Imperial Government would, in such a case, have but few Civil Officers; and these would be appointed just as the higher Civil Officers in England are, direct by the Crown.

But Local Government means more than local Civil Services. Legislative Councils, District Boards, Municipalities are each in their different way doing something to teach a section of the people at least something about the art of government. To us, who live amongst the people, this education may seem to be a very slow process, and sometimes some unexpected event may lead us to doubt whether it be progressing at all. Fault-finding is easier and more congenial to most of mankind than praising, and it is an easy work to point out faults in Municipalities and District Boards. But to the outsider, or to any one who can take an outside view, say, of the progress since the days of Lord Ripon's Local Government Circulars, the advance would, I believe, be found to be very considerable; and it is only in this direction that real progress is to be looked for. The details of government must be left largely to experts; but the driving force has largely to be found in the classes, ever increasing, who take an interest in their own neighbourhood being well and properly administered. As to the lowest item in Indian life—the village—I need not quote testimony to show that, as regards the regulation of it, the villagers, at least the higher in caste of them, have always taken a part; and as regards towns, most of which are simply conglomerations of villages, it will be found that the better-to-do take a very considerable interest in their local mohalla affairs at least. Municipal life, too, though still in its infancy, yet exists. What is most needed in India is the turning of all this interest in the right direction.

Take the great village question at present,—pure drinking water. I believe that the leaders of native society, Municipal Commissioners, District Board Members and the like, are being more and more convinced of the advantages to be derived

from a supply of pure drinking water. From them this conviction may penetrate, and is I believe doing so, amongst men of local light and leading. Win these latter and you have more than half convinced the village. And it is only through these means that the people of the country at large will ever be likely to get and appreciate this boon. An autocratic ruler could hardly hope for success if he directed that only a particular well, locked and having a pump annexed to it, should be used for a supply of drinking water. But there is no reason why the local authorities in a town, or the headmen in a village, themselves convinced of the advantages of pure water, should not be able to bring about the change indicated. The inhabitants of big towns have not been long in discovering the advantage of filtered water supplied by water-works; and, if the leaders of the people themselves take the initiative in the matter, it will not be long before the masses prefer pure water to impure.

I have given this question of drinking water as an illustration, but it is only one of a hundred which might be brought forward. Decentralisation, more power to local authorities, is as much wanted here as before '88 it was in Rural England. And as County Councils have been supplemented in England by Parish Councils, so I believe it will be found in India that Decentralisation will have to be extended much more than is dreamt of by our rulers at present. The Local Governments need largely to have the incumbrance of the Supreme Government withdrawn from them, and the district authorities are, and will be, all the better, the less they are interfered with by the Local Governments. But even the limits of a district are much too large for successful government. Districts, some of them as large and as populous as Wales, need to be sub-divided again and again for really good administration. And as it is obvious that, even if it were desirable, the English District Magistrate can have but little time and opportunity to follow the work of these small local bodies, it is absolutely necessary that the people themselves should be the main administrative force therein. To teach the people, the classes, in the first instance, to judge aright is, to my mind, work inferior to none which falls to the lot of the District Magistrate and the higher officials generally. At present the principal local official—I use the word local official in its most restricted sense—is the Sub-Inspector of Police. At all times and until we have another India altogether, this official must necessarily have considerable authority. As long as there is crime, there must be police to detect it and bring its perpetrators to punishment. But what seems to me so desirable—nay more than desirable, almost necessary, if India is not to drift altogether—is, that there should be, besides, the

official policemen, non-official bodies with, in case of necessity, expert help, competent to carry out the local administration in all matters that appertain to good government and are not of police. In districts you have already such bodies in the District Boards. Little by little the powers of these Boards must increase, and it must be remembered that the only moral power you can put up against the House of Commons is a popular Board, whether it be a Legislative Council or a District Board. Members of that House who may be inclined to brush away all opinions given by officials, will think twice before they oppose the unanimous opinion of non-officials in our elected Councils. I have no doubt myself that the unanimous vote of the non-officials on the cotton question will be a potent factor, if it ever be discussed in the House of Commons, and it would be more potent still, if it were not urged that the non-official members are nominated rather than elected members.

To conclude, then, as far as I can see, if this country is to get rid of having the House of Commons constantly interfering, with the best intentions undoubtedly, but in many matters ignorantly and therefore probably wrongly, in the administration of this country, it can only be by India having some members of its own in the House of Commons, who may be relied on as possessed alike of knowledge of matters Indian and being responsible to Indian opinion ;—in this I include Anglo-Indian opinion. And as to the second, and, perhaps, more important, change which will make the chance of House of Commons interference less, I would point to the necessity of decentralisation and of perfecting local non-official bodies, where possible ; on which local administration might fall. The House of Commons does not interfere with the Colonies ; it hardly ever interferes with local bodies in the United Kingdom acting within their powers ; and the more such bodies are established in British India, the less is the House of Commons likely to interfere with them. But, if India has no buffer against interference, save a number of officials, it is difficult to anticipate how far this interference may go. It needs no prophet to see that it almost certainly will go too far for good government, if it do not become the cause of untold calamity.

ART. VI.—FROM A WANDERER'S NOTE-BOOK.

I.

A FLYING VISIT TO BRUSSELS.

“THE way to the Clouds of Magellan,” writes Sir John Herschell, in his charming letters on the southern stars, “the way to the Clouds of Magellan lies through a desert.”

I think no more fitting simile than this, of the glittering nebula in the Antarctic sky, which, far more than the Pleiades, deserves to be described in the late Laureate's words, as a swarm of fireflies in a net of gauze—the fiery cloud of diamond-dust hemmed in on all sides by a sky of inky blackness, unpierced by the glimmer of a single star—could be found to describe the fair city of Brussels, set as it is in the midst of a country the like of which, for unbroken weariness, can be found only in the Sahara, or the howling wastes of Gobi.

Belgium is a little country, and the distance from the frontier to the capital is a mere finger's breadth on the map. Russia is a very big country, and hundreds of miles of plain and forest lie between its borders and beautiful old Moscow; and yet, if the choice were offered me, I had rather make the journey to the old capital of the Tsars, from whatever side you wish, north, east, west, or south, than go to Brussels from France or Holland, where their boundaries come so close that only a forenoon's journey divides them from the capital.

Why, it is difficult to say; but the fact is not to be gainsaid, that the journey to the little Belgian capital is one of the most wearisome in Europe: undertaken in unwillingness, carried out through growing discomforts, and looked back upon with a firm resolution never to undertake it again.

Yet, the country around Brussels was fair enough, and full of the virgin freshness of the opening summer, when I passed through. The lilacs were laden with purple clusters, and the laburnums coyly shook their yellow tresses in the soft air, where every pretty cottage nestled in green. The well-tilled fields spread away in delicate greenery to the horizon, dotted here and there with stiff rows of poplars, that stood out stark and statue-like against the bright blue sky.

The truth is, the fault lies not in Belgium, as pretty a country as any in Europe, where industry has made of every meadow a fair garden; the real culprits are the Belgian Railway Companies with their unkempt carriages, their ill-made, and worse laid rails, and paralytic engines that jolt and grunt with great pretence of speed, only to crawl along helplessly

some twenty miles an hour. Hence it is that one arrives in their fair capital, weary and jaded, and, like some foot-sore desert caravan, hardly able to value the delightful oasis that marks the journey's end.

But the morning that follows—it should be marked with chalk as a day apart, among many days of travel and sight-seeing.

A freshly opened day, with young life pervading every leaf, the rich scent pouring forth from rosy hawthorn, and white and purple lilac; not too chilly, and yet with a kindly keenness that brings fresh colour to the cheeks and fresh vigour to the veins.

Our hotel was just beside the park that lies in front of the palace of the kings of the Belgians, and from the window one could see the sentries pacing up and down, keeping guard over their little Queen. In the park, the thrushes had been singing for an hour or more, though it was only half-past six when we started to see the city.

From the palace park, one turns to the left through pretty winding streets, full of that dainty neatness which gives Brussels its particular charm; and, after five minutes' walk, one reaches the great square of the Hotel de Ville, where the morning market is held—the prettiest sight in all Brussels, the most characteristic fragment of Belgian life.

We are apprised of our nearness to the great square by a babble of women's voices pronouncing gaily the quaint French of the last century, for the language has remained unchanged since Belgium was French territory. Mingling with this, one hears the broad accents of the farmers' wives who have come to the fair, pouring forth their rich-toned Flemish, which is almost the English of Norfolk, spoken, as it were, through a veil. You hear words that are familiar, and the whole accent is the same as that which one hears on the lips of the fishermen of Yarmouth; and yet the general sense seems to escape one, vanishing in a mist of half-German participles and infinitives. At last, as we come to the end of the street, a deep-mouthed clamour of dogs rises up, and the Grande Place of the Hotel de Ville opens up before us. What a picture it is! In front, the Hotel de Ville, or Rath Haus, which we might call in English the Guildhall, or Town Council, rises up before us in tier above tier of graceful arches, with delicate lace-like tracery of stone, ending in a lofty angel-tipped spire that soars up full of grace and lightness into the luminous blue. The other sides of the square are filled in with public buildings, full of the same stately grace and daintiness that marks everything in Brussels, their gilded balconies and mosaic studded façades gleaming bright and brilliant in the morning sun.

But the full current of human life that fills the square on this market morning soon draws the eyes down from the sky, and the "slender shafts of shapely stone;" and the deep-tongued barking of dogs, forces one to notice the most original feature of this Belgian fair.

Fair Flemish dames, with their broad, good-natured faces and yellow hair, drawn skilfully under bright-coloured kerchiefs; each one setting out her wares on a stall, here well-grown vegetables, lettuces, onions, garlies, leeks, new potatoes, and fat asparagus; there butter and yellow cheeses, and curdled milk and cream, on the other side flowers, red roses, blue forget-me-nots, rich-scented stocks, and golden crested miglonette, reminding us that we are in the garden of Europe; and beside every stall a little waggon, with brass-mounted harness, and in the shafts a big, broad-chested dog, shaggy retriever, or Newfoundland, or great Dane, or other wide-shouldered hounds of nameless breeds and gentle natures. Most of them sleep in harness, lying with their soft noses peacefully resting on outstretched paws; but here and there one sees them lying with blinking eyes, peering out upon the dog-world around them, where adventures amorous, or warlike, may be found. In one corner, sudden and dire confusion arises between the stalls of a vegetable woman and a vendor of cheeses and milk.

A great grey hound, smooth-skinned and one-eyed, has fallen on a shaggy retriever, and, both harnessed to their little waggons, they plunge, and bark, and bite, overturning the stalls beside them, and sending the newly-shelled peas spinning across the broad stones of the square, while a golden rivulet of cream, curls and bubbles along the footpath. Shrill screams in Flemish and in French rend the air, mixed with laughter of the broad-faced neighbours, whose own dogs, however, soon join in the general confusion, and the corner of the square soon becomes a Pandemonium of barking dogs, reeling waggons, and wildly gesticulating Belgian women.

We were glad enough to get away from this hubbub, to a quiet corner, where three streets join, and where stands one of the most peculiar sights of this Belgian city.

It is difficult to preserve the tone of polite literature in writing of this little fountain, though the Belgians have lost all reticence and feeling of shame in speaking of their beloved *Manneken*; as they call the little mannikin who forms the fountain. Picture to yourself a little boy, some two years old, carved in black marble, and "clothed in the four corners of space," a delicate Indian simile for stark naked. Stark naked, in truth, the little black statue is, and yet, without any violation of natural probability, though with some slight violation, perhaps, of artificial propriety, the little man sends forth his stream

of clear water day and night, as free from shame as our first parents in Eden; and if I have written about him to any purpose, I need not add that the water does not come from his eyes.

But this little man, this black water baby, is really a personage of great dignity and renown; about whom cluster as many legends as blind Homer has recorded of Achilles, the son of Peleus. Brought to Belgium, they say, from the East by Geoffroi de Bouillon, in the time of the Crusades, the mannikin has become in time the foremost citizen of the capital, as he is unquestionably the oldest. He is a Knight of the Legion d'Honneur, a free Burgher of the city of Brussels, and I know not how many other titles and dignities have been bestowed upon him since the days of Louis XV.

Every year, at the beginning of the Fête National—the National Festival—he is taken down from his shell-shaped niche; his little knees are wiped dry, and an elegant suit of mediæval cut is brought for him, knee breeches, tail-coat, buckled shoes, silk stockings, and cocked hat, all gorgeous with colour and rich in gold and silver lace.

For three days he is the central figure of the Belgian saturnalia, and wherever, the mannikin goes the revels run highest, in mirth and wild frolic and fun; and many a new married couple can claim him as their go-between. There is also a religious element about the festival, and I am not sure that the shameless little mannikin cannot claim a Cardinal's hat; but I fear the little Eastern heathen is too strong for the Church, and his rollicking humour would endanger the purity and solemnity of the faith, were not this a Catholic country, where religion and merry-making are never far apart.

The story of how he came by his Court dress is a curious one: When the armies of Louis XV., 'le roi soleil,' overran Belgium, and invested the capital, the French soldiers in a frolic mood stole the little mannikin, little recking of the enormity of their offence. Conquest the broad-faced Belgians could endure, but the loss of their oldest inhabitant, never; and a general massacre of the French was decided on. But, tidings of this reaching the King of the French, he caused a proclamation to be made for the recovery of the dusky water baby, and when he had been found, loaded him with decorations, uniforms, and citizenships. Here I am warned by a pious Belgian lady that I run great risk of condemnation by speaking of this little black statue as a 'heathen' and a 'water baby.' She reminds me that devout tradition regards him as a Holy Babe, and even points to Jerusalem as his birth-place. This is worse than all. Fancy a Holy Babe made free citizen of Brussels, and Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur, not to mention his moist proclivities. As far

as one can judge, the little statue is really Roman, belonging, perhaps, to the times of the later Cæsars.

From this water baby's grotto we returned to the Grande Place, and thence, by carriage to the famous gallery of Antoine Wiertz, in one of the fresh green suburbs of this dainty city. It was about half-past seven, when we got there, and ordinarily the gallery is not opened till half-past nine. But a few minutes of honey-tongued persuasion, that Peithô's which the Greek sage declares to be the end of oratory, and the door beneath the vine-clad porch was opened to us. In the great hall, where Wiertz's gigantic pictures are hung, a grey-haired old man, with felt slippers on his feet and a clot, tied round his head, was sprinkling sawdust and sweeping clean the tiled floor, in peaceful oblivion of the depicted terrors on the walls. Every now and then he hummed to himself some snatch of Flemish song, while the demons and writhing Titans scowled down on his grey innocent head.

Chamber of Terrors ! Ye whose nerves are not of iron ; whose bed-curtains harbour nightly hobgoblins and nameless things with glittering eyes and horrid squirming bodies ; who cannot enter a long disused chamber, or some antique cell with shuddering knowledge of the wild things of darkness that lurk therein, come not here ! Tempt not the redoubtable horrors of the gallerie Wiertz. Over the door should be written Dante's gloomy words :—

Per me si va nella città dolente ;
Per me si va nel eterno dolore
Per me si va tra le perdute gente—

Right opposite the door is a great picture of the fight between Greeks and Trojans for the body of Patroclus ; Titan figures, full of wild hate and cunning and wrath ; splashes of blood on dead limbs ; treacherous blows ready to fall ; murderous maces ready to crackle and crash through maddened brains. On the right a picture full of more than tragedy, the Saviour of the world, standing mournful, with shaded eyes, in the midst of a vision of wild fanaticism and crime committed in His name and the name of His religion. Then, as a note of contrast, a soft-coated watch dog, peacefully resting in his kennel, a picture full of ingenious deception rather than true art.

On the right end wall, again, a war of Titans, huge figures of superhuman fierceness, and hate and pain ; and underneath, as a foil for these dark horrors, a Flemish maiden, peering through a window at her passing lover ; two damsels full of the self-conscious mystery of opening womanhood, whispering all-important nothings in each other's ears, and last of all, a picture of Mme. Wiertz, the artist's mother.

a quaint old dame, with a mob cap, quilted petticoat, and shawl, who peers over her spectacle at a stocking she is knitting; placidly unconscious of her wild son's terrible dreams, and owning far more kinship with the old sweeper in felt shoes than with the wild Titans and demons that deck the walls.

Still moving to the right, one comes again to one of those terrible pictures that Antoine Wiertz loved to draw. It is called One of the Great Ones of the Earth, and the vast canvas stretches up from floor to ceiling. A great naked giant, the type of the Great Ones of the Earth, full of wild, nameless savagery devours the pigny armies of the earth, types of the unprivileged, the 'lower orders,' the common people, so remorselessly ground under foot. Between his great teeth, wild and blood-thirsty, strong as iron bars, are fragments of human limbs and torn pieces of flesh and sinews. In one hand, clutched tight with wild ferocity, the nails like some great tiger's claws, all red with blood, writhes, with wild fruitless agony, a man still living, one of the unprivileged poor, struggling against the Great One, as some wretch in time of plague, too soon buried, might struggle and tear at the coffin lid.

A little to the right is a charming little scene of Flemish life, full of quaint simplicity and gentleness, that recalls to us curiously the roses and cream of the market-place, which find their reflections in the cheeks and throats of the pretty peasant girls.

Then, again, another horror in this terrible gallery, where one frightful sight succeeds another as in the circles of Dante's Hell. This time it is an execution, one of the sanguinary tragedies of the guillotine; looked at not from the point of view of some outsider, nor even that of the chaplain, or the official of the jail, nor even from the point of view of the executioner himself. No, Antoine Wiertz's execution is seen through the eyes of the already dissevered head, after the keen knife has fallen, and as the wildly suffering head, still keenly conscious, and throbbing with blood in every severed artery, is tossed from the mutilated trunk to the horrible basket of death. Red, red, red over the whole picture. Terrible momentary visions that flash through the still palpitating brain; quiet scenes of childhood, seen now through a scarlet mist; then a ghastly picture of murder, a sudden revelation of crime; then the last dark tragedy of vengeance; then swift darkness, a sudden flash of quiet light, and the suffering soul is free from the tortured body.

Beside this is the most famous picture in the gallery: A Scene from Hell, Napoleon the Great, in his grey cloak and cocked hat, moving dark and gloomy as in life, amid the

yellow flames that lap and twine around his limbs. Then around him a crowd of his victims: bereaved women, widows, childless sad mothers, parted lovers, whose bridegrooms were torn away to make food for the Corsican's cannon. They crowd around him, full of wild, impotent fury of revenge, shrieking aloud their imprecations on his head, and holding up red, ghastly fragments of his glorious victories. Among them, cold and unmoved, stands Napoleon in his satanic beauty, dark and gloomy, and relentless as Tisiphoné herself.

More Titans, the devils striving with the angels for the lost paradise, a horrid rout of wild tossing forms hurled down through space.

Then three pictures cunningly contrived to surprise the spectator, as if some added horror were needed in this terrible place. They are hidden each in a little side chamber, to be seen only through a tiny opening like a key-hole, so that one seems to peer through a crevice at the pictures gifted with the high relief and perspective of life.

The first is a premature burial—a wild face peering from under a coffin lid, hid away in a vault in the hurry of cholera panic. The other is a maniac woman, supping off the limbs of her little child. The third, conceived in quite a different sense. *La liseuse de Romans*—the novel-reader—a nude woman, full of sensuous beauty, with fair supple skin, lying on a couch, and drawing delight, full of suggestions of sensuality from the poisoned pages of impure novels. Below, hardly seen at first, a sly, hideous fiend, pushing towards her new fuel for the feeding of passionate fancies.

And so farewell to the Chamber of Horrors; out once more in the fresh spring air, full of the scent of lilacs and laburnums and hawthorns; and the nightmares wither and melt away.

II.—NEVSKI PROSPECT.

Shall I say that Nevski Prospect is the Oxford Street, the Ring the Unten den Linden of St. Petersburg? And, yet, perhaps, better say it is simply Nevski Prospect. For the great street of the Tsar's northern capital has a character of its own, a genius, if streets can be said to have genius, quite peculiar and apart, and having as little in common with the chestnut-shaded avenue of Vienna, or the Kaiser great highway, lined with lime trees, and faintly scented with cigars and Limburger cheese, as with our own great causeway from Holborn to Hyde Park.

I think the first thing that strikes you as you walk down Nevski, from the western end beside the Winter Palace, the Hermitage, and the cluster of Imperial buildings there, is that something is missing from Nevski, or that something which

originally belonged to the complete design, has been taken away, and has left an empty place behind it.

The curious thing is, I have never quite been able to satisfy myself what the missing word in Nevski is. Perhaps one looks for the trees, and feels the lack of them, perhaps it is that the extreme width of Nevski, wide enough to allow a double line of tramways, or double carriage way, and immensely broad footpaths, besides a wide empty space in the centre, dwarfs the buildings on each side, palaces, though many of them are, and makes them look as if their crowns had been shorn off.

Be it the lack of trees, or the dwarfed palaces—or, perhaps, it is the lack of black silk hats—I am rather inclined to think this has something to do with it after all.

And once you turn your attention to the question of hats, it becomes quite evident that they have a great deal to do with Nevski's special character. Far and away the most characteristic and representative hat in St. Petersburg, without any doubt or cavil, is the hat of the *Isvosschik*, or hackney coachman. Coach is hardly the word, however. I could never quite make up my mind whether to consider the hireable conveyances of St. Petersburg exaggerated goat-carriages, or microscopic phaetons. At any rate, they are harnessed to shaggy ponies, and the driver, who is also shaggy, though his hair has been cropped round a bowl, at the back, the driver is dressed in a blue dressing-gown, and top boots.

In polite circles in St. Petersburg, it is considered of first importance that the coachman should be a personage of weight; and as the weight of an approximately spherical body—fashionable coachmen in St. Petersburg have approximately spherical bodies—varies as the circumference, to keep a really stylish coachman in St. Petersburg means a serious outlay in crimson waist bands, top boots, blue dressing-gowns, and crimson sashes. That might have contented most people, but the master touch is the hat, a low beaver, with curly brim, and long brown hair, such a hat as Mr. Pickwick used to wear. This is what the Nevski driver thinks a suitable crown to his most picturesque attire.

Next in conspicuousness, though not to be compared to the *Isvosschiks* in real native originality, in the way of head covering, certainly come the helmets of the Guards. The Horse Guards, the oldest cavalry regiments in Russia, are splendid in their golden helmets, with two-headed eagles poised on the crest; and the Cavalier Guard, with their silver helmets, also brooded over by the two-headed king of birds, because two heads, I suppose, are better than one, and the heads of Guardsmen are not supposed to count.

But in the direction of picturesqueness, the three-cornered cocked hats of the Jurisprudents cannot certainly be left out.

When I first encountered these gold-laced tricomes, surmounting much-galooned greatcoats, with a shining, shaven face between, I thought the wearers were gentlemen-ushers, or executioners, or something of that sort ; but at last I was informed that they were simply law-students, and a vision at once arose of the sacred gardens of the temple ablaze with gold-laced cocked-hats ; or the new law-courts invaded by the gentlemen in galooned overcoats ; and yet why should not lawyers wear this head-gear ? Many of them have three corners to their heads already, or perhaps more.

Then the hats of the Russian Popes must not be forgotten. In Russia, as if to cheapen the schismatical western pontiff, every priest is a Pope, just as in England every voter is a king constructively ; and in Russia, moreover, every priest must be married ; must, in fact, file a wedding certificate before he can take over a cure ; moreover, as if to prevent too much of a good thing, no Russian priest may marry twice. This is said to be the reason priest's wives live so long in Russia, because they are so well taken care of.

But we were talking about hats. The Russian Popes wear hats rather like the Isvosschiks and Mr. Pickwick, but a storey higher, as though to show that the ecclesiastical is above the temporal driver.

When the priest's wife dies, as sometimes happens in spite of all precautions, he generally becomes a monk, as a necessary step to higher promotion in the church. Then, to signalise the change, the brim is clipped of its beaver.

One cannot talk of hats in Russia without speaking of the military head-gear, and the unworthy covering to the crowns of that august body, the Chinovniks. What is a Chinovnik, you ask ? Well, perhaps, the safest answer is, that every one who is not something else is a Chinovnik. Peasants, for instance, are peasants ; therefore they are not Chinovniks. The same applies to merchants, and soldiers ; but everyone else, pretty nearly, is ; so everyone else wears the badge of his particular chin in a narrow coloured line round his cap. The caps are round, low-peaked affairs, wider at the top than at the bottom—'inverted truncated' cones, I think, is the scientific term ; but the important thing is the coloured line.

Railway people, for instance,—of course, everyone will see that railway people, not being anything else, are *Chinovniks*—, railway people wear a narrow line of raspberry colour. Customs' people, the inquisitive persons who dig among your luggage at frontier stations, and then make chalk hieroglyphics on the top of your trunk, are distinguished by a green line. Telegraph people wear a yellow line, and so on. Some day I am going to make a research into the influence of colour upon character, with special reference to the Russian Chinovniks.

Then come the fair sex ; they ought really to have come

first ; they mostly do ; but then the Isvosschiks' hat was simply irresistible. The ladies, of course, wear pretty much the same kind of bonnets as elsewhere ; they have, however, the prettiest little fur caps in winter ; but that is a question we won't go into at present.

But as for the peasants, Marfutka and Taraska, as Lyef Tolstoi calls them, in that letter of his where he wishes to teach them all that he knows himself, Marfutka wears the neatest of coloured kerchiefs,—perhaps “satin snoods” would be the right word, if they were satin. But they are far outshone by the nurses. I am informed that the proper description of a fashionable Petersburg nurse's attire is a combination of Kokoshnik and searafan. A kokoshnik is a silk cap combined with a coronet, a kind of inverted crescent, with the points coming downwards, and heavily sprinkled with imitation pearls. A searafan—well it is dangerous for a mere male person to try to describe a searafan. However, here goes : It is a kind of extensive fore and aft pinafore, with braces, and heavily caparisoned with gold and silver tinsel ; then it is worn with baggy shirt sleeves. Who would not be a Russian baby, to be able to contemplate so much magnificence ?

After this, the typical costume of Russian peasant women in old days, the sheep-skin cap of the common Mujik falls rather flat. But the Mujik is rendered picturesque by a sheep-skin greatcoat, with the fleshy side out and the woolly side in, and weathered into a maze of colours that only a Dutch painter could do justice to.

Last, among remarkable hat wearers of Nevski, come the Tartars from Kazan ; they also wear caps of sheep-skin, as do the Mujiks ; but when you have said caps of sheep-skin, you have exhausted the resemblance. The two sheep-skin caps, the Tartar's and the Mujik's, are worlds apart ; they express outwardly an infinity of race-difference, and race-genius ; the contrast between the lazy, melancholy, mystical Russian, and the sly, sharp, crafty Tartar, once the conqueror, now the pedlar, to his former victims.

• C. J.

ART. VII.—THE BIMETALLIST MOVEMENT.

Bimetallism.—By HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co., and New York, 1894.

IT is hardly in the nature of things that it should be possible, at this date, to bring forward much that is essentially new in the way of argument for or against the practicability of a bimetallic system of currency, a system of currency, that is to say, under which gold and silver shall be coined into legal tender money, without limit and a fixed legal ratio be maintained between them.

On the one hand, the question is not a new one, as the attitude of some modern bimetallists might lead one to suppose, but has many times been exhaustively discussed and authoritatively decided in the past, and, on the other hand, the answer to it depends upon the right application of principles which are the same at all times and places and under all circumstances. Moreover, the question has been repeatedly put to the test of practice, and with one unvarying result. Many attempts have been made, at various times and places, and under different conditions, to maintain a bimetallic system of currency, and, wherever and whenever they have been made, they have hopelessly broken down.

How comes it, then, it may be asked, that, in these latter days, not only has the question been re-opened, but a large number of highly educated men, among whom not a few reputed experts in economic science are included, vehemently maintain both that bimetalism is practicable and that it ought to be generally adopted? Much for the same reason, it may be suspected, that, in times of grave public calamity, men, otherwise calm and clear-sighted, are apt to lose their heads and allow their feelings to obscure their vision and get the better of their reason; much, it is to be feared, for the same reason, that men suffering from a chronic and troublesome disease, which resists ordinary treatment, are prone to run after quack remedies and to accept implicitly theories which, under other circumstances, they would readily have seen to be fallacious.

For the last twenty years the industrial and commercial world has been troubled by a distressing and debilitating disease, in the shape of a depression of prices, which threatens to become, if it may not with justice already be pronounced chronic. As to the causes of this disease great ignorance and misunderstanding prevail. It is most popularly attributed, not without a certain measure of plausibility, to a scarcity of

gold; and the bimetallists, accepting this theory, would have us believe that all that is necessary to cure it, is that the leading countries of the world should open the way for an increase in the stock of money, by undertaking to coin silver to an unlimited extent, declaring it legal tender at some fixed ratio to gold.

But it is not true that the sole, or chief, cause of the present depression of prices is a scarcity of gold; and, if it were true, it would be no more possible to restore health to industry and commerce in the way proposed, than it would be to cure the evils of a fresh water-famine by letting the sea into our reservoirs. The fall in prices that has taken place, and the consequent depression of trade, are due to a combination of causes, among which scarcity of gold for the uses of trade holds, if any, a comparatively insignificant place.

In the first place, it should be remembered, but is generally forgotten, that the present low prices, instead of being abnormal, represent, to a large extent, a return from an abnormal to a normal condition of things. They are, in a great measure, a re-action from a period of extraordinarily high prices due to causes which were, in their nature, temporary, while, co-incidentally with this re-action, there has been a great actual cheapening of many commodities, including some of the prime necessities of life, owing, in some cases, to improved methods of production, which the previous high prices did much to stimulate, and in other cases to the opening up of new countries, where the conditions of production are more favourable, or again to the effect of improved communications, though this latter cause, in itself, except so far as it has contributed to the opening up of new countries, has operated rather to level down prices where they were high, and level them up where they were low, than to lower them all round.

I have said that the late high prices were abnormal and largely due to causes that were, in their nature, temporary. Those causes were, first, the great gold discoveries of California and Australia, which gave an enormous stimulus to prices, less because they resulted in an increment of so much to the world's previous stock of the precious metal, than because the increment came in a way which resulted in its being added, for the time being, to the quantity of money in actual circulation; secondly, the fact that these great gold discoveries coincided nearly with a period during which, owing to the recent discovery of the application of steam to machinery, especially to locomotive machinery, the civilized world was investing enormous quantities of capital in covering its surface with a network of railways, and in converting its mercantile marine from a fleet of sailing ships into one of steamers, a process which, by throwing vast quantities of money into what may be called

the lower levels of the circulation, into the hands *i.e.* of the labouring and artisan classes, also gave an enormous stimulus to prices.

But the extraordinary stimulus from these causes has, in recent times, ceased. Gold, indeed, continues to be won from the soil, and, after a period of diminishing production, is latterly being won in increasing quantities; but the production is no longer advancing by leaps and bounds, and, owing to a change in the conditions under which the metal is found, the enterprise has passed largely from the hands of the working miner into those of the capitalist. New railways continue to be built; but, as far as Europe is concerned, the annual additions to the mileage are relatively small, while, as to steam freight, the supply has touched, if it has not passed, the limits of demand.

What, however, is more important, the secondary consequences of the recent vast investments in these enterprises are in full operation.

The special potency of such investments in raising prices in the first instance is due to the fact that, while they throw great quantities of money, much of which previously formed part of the world's unemployed stock, and more of which would otherwise, sooner or later, have become part of that stock, into the hands of the labouring classes in the shape of wages, the greater part of which is at once expended in the purchase of the necessities and some of the luxuries of life, they do not at once add to production, but rather the contrary. Nevertheless the works in which this capital is sunk, are destined, at a somewhat later date, to become most powerful instruments for increasing and economising production and equalising prices, while, at the same time, a large portion of the money distributed as wages in the course of their construction also comes gradually to be employed in directly increasing production to meet the new demand. While, in short, the first effect of these investments is a disproportionate increase of demand, especially for the necessities of life, their subsequent effect is a disproportionate increase of supply, especially of those necessities.

This secondary effect, in the case of railways and steamers, has long since come into play, and is only now reaching its maximum, when the first effect has subsided.

A few figures will do more than any number of words to give an idea of the magnitude of the two-fold revolution implied in the extraordinary development of the world's railways and mercantile marine, which marked the third-quarter of the present century. During the period between 1850 and 1883—a little less than a generation—the railway mileage of the world

was increased from 24,500 to 280,000 miles, of which more than 132,000 miles were in Europe, or nearly twelve-fold; and the capital expended in the construction of these railways, is estimated by competent authority at no less a sum than five thousand millions sterling! During the same time the world's steam-tonnage was increased from 392,000 to 7,330,000 tons, and its sailing tonnage from 6,513,000 tons to over 14,000,000 tons, the increase being estimated to have involved an expenditure of between 200 and 300 millions sterling; while upwards of eighty millions sterling are estimated to have been spent, up to 1883, upon telegraph lines, land and sub-marine.

These figures, however, convey but an inadequate idea of the increase in the world's carrying power effected by the works in question. Mulhall estimates the weight of goods actually carried by the shipping existing in 1850 at 25 million tons, and that similarly carried in 1883 at 152 million tons, while, during the same period, the weight carried by railways increased from 97 million to 1,080 million tons. And, as an illustration of the effect of these investments in cheapening the cost of commodities, it may be added that, between the two dates mentioned, the average cost of carriage by land was reduced from £3 to 10s. per ton per 100 miles.

Let the reader only consider for a moment what was likely to be the effect on prices of the pouring of this enormous sum of between five thousand and six thousand millions, in the course of so short a time, into the circulation, and much of it into what I have described as the lower levels of the circulation, where it would immediately operate to increase the demand for the more necessary commodities; and then, again, let him consider for a moment, the effect, in stimulating and cheapening the production of these and other commodities, which the above tremendous addition to the carrying power of the world implies, and he will not, I think, feel it necessary to go much further afield to find an adequate explanation either of the great rise of prices of the middle, or of the great fall of prices of the last quarter, of the century.

One of the chief causes, if not the chief of all the causes, of the falling prices of recent years, is the enormous stimulus that has been given to the production of cheap wheat in America, partly in consequence of the opportunities afforded by improved communications for emigration and settlement, and partly in consequence of the facilities created by railways and steamers for the conveyance of the produce to European markets.

I have remarked that the effect of the great Californian and Australian gold discoveries, in raising prices, was due less to the mere addition caused by them to the previously existing stock of the precious metals, than to the fact that the manner

in which the increase was brought about, caused it to take the form of a large addition to the active monetary circulation of the world.

It is a fact which the bimetallists, among others, overlook, that, while the effect on prices of a relative increase or decrease of the money of all kinds, in active circulation is immediate and proportionate, the effect of an increase or decrease in the quantity of the mere metallic money in circulation is not necessarily either immediate or proportionate, and the effect of a relative increase or decrease of the total stock of the precious metals, coined and uncoined, may be great, or insignificant, or even nil, according to circumstances.

Let me take a hypothetical example, by way of illustration. The difference in the effect that would be produced upon prices by the sudden addition of a quantity of—say—twenty millions sterling to the gold in the United Kingdom, distributed among a certain number of millions of the poorer classes of the population—the classes, that is to say, whose standard of living, owing to the narrowness of their ordinary incomes, is below the average, and, in a vast number of cases, below the standard necessary for a healthy existence—and that which would be produced by a sudden addition of the same sum divided among a few hundreds of the wealthiest men in the kingdom, would be enormous. In the one case, the whole, or nearly the whole, of the increment would pass immediately into active circulation and cause a corresponding addition to the demand for the necessities of life, and a more than corresponding rise in the prices, first, of those necessities, and afterwards, indirectly, of most commodities. In the other case, the accession of gold would make little or no difference in the expenditure of the nation, and the greater part of it would pass into its unemployed stock of the metal, though, if circumstances were favourable, it would, no doubt, lead presently to a certain increase of investments, the effect of which on prices would depend upon their character.

For the assumption on which the belief that the existing low prices are due to a scarcity of gold is apparently based, *viz.*, that prices vary directly, and in some constant ratio, with the quantity of the world's stock of gold, there is not the smallest foundation. So far from this being the case, the total quantity of money in actual circulation, on which, no doubt, prices do depend, and which includes not only State and bank notes, but all the various forms of transferable credit, as well as metallic money, bears no constant ratio to the metallic money included in it; the metallic money in active circulation, again, bears no constant ratio to the total existing stock of metallic money, and the total existing stock of

metallic money, in its turn, bears no constant ratio to the total stock of the metals of which it is composed. So far, moreover, from there being any signs of scarcity of gold for currency purposes, the difficulty of the hour appears to be to find uses for a large and increasing portion of what there is, vast quantities being stored up in banks all over the world, which cannot find solid customers for it, even at rates of discount which may fairly be called nominal.

From one point of view, indeed, the bimetallists would seem to confound cause with effect. The existing stock of gold would be ample, if trade were much more active than it is; for, with increased activity of trade, there would be a corresponding expansion of credit; and, if there is a contraction of the quantity of gold money in actual circulation, the fact is, in a large measure, a consequence of falling prices, which render trade unprofitable, and not the cause of low prices.

A rising range of prices, I take it, where it does not arise from diminished production, implies that demand is increasing faster than supply; and an increasing demand implies, not necessarily an increasing stock of the precious metals; not necessarily an increasing quantity of metallic money; not necessarily even an increasing quantity of metallic money in circulation, though the latter condition would generally be associated with rising prices, but an increasing quantity of *money of all kinds* in circulation; and this, at bottom, implies an increase of incomes, and especially a relative increase of the smaller incomes.

A falling range of prices, on the other hand, means generally that supply is increasing faster than demand; and this implies, not necessarily a relatively diminishing stock of the precious metals, or a relatively diminishing quantity of metallic money, or even a relatively diminishing quantity of metallic money in actual circulation, but a relatively diminishing quantity of *money of all kinds* in circulation.

To some of the causes of a diminution in the quantity of money in circulation, on the one hand, and of increase of production, on the other, I have already referred. An exhaustive examination of all the causes capable of operating in either direction would carry me far beyond the limits of a Review article. I may add, however, that both rising and falling prices tend automatically to work out their own limitation, the former owing to their effect in stimulating production and restricting consumption, and the latter owing to their effect in checking production and stimulating consumption.

If the cause, or, at all events, the chief cause, of the existing depression of prices is not to be found in the inadequacy of the stock of metallic money for currency purposes under the

present system, owing to a scarcity of gold, it follows that the main argument of the bimetallists in favour of a double standard is based on a wrong interpretation of the facts. The depression of prices, however, is real enough, and the evils resulting from it are undeniable. If, therefore, it could be shown, not merely that the maintenance of a bimetallic system is practicable, but that its adoption would cure these evils without causing worse in their place, their case would nevertheless be established. But, assuming, for the sake of argument, that the maintenance of a double standard is practicable, is there any good reason for thinking that it would restore prosperity to trade?

Let us see what, as Mr. Dunning Macleod, in the work whose title heads this article, reminds us, was said on this subject by Mr. Herries, then Master of the English Mint, on the occasion of a motion made in the House of Commons, in 1830, by Mr. Attwood, to re-establish the double standard, the value of silver at that time having fallen something less than five per cent., as compared with that on the basis of which it had been rated, in 1816, in relation to gold.

"Mr. Attwood," says the writer, "made an immensely long speech, abounding with historical inaccuracies and misconceptions, containing nevertheless a certain modicum of truth. He fully admitted the Law of Gresham, that people always pay their debts in the cheapest medium; and he stated that it was the express purpose of his motion to allow persons, who had contracted their debts in gold, to pay them in silver, which had diminished 5 per cent. in value. He moved that the coinage should be restored to its old position in 1797. That it was expedient to repeal so much of the Act 56, Geo. III, c. 68, as declared gold coins to be the only legal tender in payment of all sums beyond the amount of 40s., and to establish gold and silver coins of the realm, coined in the relative proportion of 15 $\frac{8}{16}$ lbs. weight of sterling silver to 1 lb. of sterling gold, as legal tender for all money engagements, as directed and ordered by the proclamation of the 4th Geo. I.

"Mr. Herries, the Master of the Mint, in the course of his reply, said that he would not detain the House with details upon a part of the question which did not call for them, but it would be sufficient to observe that it was perfectly well known that the proportion in which these two metals interchanged then in the market of the world, was essentially different from the proportion of 1798. In fact the Honorable gentleman had admitted this: nay, the Honorable gentleman had gone further, and told them that the difference was 5 per cent. This was not quite correct: the difference was not quite so great: but take it to be as the Honorable gentleman had

stated it, and to what result did it lead them? Why, the Honorable gentleman, ingenious as he was—practical as he boasted himself to be—had gravely and seriously recommended that the Legislature should make gold and silver equally a legal tender at the old mint prices, although in the very same breath he acknowledged that these metals differed in value from these prices as much as 5 per cent. *He would venture to say that such a proposal had never before been seriously made.* The Honorable gentleman had, with great pains and minuteness, traced the history of our currency, and had told them how our ancestors had been obliged from time to time to adjust the value of these two metals, in order to keep them both legal tenders. Indeed, this was the whole object of Sir Isaac Newton's tables; but the Honorable gentleman derided the wisdom of Sir Isaac Newton, and, in defiance of all these facts of which by his speech he had proved himself to be cognisant, not ignorant, he had said—'Let the two metals be a common tender, and let the debtor pay in which he pleases'. Suppose the resolution of the Honorable gentleman to be agreed to, what would be the inevitable result? Why it would be proclaimed to-morrow from one end of the country to the other—he need not specify how—that this House had come to a Resolution the effect of which might shortly be stated thus—namely, that every man who had claims payable on demand, every man who held notes of small or great value, every man who had debts outstanding, would, if he secured the amount of what was due to him before the Resolution passed into law, get the whole of his money; whereas, if he delayed beyond that period, he would get only £95 for every £100. It was terrible to reflect upon the consequences which must follow. What would become of the Bank of England—what would become of every banking-house in the kingdom—what would become of all the debtors who were liable to pay upon demand all that they owed? Would not all transactions of commerce be suspended, and the whole country present one continued scene of confusion, consternation and ruin, when the House of Commons proclaimed to all who had debts due to them, that if they did not collect them on the instant, they would assuredly be losers to the amount of 5 per cent.?

Mr. Herries was supported by Mr. Huskisson and Sir Robert Peel; and, it need hardly be said, the motion was negatived without a division.

Now, if his arguments are sound, and I am unable to see any flaw in them, the conclusion inevitably follows, that the first result of the adoption of bimetallism, or rather of the knowledge, or even of a firm belief, that bimetallism was about

to be adopted, instead of being to raise prices and revive trade; would be to produce a monetary cataclysm, attended by general bankruptcy and a total destruction of credit; and be it noted that this cataclysm would be so much the more complete and disastrous now, than it would have been in 1830, that the value of silver, instead of having fallen only 5 per cent. below the value on which the Mint ratio was based, has fallen more than 50 per cent. below that value.

If it be said that such a disaster might be averted by the enactment of a moratorium, I reply, that even if it might be mitigated by such a device, which is extremely doubtful, the shock to public confidence would be so great as to paralyse credit and inflict a blow on trade from which, even if the attempt to maintain the double standard were attended with success, it would be long before it recovered.

The bimetallists, indeed, tell us that, inasmuch as the silver in which debtors would be entitled to discharge their debts under the double standard, would buy as much as the gold of which it was declared the equivalent, it would be immaterial to creditors whether they were paid in the one metal or in the other, and that therefore no such panic as that which Mr. Herries predicted, would take place. This, however, is to assume, not only that the double standard could and would be maintained, or, in other words, to assume the whole case for bimetallism, but also that, because there would be no ground for panic, therefore there would be no panic, or, in other words, that creditors would have perfect faith in the double standard being maintained. The bimetallists apparently forget that, as far as the result is concerned, it does not matter one straw whether the grounds for panic are real or illusory, as long as those concerned are convinced that they are real; but that, in that case, the panic will take place equally whether the grounds are real or not. Now, whether the bimetallists are right, or whether they are wrong, in their belief that the double standard would be maintained, it is certain that this belief is not shared by the great majority of bankers and other creditors; and, as it is equally certain that creditors would act on their belief, or non-belief, the panic would ensue, together with all its disastrous consequences, whether the grounds for it were real or not.

But it does not follow, as the bimetallists argue, that, because the silver with which debtors would be able to discharge their debts would be equal in purchasing power to its legal equivalent in gold under the double standard, therefore it would be immaterial to creditors whether they secured prompt payment in gold, or waited and were compelled to accept payment in silver. For, if the silver would buy as much as the corre-

sponding quantity of gold at the new ratio, that could only be because, while the silver would buy more, the gold would buy less, than before. In other words, as fast as silver came to be coined under the new ratio, the unit of value would represent a diminishing quantity of purchasing power as compared with that which it represented before the change of ratio.

The question what would be the conditions that would determine the limit of this degradation of the unit of value in the case of silver being admitted freely, without restriction as to quantity, into a previously monometallic gold currency, at a ratio higher than that corresponding to its market value as bullion, will be noticed hereafter. Suffice it for the present to say that greater or less degradation would be a necessary consequence of the establishment of the double standard on such terms, and such degradation is, indeed, the object avowedly aimed at by the bimetallists in proposing its adoption.

It may possibly be said that, as, after the establishment of the double standard, gold would be worth no more outside the currency than in it—no more, that is to say, as bullion than as coin,—and as any general attempt to convert it into commodities in the brief interval preceding the change would defeat itself, by precipitating the rise in prices, creditors would gain little or nothing by securing immediate payment in gold, and therefore would abstain from demanding it. But this, again, is to assume the whole case for bimetallism. That gold could not continue to have two values, one outside and the other within the currency, is, indeed, certain; but the inference to be drawn from the fact seems to me to differ *toto cælo* from that implied by the above argument. That any inequality of value between gold as bullion and gold as coin must disappear under a double-standard system is an inevitable consequence of its unrestricted coinage under such a system. For, if gold were worth more inside the coinage than without it,—if, that is to say, the purchasing power of the unit of value were greater than the purchasing power of a corresponding quantity of gold bullion—then gold would be coined till equilibrium was established. If, on the other hand, gold were worth more as bullion than as coin, then gold would be converted into bullion till equilibrium was established. It is no more possible that an inequality of value should subsist permanently between the metal without, and that within, a currency into which it can be converted in unlimited quantities by its holders, than, to use a well-worn metaphor, it is possible for water to subsist permanently at different levels in two cisterns communicating freely with one another. The inference, however, is that, under a bimetallic system in which silver was linked with gold at a ratio favourable to the former and

unfavourable to the latter metal, not only would gold cease to be coined, but gold coin would be re-converted into bullion as long as the disparity existed. This, however, is a point which will be more conveniently discussed in detail in connection with the question of the practicability of bimetallism, which I will now consider.

It is, I think, to be regretted that the question is disposed of by Mr. Dunning Macleod, in his book, in a somewhat *ex cathedra* fashion. He has made no attempt to meet in detail the arguments of the modern bimetallists, but has contented himself with re-asserting Gresham's law ; with showing that it had been anticipated by Oresme and Copernicus, though they went no further than to conclude that gold and silver coins, "in order that both might remain in circulation, must be regulated so as to bear to one another the same ratio as their bullion values, and with showing that the results of all attempts hitherto made to maintain gold and silver in circulation in unlimited quantities at an unnatural ratio, have been in conformity with Gresham's law. But the fact that Oresme and Copernicus arrived, independently of one another, at conclusions identical with those of Gresham, however interesting it may be, is not proof ; and even the failure of previous attempts to maintain the double standard, though constituting strong ground for hesitating to repeat the experiment, falls short of demonstrating that it must necessarily fail.

Of Gresham's law, *viz.*, that, "when two sorts of coin are current in the same nation, of like value by denomination, but not intrinsically" [*i.e.*, in market value], "that which has the least value will be current, and the other as much as possible will be hoarded, or melted down, or exported," Mr. Dunning Macleod does, indeed, give the following amplification and explanation :—

"This great fundamental law of the coinage," he says, "is found to be universally true in all ages and countries, and was henceforth recognised and acknowledged in all subsequent discussions on the coinages. It applies in the following cases :—

"1. If the coinage consists only of a single metal, as in the early coinage of England, and clipped, degraded and debased coins are allowed to circulate with good coin, all the good coin disappears from circulation" (a statement which seems to require some qualification as to comparative quantities). "It is either hoarded, or melted down, or it is exported : all laws are ineffectual to prevent this : and the clipped, degraded and debased coin alone remains current."

"2. If coins of two kinds of metal, such as gold and silver, are allowed to circulate together in unlimited quantities, and if a legal ratio is attempted to be enforced between them which

differs from their natural value in the market of the world, the coin which is underrated disappears from circulation : it is either hoarded, or melted down, or exported : and the coin which is overrated alone remains current."

"3. And, as a necessary corollary, it follows that it is impossible to establish and maintain a fixed par of exchange between countries which use different metals as their standard coin."

"This law is not confined to single and separate countries : it is not limited in time or space : it is absolutely universal : and it is equally impossible for the whole world to maintain coins of two or more metals in circulation, in unlimited quantities, at a fixed legal ratio which differs from the natural or market value of the metals, as it is for single and separate countries to do so."

"The explanation of this problem which was such an inscrutable mystery to statesmen and financiers for so many ages is extremely simple. If shillings are allowed to circulate together, some of which are worth twelve pence and others only nine pence, and every one is allowed to pay their debts in whichever of the coins they please, naturally they will pay their debts with the shillings worth nine pence and keep the shillings worth twelve pence in their pockets ; or if the shillings worth twelve pence have no more value than the shillings worth nine pence, bullion dealers will collect all they can, and either melt them down into bullion, in which form they have more value, or export them to foreign markets, where they have their full value. It is exactly the same in all other cases, where persons are allowed to pay their debts in things which have nominally the same value, but in reality have different values. When persons are allowed to pay their rent in kind, they naturally select the worst portions of the produce to pay their landlords, and keep the best portions for themselves. If persons received an order for so many yards of cloth, and the law allowed two different yard measures to be used, one of three feet, and the other of two feet, merchants would naturally fulfil the orders in yards of two feet rather than in yards of three. It is only natural, that all persons should pay their debts in the cheapest form to themselves. So, if the law allows debtors to pay their debts equally in coins of different metals which are rated equally in law, but whose values differ in the markets of the world, they will naturally pay their debts in the coin which is rated too highly and keep the coins which are rated too low at home. Thus inevitably the coin which is rated below its natural or market value disappears from circulation, and the one which is rated beyond its natural or market value alone remains current.

And this is true whether the whole world does so, or only single and separate countries. If, then, the whole world were to agree to rate a coin below its market value, it would entirely disappear from circulation, for the whole world can no more by 'universal' agreement make nine equal to twelve than any separate country can."

Bimetallists, however, with one important qualification which will be noticed hereafter, accept Gresham's law, and maintain that, inasmuch as, with a double standard, the market value of silver would be raised, by the resulting increase in its consumption for currency purposes, silver coins might, consistently with that law, circulate along with gold coins at a higher ratio than that which had obtained between the two metals before the change. Now, although the refutation of this contention is, no doubt, implicit in Gresham's law, it is not immediately obvious that such is the case. Bimetallists, at all events, do not recognise the fact that it is so; and, under these circumstances, it was important that Mr. Dunning Macleod should either show that the contention is inconsistent with the law, or otherwise explicitly meet it. But he does not appear to have anywhere done this.

Again—and this is the qualification with which, as we have just said, they accept Gresham's law,—the bimetallists contend that the operation of the law pre-supposes the existence of an adequate outside market to absorb the gold withdrawn from circulation, and argue that if a sufficient majority of the commercial nations of the world combined to maintain a certain ratio, the outside minority would not constitute such a market. Mr. Macleod, however, beyond stating categorically that it is as impossible for the whole world to maintain coins of two or more metals in circulation, in unlimited quantities, at a fixed legal ratio, which differs from the natural or market value of the metals, as it is for single and separate countries to do so, does not meet this objection. Perhaps, he did not think it worth meeting. But if you elect to meet an opponent at all in the lists of public controversy, it is dangerous to despise him to the extent of leaving his arguments unanswered, lest the verdict of the multitude, who are generally quite incapable of supplying the defect, should go against you.

The contention of the bimetallists that, as, owing to the increase which would take place in the consumption of silver, the establishment of the double standard would raise the market value of the metal, therefore there is no reason why, consistently with Gresham's law, the two metals should not circulate together at the ratio agreed on, overlooks the fact that the increase in the market value of silver thus brought about would imply a simultaneous diminution of the purchasing-power of the unit of

value, and, therefore, of the purchasing-power of gold, supposing it to circulate at the legal ratio; or they overlook the effect, which this diminution of its purchasing-power must necessarily have on the production of gold.

Let us consider for a moment what would be the course of events that would follow the establishment of bimetallism—not what would next happen if the economic cataclysm predicted by Mr. Herries took place, for that no mortal being can say, but what would be the course of events if the situation were quietly accepted on all hands.

Let us, for the sake of argument, assume the immediately previous market, or natural, ratio between the two metals to be 32 to 1, which, taking the ounce of gold—representing £3-17s.-10d.—as the unit of value, means that the immediately previous purchasing-power of an ounce of silver was the same as that of $29\frac{1}{8}$ d. gold; and let us represent the purchasing-power of the ounce of gold by the figures 100, in which case that of the ounce of silver will be represented by $\frac{100}{32}$, or 3'125.

Now let us suppose the legal ratio under the bimetallic system to be fixed at 16 to 1, making the purchasing-power of an ounce of silver the same as that of $58\frac{3}{8}$ d. of gold by law.

The cost of production of an ounce of silver, at the outset, being, by the hypothesis, such that it pays to exchange it for $29\frac{1}{8}$ d. worth of goods, it will naturally be brought freely for coinage under a system which makes it exchangeable for $58\frac{3}{8}$ d. worth of goods, or payable in discharge of $58\frac{3}{8}$ d. of debt. But as fast as the silver is coined, assuming credit not to contract to a proportionate, or more than proportionate, extent, and, in any case, after a certain quantity of silver has been coined, the prices of commodities will begin to rise. It need hardly be pointed out how this must inevitably happen; for as already said, it is admitted by the bimetallists that it would happen. Indeed, it is upon the fact that it would happen that they rely for the justification of bimetallism. Prices, as I have said, would begin to rise. That is to say, an ounce of coined silver, though it would still buy as much as $58\frac{3}{8}$ d. of coined gold, supposing it to circulate at the legal ratio, would buy under the new system, would no longer buy the same quantity of commodities which $58\frac{3}{8}$ d. would have bought before the establishment of the new system, but only a smaller quantity standing to it, in the inverse ratio of the new to the old prices.

But for one fact, this rise of prices, and consequent diminution of the quantity of commodities purchaseable with a given quantity of silver, would go on until the quantity purchaseable with an ounce of the metal would be no more than

equal, or only a little more than equal, to that which had been purchaseable with $29\frac{1}{8}d.$ before the change from the monometallic to the bimetallic system. Assuming, however, that the conditions of the production of silver remained the same, the rise of prices would be arrested long before this level had been reached; and the fact which would arrest it would be the increase in the cost of production of the metal which would be caused by the increase in its output necessary to meet the increased demand.

At what precise level the rise of prices would be arrested by this cause, it is, of course, impossible to say. The exact figure does not affect the argument; but it may reasonably be assumed that it would be about the figure at which the purchasing power of an ounce of the metal would equal that which had been represented by $43\frac{3}{4}d.$ before the change, that is, about midway between the actual purchasing power of an ounce of silver before the change, and the original purchasing power of the $58\frac{3}{8}d.$ of gold of which the new law had declared it the equivalent.

This, of course, would mean that, by that time, the purchasing power of the unit of value would have been diminished by one-fourth, as compared with its purchasing power before the change. In other words, the quantity of commodities purchaseable—at the legal ratio—with an ounce of gold would have come to be representable by the figures 75, instead of 100, while that purchaseable with an ounce of silver would be representable by 4.688, in the place of 3.125.

Now, the bimetallists would have us believe that, under these circumstances, not only would the gold already coined continue to circulate, but gold would continue to be produced and coined as freely as before.

But why, at the outset, if it costs 32 times as much to produce an ounce of gold as to produce an ounce of silver—which, I take it, is the meaning of the existing market ratio, as regards, at least, the more costly portions of the present gold supply—or, at the last, if it costs 24 times as much to produce an ounce of gold, as to produce an ounce of silver, why, I ask, under these circumstances, should people, for the purpose of discharging debt, or buying commodities, take gold to be coined, when they could discharge the same amount of debt, or command the same quantity of commodities, by getting only sixteen times as much silver coined?

Why, for the purpose of discharging debt, or purchasing commodities, should people take gold to be coined, when the silver required, in the shape of coin, to discharge a given amount of debt, or buy a given quantity of commodities, costs, in the one case, only half, and in the other case only two-thirds as much labour and wealth as the gold?

The answer which the bimetallists make to this question is that people would still take the gold to be coined, because there would be nothing better for them to do with it. They say that, provided only that a certain number of nations, or rather a number of nations representing a certain commercial preponderance, united to maintain the double standard, there would be no outside market of sufficient magnitude to absorb the gold at a ratio higher than the legal ratio. But, in the first place, it is not true, as will presently be shown, that there would be no such outside market; and, in the second place, if it were true, then I ask the further question, why should people continue to produce gold to be coined under such conditions? If I tell a man to go and dig me an ounce of silver and get it coined, and I will give him a bushel of wheat, adding that, if he prefers it, he may go and dig me a sixteenth of an ounce of gold and get it coined, instead; but though this will cost him twice as much, or half as much again, as the case may be, I will give him only the same quantity of wheat for his labour and expense, is it likely that he will elect to dig and bring me the gold in preference to the silver? While human nature remains what it is, it is not likely that he will do so.

But, in fact, as far as a large proportion of the gold supply is concerned, there would be no choice in the matter. A diminution of the purchasing power of the unit of value in the ratio of 100 to 75, or, in other words, a rise in prices of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. all round, would, if gold were exchangeable for commodities only in the shape of coin at the legal ratio, mean the shutting up of all the gold mines which had not, previously to the change, returned a profit of at least $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. What proportion of the present annual out-put of gold is won on these lucrative terms? Not enough, probably, to supply the existing demand for consumption in the arts alone.

I have said that it is not true that there would be no sufficient outside market to absorb the gold produced and withdrawn from circulation. Under the conditions described, *the whole world would be such a market*. Not only would there be the demand for consumption in the arts, which, as some fall would, no doubt, take place in the price of gold, might be expected to increase, but there is all the gold which is used, or is capable of being used, for the storage of value; and who is there that, having to choose between the two metals for this purpose, and knowing that, while gold could never, by any possibility, fetch less than its value at the legal ratio, it might, and in all probability would, sooner or later fetch much more, who is there, I ask, who, under these circumstances, would not choose gold for the purpose?

Perhaps, it will be said that the world could not afford thus to retire all the gold from circulation. But I reply that, though probably it could not afford to do this at once, it would do it gradually; and not very slowly. It would even economise to be able to do it more rapidly.* And let it be remembered that a premium of 33 *per cent.*, or anything like 33 *per cent.*, would be quite unnecessary to induce it to do this; a premium of five, or one, or even $\frac{1}{4}$ *per cent.* would be enough to turn the scale.

Then there is the gold which, at even a moderate reduction of price, the East might certainly be depended on to absorb in vastly increased quantities.

It is obvious, moreover, that the above statement of the case, based, as it is, on the assumption that the conditions of production of silver would remain unchanged, is unduly favourable to the bimetallists. As no limit can be assigned to the extent to which production may possibly be cheapened in the future, either through improved methods of working, or through the discovery of richer, or more favourably situated deposits of ore, and, as the effect of any such cheapening must be to lower the level at which cost of production of the metal would arrest the fall in the purchasing power of the unit of value, no limit can really be assigned to its degradation.

Thus, even if the assumption of the bimetallists, that it is possible to fix the ratio between the two metals that the increased consumption of silver may make its natural, or market value equal to its legal value, were otherwise correct, it would be inadmissible, on the ground of its wholly ignoring the possibilities of the future.

In the foregoing pages I have confined myself mainly to a discussion of the "questions of the practicability of bimetallism and the reality of the grounds put forward by its advocates for its adoption. Into the effects of its adoption on production and on the distribution of purchasing power, as between class and class, nation and nation, I do not propose at present to enter in detail. In connexion with the first of these questions, however, it may be remarked that, as a remedy for bad trade, its action would be ephemeral. Just as it is falling, as distinguished from low prices, which render trade comparatively unprofitable, and so operate as a check on production, so it is rising, as distinguished from high prices, that render trade comparatively profitable and so stimulate production. If the double standard, at a ratio favourable to silver, were maintained, there is no doubt that, after the first confusion had subsided, and credit had recovered from the blow it would have sustained, prices would rise; and, as long as the rise continued, profits would exceed the normal minimum,

trade would expand, and production would increase. But when the level had been reached at which the rise would be arrested by the cost of production of silver, profits, as far as the effects of this cause were concerned, would rapidly fall to their normal minimum, and expansion of trade would cease, and, after a period, more or less prolonged, of level trade, a re-action would set in.

Are the bimetallists prepared seriously to maintain that the wrong and distress which must inevitably be caused by the sudden transfer of purchasing power from one class to another implied in the change of ratio, would find an adequate justification or compensation in this brief period of increased profits to producers? Or is it, this very transfer of purchasing power, and not the revival of trade, that is their real aim, as it was the avowed aim of Mr. Attwood in 1830, in advocating the change?

The way in which the interests of different classes—of the producers of silver relatively to the rest of the world; of producers relatively to consumers; of creditors relatively to debtors; of recipients of fixed incomes, or wage earners, and direct participants in the profits of trade—would be affected, is so little open to dispute, and so generally understood, that it would be superfluous to enter into it.

Nor is it necessary that much should be said regarding the effect which the adoption of bimetallism by Great Britain would have on its financial interests as a nation. Seeing that England is a great gold creditor, and that, on balance, she stands in the rank of consumers, as distinguished from producers, it is transparent that the immediate consequence to her of a change which would diminish the relative value of gold and raise the range of prices, would be a corresponding loss. The only set off against this loss would be such addition to the national wealth as might result from the few years of profitable trade to which I have just referred, and this only on the assumption that it would not otherwise have accrued. That it would prove an adequate set off, I do not for a moment believe. That, should the question ever come within the range of practical politics, the people of England would elect to wait for a natural re-action to terminate the present depression, rather than incur the risk of so dangerous an experiment, I entertain very little doubt.

ART. VIII.—THE LATE K. T. TELANG.

THE decease of Mr. K. T. Telang, one of the Judges of the High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the University at Bombay, on the 31st August 1893, may be truly said to have eclipsed the gaiety of the Indian Nations and impoverished their scanty public stock of political wisdom.

Though Mr. Telang belonged to the Western Capital, by birth and settlement, and worked solely in this eye of India, he belonged to the whole Continent, all of whose people took a just pride in him as one of their wisest and purest men, and all equally felt his premature death. India has had to bear the loss of many an able man of public usefulness during recent years ; of great moving forces like Keshub Chunder Sen and Sorabji Bengali ; of sturdy workers, like Nowrosji Furdoonji and Kristo Das Pal ; of erudite scholars, like Bhugwanlal Indraj and Rajendralal Mitra. But no death, unless it be that of Keshub Chunder Sen, ten years ago, has in these days been so widely, deeply and sincerely mourned, none has evoked such heartfelt sympathy from men of usually "the most opposite views, from antagonistic communities and rival interests ; none has been felt so keenly as almost a personal loss, even by strangers, as this of the foremost Hindu, if not quite the foremost native, of our time in India. Meetings in several towns, newspapers in every province, of every shade of opinion and creed, religious and political, officials and non-officials, conservatives and radicals, bigots and free-thinkers, have all, with an unanimity rare, if not unprecedented, united in eulogising the conspicuous merits, mental and moral, of one whom a cruel fate has snatched away in the very prime of life, on the threshold of public usefulness.

Nearly every circumstance that could add to the grief felt by his friends and the public and make it more acute was present. He was only forty-three, an age when many have hardly begun their career ; he died of a painful lingering illness which had crippled his powers considerably for several years ; he was cut off in the blossom of his hopes, having enjoyed his high position, so meekly borne, for hardly four years ; above all, though he had rendered sufficient service to the public, he was taken away when a new and more useful sphere of activity, as head of Native Society and of the University, was just opening to him. Though he had been before the public for twenty years, during which he was ever ready to assist them with his wise counsels in speech and print ; though

the early hopes built upon him were fully justified and fulfilled, the people rightly believed that there was more in the man than had yet had an opportunity of showing itself, and fondly hoped that, with high honours and position, the time had come for the realisation of their highest hopes in their full measure. *Sed dis aliter visum.* Pitiless fate has rudely shattered these hopes, and cruelly dispersed these dreams. With all his performance, he will be remembered more as the man of promise, as the young Marcellus of the hopes of the Indian peoples.

Nor was he of less use and promise to the State and the rulers. It was his singular good fortune to be trusted alike by Government and subjects. As a mediator between them he did excellent service, service which it is in the power of very few men in the Indian Empire to render. At a time when bitter party spirit is running high, and reason and moderation are at a discount; when the gulf which must divide the subjects from their foreign rulers is ever widening, it is hard to find a real and influential leader of the people who, while sympathising with their reasonable aspirations, is also conscientious enough not to forget the duties which he owes to the rulers of the country, of being fair to them and of appreciating their enormous difficulties in the task of looking, amid the dangers of foreign invasion and domestic revolution, to the welfare of alien millions, with conflicting interests, mutual hatreds and turbulent dispositions. Telang was such a rare leader; and his death is thus no less a loss to the Empire than to the people. Such men are the real pillars of State, sustaining the glorious fabric of the British Empire in our days; and, following in the steps of Mr. T. S. Escott, who has not overlooked native Indian leaders among his "Pillars of the Empire," we shall endeavour to show the reader what sort of man he was, and what opinions about the country he held, whose loss has been so universally deplored and whose disappearance from the public arena will be felt for years to come as a calamity in the critical times through which this great Eastern Dependency of the British Crown is at present passing.

Hard times are upon us. What with frontier questions impending in the North-West and the North-East, with heated political agitation in the country, and wanton parliamentary interference in England, with bitter racial and religious differences bursting out in almost every quarter, with commercial depression and agricultural impoverishment, and, to crown all, with almost insuperable financial difficulties, harder times still are coming. There are breakers ahead. May God direct the vessel of State through them! May his benign Providence grant wisdom to all; to the foolish that they may see their folly, to the wicked that they may repent of their evil ways;

grant strength and light to those in whose hands are the destinies of the Empire !

“Are there thunders moaning in the distance?
Are there spectres moving in the darkness?
Trust the Hand of Light will lead her people,
Till the Thunders pass, the spectres vanish,
And the Light is Victor, and the darkness
Dawns into the Jubilee of the Ages.”

The position which Telang occupied among public men was almost unique, and the void left by his death will not easily be filled. One may apply to him the words uttered at the death of his great countryman, Nana Phadnavis, ninety years ago, by an Englishman who knew his race intimately : “With him has departed all the wisdom and moderation of Mahratta politics.” Moderation indeed ; for who is there now among them who has his judicial mind ? who, like him, will hold the balance even between conflicting views, and give them credit for all that is good in them ? It is not urged here, by any means, that there are not men left among the Mahrattas to carry on some parts of Telang’s work. There are men who, each of them, possesses some of his qualities, even, it may be conceded, in a higher degree than himself. But there is none who combines them all so harmoniously together. There are erudite scholars, keen-witted lawyers, earnest social reformers, zealous educationalists, sound economists, effective public speakers, brilliant conversationalists, pure moral characters among the Mahrattas, as in every other intelligent community in the world with their traditions and in their position. But, now that he is gone, there is none who combines in himself his various qualities of head and heart, possesses his wide and varied culture, with his unswerving rectitude and honesty of purpose, his scholarship with his modesty and simplicity, his zeal with his moderation and sobriety, his spotless moral character with his tact and influence. Tact, sobriety and moral purity were his chief virtues, and the secret of his success. And the greatest of these all was moral purity. At a time when the character of many Indian public men is being questioned, and an Indian Purity League is being talked of, Telang’s singularly spotless character has been recognised as altogether exemplary.

A death like his would be a serious loss to any community. But, owing to the peculiar state of Hindu society, which, as a whole, still remains in its sluggish apathetic condition of former ages, and is vivified only at rare intervals by the appearance of a great man, such a loss is simply irreparable. The words of Arnold regarding Hannibal’s death and his loss to the Carthaginian State may not very inaptly be applied to the present occasion :—
“Where the nation has been merely enkindled for a while by a

great man's spirit, the light passes away with him who communicated it, and the nation, when he is gone, is like a dead body to which magic power had for a moment given an unnatural life; when the charm has ceased, the body is cold and stiff as before." There is a fear that the impulse which Telang communicated to the younger generation of his race may pass away with him and the traditional lethargy invade them again.

Telang was able to be all this on account of the training he had received, chiefly under English teachers in the English school and college with which the illustrious name of Mounstuart Elphinstone has been associated by a grateful people to commemorate his disinterested services as the pioneer of education in Western India. Born in 1850, he entered school when barely eight, and, matriculating in 1864, passed to college. There he gained his degree of M.A. in 1868 and LL.B. in 1869, and was appointed Senior Fellow, in which capacity he lectured to the students, as assistant to the professors, in his favourite subject of Sanscrit Philology and Literature. His labours in this field, as extensive as useful, thus early commenced, were crowned in 1882 by his translation, in Professor Max Müller's series of the Sacred Books of the East, published by the Clarendon Press, of the Bhagavadgita, a philosophical episode from the Hindu Epic, the Mahabharata. He used his literary powers to lay open the rich treasures of Sanscrit lore before Europeans, and to acquaint his countrymen with all that was best in European life and thought.

He was thus the best product of the new English system of education that has for the last fifty years worked in India with very mixed results. The partial emancipation and regeneration of the Indian intellect which is now being so conspicuously witnessed, is one of the greatest triumphs and the chief results of British rule. To have moved the conservative, though quick, intellect of the people of a country cramped and debased by centuries of neglect and repression, is a task of which any victorious nation may well be proud, and in which some great conquerors of the past have signally failed. When Rome conquered Greece, instead of Romanising the Hellenic intellect she was herself taken captive,—*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit* and the stern victor was Hellenised. And Greece, though repeatedly conquered, has intellectually more than held her own, and imposed her culture on the whole of Europe; so much so that, in the emphatic words of Sir Henry Maine, except the blind forces of nature, nothing moves in this world that is not Greek in its origin. But England has obtained a double triumph in India, of which she may be said to have captured both mind and matter; and, far from being herself Hinduised and Asiaticised, she has fairly succeeded in

Anglicising and Europeanising, at least for a time, the Indian mind.

When the great triumphs of war ceased for a while, and the still greater triumphs of peace were inaugurated, in the reign of Lord William Bentinck, it was generously resolved to impart English literature and science to the conquered. England refused to hold her God-given fief on any selfish and narrow-minded tenure of ignorance or barbarism. Education was considered the best lever wherewith to raise the people from their superstition and squalor; and its spread was, therefore, encouraged, as the best that the conscience of England could do for the subject peoples. "It is difficult to imagine," wrote Elphinstone, in a celebrated Minute, so early as 1824, "an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned. It is now well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring; and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this. There is but one remedy for great social evils, which is education. If there be a wish to contribute ultimately to the destruction of superstition in India, it is scarcely necessary now to prove that the only means of success lies in the diffusion of knowledge." And this knowledge, which was to be imparted, it was resolved, through the able advocacy of Lord Macaulay, to whom modern educated Indians thus owe an irredeemable debt of gratitude, should be Western and not merely Oriental. The stores of the accumulated wisdom of ages were thrown open to the Indian mind. Peoples who had in their own indigenous literature nothing, or very little, of sustaining knowledge suited to modern needs; peoples whose history was legendary and whose literature was visionary, whose science was fabulous and arts were primitive, were brought face to face, for the first time, in the history of the East, with the brighter, more robust, and infinitely more useful and practical learning of the West.

Fears were expressed, at the time of this momentous step, that the introduction of Western literature would be inevitably followed by Western ideas of liberty; that scholars nurtured on Demosthenes and Cicero, Milton and Byron, Rousseau and Voltaire, Goethe and Schiller, would be but troublesome subjects of a rule which, at its best, could only be a benevolent despotism. Serious mischief was apprehended as the result of this novel experiment. Generous counsels, however, prevailed. Any danger to the State from the spread of education was rightly ridiculed. Western education would, it was hoped, prove

the strongest support of the Empire, which would be rendered impregnable if it could, by any possibility, be based on knowledge and enlightenment universally diffused among the various Indian peoples. "The dangers," wrote Elphinstone, "to which we are exposed from the sensitive character of the religion of the natives, and the slippery foundation of our Government, owing to the total separation between us and our subjects, require the adoption of some measure to counteract them, and the only one is, to remove their prejudices, and to communicate our own principles and opinions by the diffusion of a rational education." High hopes were thus entertained that a class of enlightened natives would be brought into existence such as would prove a valuable means of raising their communities from the ignorance and superstition of ages, and if enabling them to enjoy the benefit of Western ideas; that thereby an irrefragable bond would be created between the rulers and the ruled, more lasting than any ties of conquest; that, with a better and closer knowledge of British rule and of all the past rules to which their country had been subject in the course of history, they would learn to appreciate better the blessings of their present state; and that, knowing the interests of the peace and prosperity of the country to be bound up with the existence and vigour of their English rulers, whom they would gradually come to acknowledge as their real benefactors, they would become the greatest champions and well-wishers of these their foreign masters and protectors. The basis of the Empire was by means of education to be widened. The subjects were to be made interested in the Government. Instead of having their hostility to overcome by force, or at least, their sullen apathy, which made them look upon British rule as a freak of fate that would, like its numerous predecessors, vanish in time, and taught them to hold themselves in the interval and look on; instead of this, their active sympathies were to be engaged on the side of the rulers, who would appear to them to be superior to the ordinary run of Asiatic conquerors, and to have come not to destroy but to build, to give and not to take; and who, in return for the gratification of their ruling passion, remembering, like the ancient Roman, the famous lines of Virgil:—

"Tu regere imperiis populos Romane memento
Hæc tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos,"

would give them every civic benefit and privilege that it was good and safe for them to enjoy.

Though all these high hopes have not been fulfilled, and the tree of education planted amid such auguries has not borne all the expected fruits; though the whole sluggish mass of the

people has not been leavened, and their prejudices and superstitions are still as rife and strong as ever; though foreign rule, beneficial as it has undoubtedly proved to the material and moral progress of the country in many ways, has not ceased to be looked upon as alien and odious, and has failed to inspire the sentiment of genuine and heart-felt loyalty, yet, during the last two generations, a small but select band of young men has grown up imbued with Western ideas and full of the newly-born zeal to regenerate their country and its peoples during the present providential opportunity afforded by the universal peace and unstinted tolerance which are the greatest results of the British rule. Of this band Telang was the representative in the present generation of Hindus, as Bhau Daji was in the last generation in Western India.

But beyond this select group there is a larger class of educated natives of which it may be broadly stated that it has proved disappointing. The effect produced on them resembles that which the Romans under Agricola wrought upon the ancient Britons, as noticed by Tacitus in the life of his great kinsman: '*Qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus vestri horum, et frequens toga. Paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam.*' With them English pleasures and dress, and, above all, English eloquence, have proved most attractive and influential. Instead of trying to regenerate their countrymen, and working soberly and steadily to bring them up, if not quite to the level of Western nations—which it is doubtful they can ever attain—at least to one approaching theirs, from which they can safely and wisely profit by those European political ideas and institutions that are in their present state unsuited and perhaps hurtful to them, these men are trying to put the cart before the horse. They misapply their energies, urgently needed in other directions, to the futile struggle for political rights and privileges which no rulers in their senses can ever grant to them without serious injury to the peace and prosperity of the country. This mistaken sphere of activity which the majority of educated Indians seem to have chosen; this perversion of abilities in many cases sterling and brilliant, is a matter of deep regret to those who are not led away by the splendour of empty rhetoric and specious logic, and who actually feel the great want of workers in the cause of the moral and social regeneration of their countrymen. This fascinating sphere of politics seized the newly awakened Indian mind at the very beginning, and already, among the first batch of scholars educated according to Western methods, were to be found ardent but misguided and misguided politicians. As early as 1848,

we find the late Sir Henry Elliott, the laborious collector of the Persian Historians of India, writing about "the Bombastic Baboo ranting about patriotism and the degradation of his countrymen's present position," and referring to the "young Brutuses and Phocians of India" talking big about liberty and democracy. Yet this first generation of educated Indians, now passing away, was, on the whole, moderate in its tone, and not so extreme as the present race of native politicians.

These, having come in contact personally, but much more through reading, with the most advanced form of the Radicalism of the day in England, have been most adversely influenced by it. This Radicalism, with its vice of levity of assent to false and hasty generalisations, threatens, as Sir Henry Maine has sagaciously noted, "little short of ruin to the awakening intellect of India, where political abstractions, founded exclusively upon English facts, and even here requiring qualification, are applied by the educated minority, and by their newspapers, to a society which, through nine-tenths of its structure, belongs to the thirteenth century of the West." Its worst features—its rancorous party spirit, its intense egotism and self-assertiveness, its crushing intolerance of opposite views—with its elaborate machinery of agitation, its wire pulling, and its caucuses, its packed meetings and hollow demonstrations, its clap-trap phrases and *ad captandum* logic, have, to a large extent, been introduced from England, with a contempt which, if grave issues were not involved, would be found amusing, for the variation of circumstances, into a land whose inhabitants have never known what it is to be unanimous, which is the stronghold of rigid conservatism and isolating individualism, which within the memory of men still living was innocent of any public meetings, save the evening concourse under the village banyan to discuss parochial politics, or the drowsy group of gossipers going to sleep over their *hookah* and *chandu* in the bazar dens. The mistaken benevolence and misdirected philanthropy of the English Radical, generally blissfully ignorant of the traditions of this country and the characters of its various nations, differing from one another more than the Russian does from the Irish and both from the German, are but too successfully appealed to. The barriers of nature being overlooked, India is treated as a part of England; Bombay and Bengal are looked upon as Berkshire and Bedfordshire, and the sensitive Non-conformist conscience goes into fits of hysterics in Exeter Hall over the mortal sin of which England is guilty in the East, of governing 300 millions of God's creatures in every way better than they ever have been governed in the past, or can govern themselves at present, or at any time in the future.

But this self-assertive new educated class does not really represent the various Indian nations, who do not know its scattered members and care nothing for their objects. Like the crickets, they make a loud ringing noise, while the quiet Indian cow is slowly and contentedly chewing the cud under the shade of the venerable banyan, caring for no such noise. It is often urged with great force that the educated class forms but a microscopic minority, detached by their training from the people from whom they come, and among whom they are like the fleece of Gideon, dry when all around is wet with old, deep-rooted superstitions, wet with the culture and thought of ages while all around is a dry parched up desert of ignorance.

This is in the main quite true. "It is a fact that the bulk of the population can have little real sympathy with the handful of their Europeanised sons; that they cannot share their airy aspirations; that they instinctively prefer Englishmen as their direct rulers to such of their countrymen as have virtually left their communion and yet have not been admitted into the pale of the foreigner. The masses in India look with indifference on a political movement the true proportions of which they know very well to be confined to the educated few, who are just as much alienated from them by their training and habits as the British are aliens by birth. Simple as the peoples of India are, they are not so foolish as to think that the millennium will be reached when the Bengali shall rule the Punjab and the Mahratta lord it over Bengal; when the Sikh shall sway Gujarat, and the Bunyah and the Borah keep in check Rajputana; when the Madrasi shall represent the supreme authority in Scinde and Baluchistan, and the Pathan and Baluch deal out even justice in Travancore. They do not believe that Aryavarta will be regenerate when the Mahomedan shall be Her Majesty's representative in Benares and Kuttack, or the Hindu become the Chief Commissioner of Delhi and Agra,—all under the shadow of the British flag and within sight of the British camp, whose inmates shall merely fold their hands and look on, to interfere promptly and energetically, of course, when the Hindu rises against his Mahomedan oppressor, when proud Rajasthan disdains to brook the effeminate Bunyah, when the Baluchi despises the faultless syllogism of the Madrasi graduate.

If the present political movement tended to make the rulers better understood by the ruled, and brought the real wants of the latter to the notice of the authorities; if its leaders were to persuade the people that the English have no other object at heart than to advance their welfare in the way that is thought best suited, and least detrimental to the interests of both, that their real interests are not opposed to those of the governing

class; if they showed straightforwardness and honesty of purpose, meaning really what they say, and saying all that they mean; if their political programme showed traces of a wise and far-seeing statesmanship, the Government would surely gain much by sympathising with the movement, and taking its leaders into their confidence. But these do not appear to the outsider to be their aims and objects. Or, if they be, then they proceed in a way that does not appear likely to achieve them. On the contrary, if they had quite the opposite aims to these, they could not have proceeded better than they are proceeding now. Instead of the people being brought closer to their rulers, the gulf between them has widened and is widening: high hopes, doomed to be disappointed, and impossible aspirations, never to be gratified, are conceived, and, as is inevitable, when these are deferred disappointment breeds disaffection, and the people are being inflamed by crude and reckless writings, so that it may be justly said that discontent is spreading wider and faster than ever. To judge from the speeches and writings of many of this class of politicians and from the tone of a considerable section of the native press, British rule has been the chief cause of untold evils; has drained the country of its resources, while giving it very little in return; presses on the people as heavily as, if not more heavily than, the former governments of the Mahratta and the Moghul; its officials are as corrupt and tyrannical as the myrmidons of Delhi and Poona, and its professions of honesty and justice are but the cloak of hypocrisy to hide its perfidy and rapacity.

But, when we consider the present undoubted prosperity of India, the enormous expansion of her trade, the vast increase of her manufactures, the great influx of foreign capital, and the organisation of public credit; when we survey her great and opulent cities, her harbours, rivalling the best in the world, her gigantic canals, thousands of miles in length, fertilising barren tracts by equalising the bounties of capricious nature, her extensive iron roads, running to the remotest corners, with her telegraphs, through mountains, across rivers, and, under the ocean, uniting the various countries of the Continent into one compact whole; when we turn our eyes to her impregnable fortifications on land and sea, which have made her, for the first time in her history, well nigh unassailable from without, to her army glorious with the memory of a hundred campaigns in China and Persia, Egypt and Afganistan, ready to defend her against all the world; when we take into view her famous laws and codes, civil and criminal, vieing in juristic ability with the works of Justinian and Napoleon, and her still more famous courts, in which these laws are expounded and administered with an impartiality hitherto unknown in the East; when we examine

her schools and colleges and universities, where the learning and arts and sciences of the West and East, of ancient and modern times, are imparted to her sons and daughters ; when we look to the fostering care with which the relics of her former greatness, trodden under foot for ages by ruthless conquerors, her temples and palaces, tombs and monuments, her ancient literature and fine arts are rescued from destruction and oblivion, and preserved for ages to come ; when we contemplate the heroic sacrifices made by English philanthropists and missionaries in the cause of civilization and enlightenment in the land ; when we witness the humanity shown by her rulers, even in their severer moods, in the methods of punishment and the treatment of prisoners in jails, their consideration for the life and health of the people, as evinced by her great sanitary works and medical departments, her hospitals and sanitariums ; when we see around us all these signs of her moral and material progress, albeit at times clouded, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the Government to which the land and its peoples owe all this, can be such a mixture of selfishness and rapacity and hypocrisy, can have such an antipathy towards the people, as some of its prominent native critics often try to make out. By their fruits ye shall judge them, is a wise and sound test in politics. And, when judged by its fruits and tried by its effects, British rule in India will never be found wanting.

Of course, the British Government is not perfect. Its members and servants have not been saints. It has, like other human institutions, had its lapses. It may now and then have swerved from its principles. It may have failed of its mark. The scales of justice may not always have been held aloft as evenly as may be demanded by the rigid moralist. Political morality may not, on occasions, be clearly discerned in some of its deeds. It may be guilty of blunders, even of crimes. It must be admitted that Britain has not achieved in India all that she has professed ; that her ideal has not been fully realised. But she can well plead Dido's excuse and say :—

“Res dura et regni novitas talia me cogunt moliri.”

To say all this is merely to say that the British Government is human and subject to human infirmities, like other moral institutions. But, for these lapses, to come down upon it and denounce it *in toto* as faithless and rapacious, as having thrown all righteousness and moral principles to the winds ; to compare its officials to Roman Proconsuls, like Verres, and Greek tyrants like Philip, holding them up to public obloquy and exaggerating their smallest faults, to liken its methods to Mahratta maraudery and Moghul extortion, this reason blesses not, this the intelligent subjects of Britain will not long endure. Even in Euro-

peap countries, such unjust and disingenuous criticism of Government is considered dangerous and is but grudgingly allowed. How much more mischievous should it be held in a country where Government is looked upon as almost divine, and where the least tolerance on its part of even the justest strictures is construed by the people into weakness and inability to resent !

But Telang had nothing to do with this wild political criticism which is so rife now among a certain section, this agitation as fraught with danger to the State, threatening its peace and quiet, as injurious to the real advance of the people, whose cause is thereby prejudiced. To judge from the loud and persistent noise which certain agitators are making in England as well as India, in the press, which is almost entirely in their hands, and on the platform, which they have monopolised, people at a distance from the scene would be inclined to give them more credit for numbers and influence than their short-sighted and narrow-minded views deserve. With their impossible demands ; with their specious loyalty and deep-rooted hatred of the foreign rulers ; with their preposterous search after the phantom of premature political advancement, before attending to the crying need of social and moral reform ; with their uncompromising attitude of stern, unbending hostility to the entire official class ; with their fruitless, carping criticism of all the acts of Government and their malicious imputation to it of false and unworthy motives, Telang had no sympathy whatever. He was ever ready and willing to appreciate the enormous difficulties that beset the path of our rulers, to give them hearty credit for whatever they give and achieve, instead of blaming them for what they wisely withhold and cautiously leave undone till the people grow ripe to profit by the concession. His moderating influence in the wild fury of present day political agitation was conspicuous. With the later development of the Congress movement, it is no secret, he had but little sympathy. It was hoped, before his elevation to the Bench, that he might rally round him the strong, though silent, forces in native society of sound common-sense and sobriety and form a moderate party of social and political reformers to check and counteract the intransigents.

Men like him are the staunchest champions of British rule, and, by taking them into its confidence, Government strengthens its position immensely. The Empire is, no doubt, based in the last instance on the sword. But, as in its conquest diplomacy had as much to do as force, so also in its administration and preservation, tact should have a large share. This tact should lead the rulers to utilise the able and discriminating critics among the people who come to the front, and encourage those who, disgusted with the noise and excess around them,

sullenly leave the field, and thus are lost to the State, which needs their services most. Tact and management are most needed at junctures like the present; and it is futile for the English administrator to talk, in season and out of it, of force. If the Empire were to be governed, as it was conquered, by the sword; if British rule were to be one long continued conquest of a hostile country at the point of the bayonet, and its administration nothing but a military occupation by a victorious garrison, one of the greatest glories of Britain would vanish, and she could claim no right to rank higher than those barbarous empires, of ancient as well as modern times, which pursued their splendid but selfish careers of conquest, extending themselves over vast regions and various nations only to disappear from off the face of the earth, unregretted and unremembered. No excesses of the extreme Radical party should drive her to a course so ungenerous and unworthy of her traditions. Britain has always, and from the very beginning of her career in the East, when her present proud destiny lay as yet hid from the eye of man, taken a higher and nobler view of her mission. On her conquest and administration of India she bases, with truth and justice, her highest claim to the gratitude of civilization for ages to come. She holds this ancient land as a sacred trust from Providence. With this high purpose she has always fought to obtain peace, she has conquered but to civilize. Wherever the British flag has been planted, peace and prosperity have followed in its train. The conquest of the people only opened their way to emancipation. They are governed now in every way far better than they have been at any time during the last twenty centuries, excepting, perhaps, the half century of Akbar's reign, and enjoy as many, if not more, privileges than they ever had under their own monarchs, like Asoka and the few others who followed his beneficent example.

The British nation has always tried to govern its vast dependency in this spirit of enlightened generosity. It has shown this by word and act whenever a suitable occasion has arisen. This spirit ran through all the utterances and despatches of the authorities responsible in England for the good government of the territories of the East India Company. It was embodied and embalmed when that Company came to the end of its singular career, in the memorable Proclamation of 1858, which has been justly called by the peoples of India the Magna Charta of their liberties. It was in this spirit that Burke inveighed so passionately against Warren Hastings in Parliament; that Mill brought his cold philosophic analysis to bear on what he thought to be the misdeeds of the Company and its servants. It was by this noble spirit that Sir Charles Forbes and Sir Erskine Perry,

and, later, Cobden and Bright and Fawcett, were prompted in their attacks on the Indian administrations of the last two generations. It is this spirit and this spirit alone, let us hope and believe, that actuates many a philanthropist of our day in his crusade against what he imagines to be British misrule in India.

But it is a matter of grave importance that this generous impulse of the British nation should not be allowed to injure the Empire, as well as the country, whose good, there is no doubt, it has really at heart. The intentions and motives are undoubtedly benevolent. But everything depends on how these are executed. To judge from recent accounts of the interference of Parliament in Indian affairs, one would be led strongly to suspect that it does not value the possession of the brightest jewel in its crown so much after all. Instead of interfering only in political matters, it should use its influence now and then with Indian political leaders to persuade them to look first to the crying domestic and moral evils which are debasing their homes and families; and, when reform, like charity, has begun at their homes, to extend their efforts to the political sphere. The English in India know very well how to look to political matters and settle them; let the Indians then look to their social matters, which they alone can touch and handle. But Indian politicians know very well that the task of social reform is a most difficult one, requiring real, active and often thankless self-sacrifice, and not mere platitudes or denunciation, as on political platforms. Honours and emoluments do not await the social reformer. He must be prepared to meet with undeserved obloquy, to have his motives misunderstood, to sever himself from the dearest ties, to give up the most cherished ambitions in the course of his crusade. The social reformer must thus be made of much sterner stuff than his political fellow-worker. He must work patiently and noiselessly; he must sink and efface himself in the cause; he must not expect the applause of gazing multitudes, but rather the disapproval of his generation; he must be prepared to sow where he should be content to let others reap; he must reconcile himself to meet the fate of Moses and get but a distant Pisgah view, if even that, of the Promised Land, which others, benefiting by his work, will enter. For hundreds of platform orators there, is hardly one such rare character found; but when that one is found, as in Malabari, who, single-minded, and single-handed, has spent almost a whole life time in the service of moral and social regeneration, he does more lasting good to his country than a whole host of demagogues can ever hope to do.

The Age of Consent Bill, a partial consummation of Mala-

bari's life-work, but recently enacted, after the almost superhuman efforts of a small band of reformers under his direction, is fraught with infinitely greater blessings, and will do more solid and lasting good, than any of the political privileges obtained during the present generation. When the future historian comes to view British Indian legislation of the latter half of this century through the due prospective of time, and shall have before him in one view causes as well as effects, he will have little difficulty in pronouncing this single law the most vitally important of the whole series. Just as the abolition of suttee and female infanticide is the most glorious and abiding reform of Lord William Bentinck's rule, which was signalized by many other beneficent political acts, now almost forgotten, so Lord Lansdowne's régime will be chiefly remembered for this humane law, when all his political legislation shall be forgotten. In the preparation for it and its promulgation, it would not be too much to say that not a single political leader had a share. On the contrary, Malabari, the life and soul of the social reform movement in India, found in the majority of these politicians, perhaps, his most uncompromising and fanatical opponents, whilst, during the discussion that raged round the Bill, so-called patriotic politicians were not ashamed to come out to attack the very humane principle of the measure and to attach their names to the most silly and revolting protests ever written by educated men. That was really the occasion when the mask of superficial culture dropped down from many a half-educated Hindu politician, who stood out in his true colours. That occasion showed how fit this class of politicians are to enjoy the benefits of Western institutions. The name of religion has been dragged to the support of many an unworthy cause; but that sacred name had never before been so much defiled as on that occasion, when it was used by ostensibly civilized beings to defend one of the most odious customs of the country.* The part which Telang took in this matter was very creditable. Though, a few years ago, he had publicly avowed that the country could dispense with social, and should push on with political, reform, yet, with increasing years that brought the philosophic mind, and with riper judgment, he saw the error of his former opinion, so that the cause of social reform now found in him a very judicious champion. During the Age of Consent controversy he brought his copious stores of Sanscrit learning, his power of close reasoning and persuasive eloquence, to the support of the Government measure, and put to rout, on their own chosen ground of religion and sacred writings, a whole rabble of reactionaries.

* *Tantum religio potent suadere malorum !*

It was believed that this legislation was framed and passed through the intervention of the English nation, who brought its whole indirect influence to bear on the Indian Government, which would fain have left the matter alone. If so, the English nation never intervened in a better cause; never was the duty which it owes to India more worthily performed than on that occasion. Exeter Hall can have no nobler cause than that of the dumb child-wife in India; the Non-conformist conscience cannot be shocked by anything more than by the contiguance under the British flag of superstitions so barbarous and inhuman in their effects on women, and, through them, on the entire population of countries under its sway, as those which prevail at the present day among the communities of India. The English people would, therefore, be wise to leave political matters relating to India, requiring local knowledge and experience, to be dealt with on the spot by their countrymen than whom none, not even native politicians, are more intimately acquainted with the country, and to employ their influence and use their efforts in the cause of the social and moral regeneration of their fellow-subjects in the East.

Telang's life presents, in many respects, a close resemblance to that of the great German scholar, statesman and patriot, Christian Bunsen. Both were known, above everything else, for the spotless purity of their lives. Both were great scholars by nature and inclination, but both were enticed away from the dream of their youth by splendid temptations. The German was allured by the charms of diplomacy; the Indian by the brilliance of the Bar and the Bench. But neither gave up entirely the cherished tastes of his early life, and each found time amid his professional avocations for writing works which literature will not willingly let die, though Bunsen's are greater in number and length, owing to his longer life and greater leisure. The closest resemblance is, however, in their political and social work for their countries. Bunsen had ever at heart the political regeneration of his beloved Prussia after the disasters of the Napoleonic wars, and the unity of Germany; and, though he did not live to see the consummation of his hopes, and was several times crossed in his objects, yet he never ceased to work for the patriotic cause he had at heart. What Telang tried to do for the regeneration of his countrymen, we have endeavoured to show. Telang, like Bunsen, as we have said, hesitated, at the outset of his career, whether he should not be a professor and devote his life to study. Like Bunsen, too, he may, probably, have regretted his decision. But his contemporaries have been gainers by this decision, at the expense of

posterity. What Professor Max Müller* says of Bunsen may be applied to him. He taught the world some lessons which he could not have taught in the lecture-room of an Indian College, while his high position brought influence and added a weight to his words and acts which those of a mere professor could not have. People who could scarcely listen to the arguments of a Sanscrit professor, sat enthralled at the feet of the eminent Judge and Vice-Chancellor. That a professor should be learned, and a lawyer should be studious, was a matter of course; but that a Judge of the High Court should carry on an elaborate controversy on the abstruse point of the age of a Brahman philosopher of antiquity with a college professor; that a lawyer should travel so far beyond his province as to lecture to an audience of professed students of history on the Mahratta politics of a bygone age, and yet be up to date in his Law Reports to the latest case; that the Vice-Chancellor of the University should think of translating Thomas à Kempis for Mahratta schoolboys; that an antiquary, excelling in dry research, the veriest Dryasdust, should be a poet, and have successfully tried his hand at blank verse in the most difficult foreign language, this was enough to startle society, both high and low. This remarkable versatility made his influence very extensive. And nobly did he use his influence. He was ever ready to help a fellow-worker, to encourage a young man of promise along the path he had so successfully trodden. The seeds he has sown in the minds and hearts of many men have borne fruit, and will bear still richer fruit in the future.

Telang knew three languages perfectly—Mahratti, Sanscrit, English,—and that might be said of him which was said of Ennius, that he had three hearts, to know and love all that was good and noble in the three literatures, strong enough to despise and shun all that was mean and unworthy in any.† He was Mahratta by birth, but an Englishman by knowledge, by taste, by love; and he had true friends among both communities. He had learnt, through his own personal experience, the genuine manliness and nobility of the English character which, unfortunately, is hidden from most of his countrymen by the English coldness and reserve, if not *hauteur*. He knew that his countrymen had only to come into closer contact with the distant and taciturn foreigner in order to love him. He saw, with great grief, on the other hand, what a cloud of prejudices, not entirely unfounded, stood in the way of the Englishman's appreciating the sterling qualities of the Mahratta character. Yet he did not despair. He looked forward to the happy time when both

sides would appreciate and understand each other better, would forget or wink at the superficial differences which divide them, and look steadily at those uniting ties alone which lie deep down in the common human nature of both.

This happy time is, unfortunately, as far off now as ever, owing, it must be said, to the fault not of one side alone. But still, if there be such influential workers and mediators as Telang, its approach need not entirely be despaired of. However great may be the grief felt at his death, it should not be allowed to stand in the way of activity and zeal to follow his example. *Non hoc praeceptum amicorum munus est prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quæ voluerit meminisse, quæ mandaverit exsequi.* (*Tacitus, Annales II., 71.*) They, thus, are the most sincere mourners, who, remembering what were his designs, endeavour to carry out his commands. Let them, therefore, remember the noble example of his great and good life of public usefulness and private virtue, lived ever under the public gaze and the fierce light that beats on the pedestals on which public men stand; remember his noble efforts for the social and moral advancement of his countrymen; let them, while not forgetting his actual performances, remember what he has left unachieved, his unfinished designs and unattained goal; and, remembering these, let them dedicate their best efforts in his and their common cause, to the memory of his great name, as the tribute at once most useful to the living and most pleasing to the illustrious dead.

R. P. KARKARIA.

ART. IX.—BENGAL : ITS CASTES AND CURSES.

(Independent Section.)

INTRODUCTION.

IN a remote period of antiquity a body of people, calling themselves Aryas, or "the noble," migrated from the plains watered by the river Jaxartes, in quest of a more genial and fertile habitat. They bent their course in a south-easterly direction, crossed the Indus, and settled in some part of the land now known as the Punjab, or the Land of the Five Waters. The aborigines, or the original inhabitants of the country, it is supposed, must have disputed their passage ; but they soon learnt, at the cost of their lives, that it was utterly impossible to resist the superior power of the Aryas, and then either placed themselves under their protection, or ultimately retired to mountain recesses and jungles, where their descendants are still recognised as different in features from the Aryas. The Aryas at first settled in the land known as Brahmavarta,* lying between the rivers Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī, by whose banks they performed their religious rites, chanted the hymns of the Vedas, and sowed the seeds of that culture and training, literary and political, philosophical and psychological, moral and religious, which still excite the admiration of the Oriental scholars of Europe. In process of time the Aryas pushed further their possessions, till the whole country, from the snow-capped Himālayas to the utmost sea-shore on the South, and as far east as the river Brāhmaputra, teemed with their descendants.

The exact time when this great migration or succession of migrations took place is not known. From the time of Sir William Jones, the first European who ever mastered the Sanscrit language and literature, down to the present day, various theories have been started concerning this event, which lies hid in the womb of the past, and is, perhaps, destined to remain so for ever. But we have in our country an era still current though, not generally used by the people, *viz.*, the era of the Mahārāja Yudhisthira, who, after the celebrated battle of the Kurukshetra, performed the *Aśvamedha Yajna*, or the "Horse Sacrifice," which at once placed him in the position of

* Says Dr Max Müller — "It is now generally admitted that this holy land of the Brāhmanas, even *within its earliest and narrowest limits, between the Sarasvatī and the Drishadvatī*, was not the birth-place of the sons of Manu. . . . Traditions among the Brāhmanas as to the northern regions, considered the seats of the blessed, may be construed into something like a recollection of their Northern immigration."

the Lord Paramount of at least the whole of Bháratvarsa, if not of countries beyond. Towards the close of his reign, the present age, or the *Kali Yuga*, commenced, and just from this time an era was counted by the people. This era was current for 3044 years, at the end of which another era, *viz.*, that of Rájá Vikramáditya, or the *Saṃvat*, supplanted it. The *Saṃvat* lasted 135 years, when the era of Sáliváhana, commonly called the *Sakábda*, commenced. The *Sakábda* counts 1816 years at the present day (A.D. 1894). Adding these several eras together, we find that $3044 + 135 + 1816 = 4995$ years of the era of Mahárája Yudhisthira have elapsed.*

The period of the great events of the Mahábhárata was one of the brightest epochs of Indian history; but that period was subsequent to the period of Rámáyana, in which we find that the Aryas in the time of Ráma were a civilised people, with a settled state of society. The true Vedic period must have preceded it, but we do not know the length of each, though, as a matter of fact, it must have been some hundred years. The migration of the Aryas, their settlement on the banks of the Sarasvatí, the subjugation of the aborigines, and the gradual extension of the Aryan conquests are incidents which, it is possible to believe, took place long before the battle of the Rámáyana, and cannot be so modern as some of the Oriental scholars of Europe are apt to think.

We admit, then, that the Aryas are among the most ancient nations on the surface of the Globe. Everything Aryan is peculiar and has no parallel anywhere. The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and other nations, rose and passed away, but the Aryas still remain a separate nation, triumphant amidst all the vicissitudes of civil broils and foreign invasions. They are essentially what they were at the Vedic period, at the time of the Rámáyana, at the time of the Mahábhárata and during the prevalence of Buddhism, though, it must be admitted, that their manners, customs, and even social laws have undergone some change.

And what is the cause of this persistence of the Aryan nation? The answer is the system of caste of the Aryas.

THE SYSTEM OF CASTE AMONG THE ANCIENT ARYAS AND HOW IT ORIGINATED.

Before we proceed to consider the caste system, as it prevails in Bengal, we will take a brief survey of the castes among the ancient Aryas, how they originated, and what part they played in the structure of Aryan Society. It is believed that, in the primitive ages, when the Aryas first began to

* See *Rájawali*, a work of considerable merit, by Pandita Mutyunjaya Tarkálan-kára, Professor of the late College of Fort William.

settle in their newly-acquired possessions, there was, properly speaking, no division of caste, such as is found afterwards, among them. All the people were of one caste : there were no restrictions among them as to sitting and eating together, no restrictions as to intermarriages, no restrictions as to sacrificing together in a body. On this point, Dr. Max Müller, the editor of the *Rig-Veda*, in a review of Muir's texts in the *London Times*, has the following passage :—

"Does caste, as we find it in Manu and at the present day, form part of the religious teaching of the Vedas ? We answer with a decided 'No.' There is no authority whatever in the Veda for the complicated system of castes, no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Brahmanas, no authority for the degraded position of the Śūdras. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together ; from eating and drinking together ; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes ; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. All that is found in the Veda at least in the most ancient portions of it the Hymns—is a verse, in which it is said that the four castes : the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the serf, spring all alike from Brahma. Europeans are able to show that even this verse is of later origin than the great mass of the Hymns."—*The Times*, 10th April, 1858.

Dr. Müller, in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, assigns the date of the Hymn as 1000—800 B.C., and proves from internal evidence that it is modern both in its character and in its diction (in comparison with other Hymns). Dr. Wilson, in his "Indian Caste" (Vol. I. page 121), states that the meaning of the hymn is "metaphysical and metaphorical, though afterwards it was viewed as historical and dogmatic. For the system of caste, it is now obvious, there is no legitimate warrant in the great hymn collection of the *Rig-Veda*."

This verse occurs in the *Purusha-Sukta*, or Hymn of the Primeval Male, in the tenth Mandala of the *Rig-Veda*. For the satisfaction of our readers, we give the verse below :—

ব্রাহ্মণোহস্য মুখমাসীদ বাকুরাজনাঃ কৃতঃ ।

উরু তদস্য যদৈশ্বাঃ পদভ্যাং শূদ্রো অজায়ত ॥

"The Brahmana was his mouth ; the Rajanya was made his arms ; that which was the Vaisnya was his thighs ; the Śūdra sprang from his feet."

Without entering into the question of the correctness or otherwise of Dr. Müller's dates and inferences, we may at once accept that, at the time the verse was written and possibly before, the great Aryan nation was divided into four principal castes, or classes—the Brahmana, the Rajanya, the Vaisnya and the Śūdra. Otherwise these terms could not have been used, even in a metaphysical and metaphorical sense, as stated by Dr. Wilson.

In the *Sama-Veda*, the word "Rishi" is mentioned in one place as the marked one among the *Vipras*, or intelligent ;

while in another the *Vipra* is denominated the instrument or agent of the sacrifice, thus intimating that the designation was applied distinctively to an officiating priest. Nothing indicative of a peculiar character occurs in the Sama, applying either to the *Raja* or the *Visha*.

The Yajur-Veda exists in two forms—the black and the white. The texts of the Yajur-Veda indicate the assumption of Bráhmānical pre-eminence, but in the face of opposition from certain portions of the Aryan community. In the black Yajur-Veda, the Brahma and Kshatra are recognised as distinct interests, in prayers several times used. In the white Yajur-Veda, the Brahma and Kshatra are coupled together in the worship of Agni (Fire) and in other connections. The Bráhmāna is mentioned as an object of reverence along with ancestors and Rishis. Indra is declared to be the hold and support of the *Kshatra*, while he is also set forth as the god of the Kshatra and the principedom. The Bráhmāna is spoken of as endowed with the knowledge of Brahma, and the Rajanya, as possessed of bravery. Officers under the king are also mentioned. In the 30th chapter of the white Yajur-Veda, various distinctive classes in the community are brought forward in connection with rite *Purushamedha*, or sacrifice of *Purusha*. The Bráhmāna occupies a superior position, while the prince is the representative of the *Kshatra*, or power. Tillage is in the hands of the Vaishya, who, it is to be noticed, is distinct from the *Vani*, or merchant. The symbolical representative of toil is the Súdra.

In the Atharva-Veda the Bráhmāna and the Kshatra are represented as engaged in extolling Agni (fire). In behalf of a Raja the prayer is offered up that he may be the only lord of his country, and that he may be praised by the *Visha* (here his subjects in general) throughout his realm. The *Kshatra*, *Rathakāra*, *Karmara* and the *Grámani* and *Súta*, established in the service of a Raja, are mentioned as associated together. The Súdra is recognised as distinct from the Arya, and also the Dása from the Arya, as in the Rig-Veda. The supremacy of the Bráhmāna is decided. In the Atharva-Veda, the *Purusha Sukta* is given with a few variations from the form in which it appears in the Rig-Veda, but it is substantially the same in the one as in the other.

In the first chapter of the first *Panchika* of the Aitariya Bráhmāna, the following passages occur in connection with Diksha, or the rite of the new birth, when a man is admitted for the first time to the use of the sacrifice:—

“He who wishes for beauty and for wisdom (Brahmavarchasa) let him use the two Gáyatri verses of the Svishta-krit. The Gáyatri is beauty, full of wisdom. He who, knowing this, uses the two Gáyatri, becomes possessed of

beauty and wisdom. . . . Let him who desires strength, use the two Trishtubhs. Trishtubh is strength, which is vigour and power. He who, knowing this, uses the two Trishtubhs, becomes strong, vigorous and powerful. Let him who desires cattle, use the two Jagatis, cattle is jagati-like. He who, knowing this, uses the two Jagatis, becomes rich in cattle."—*Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 390–405.

In the fifth chapter of the same section, the Brahmana is commanded to use the Gáyatri for wisdom and glory; the Rajanya, the Trishtubh, for splendour and bravery, and the Vaishya, the Jagati, for the obtainment of the cattle. The characteristics of three classes of the Aryas are here, for the first time, distinctively recognised.

In the Taittiriya Brahmana of the Black Yajur-Veda the three fundamental Aryan castes are mentioned. The Brahmana is enjoined to commence his sacrifice in the *Vasanta Ritu* (or spring season); the Rajanya, in the Grishma (hot season); and the Vaishya, in the *Sharat* (the autumn). The Brahmana is spoken of as of the class of the gods, and the Súdra as of that of the Asuras while quarrelling about a skin.

ব্রাহ্মণশ্চ শূদ্রশ্চ চর্ম্মকর্ষ ব্যচ্ছিতে ।

দৈব্যবৈ ব্রাহ্মণ : অসুর্য্য শূদ্র : ॥

TAITIRIYA BRAHMANA, I-2-6.

In the Shatapatha Brahmana of the white Yajur-Veda of the Madhyandina Sakha, ceremonial impurity, proceeding, during the celebration of sacrificial rites, from (the touch of) a carpenter (Taksha), or any other sacrificially impure person, is represented as removed by the sprinkling of the sacrificial water (Shat. Br. I. 1-3-12). This passage, remarks Dr. Wilson, forms a key to the caste institution of *sparsha*, or defilement by contact.

Yet, even at this time, sacrifice seems, in some of its relations at least, to have been available for the Súdra, who, when called to the sacrifice, is accosted with the word *Adraava*, i.e., run hither (Shat. Br. I. 1-4-11). This shows that the Súdras were at this time recognised as inferior members of the great Aryan community.

In the Vrihad Aranyaka Upanishad occurs the following passage :—"He was in the form of Agni (fire) among the gods, as Brahma, he was the Brahmana among men, in the form of Kshatriya, Kshatriya, in the form of Vaishya, Vaishya, in the form of Súdra, Súdra."—(I. 4).

In the Sûtras, the Súdra is plainly declared not to have the right (*adhikara*) of sacrifice enjoyed by the Brahmana, Kshatriya, and Vaishya (see the Shauta Sûtras of Katyayana). In the Sûtras of Hiranyakashi (26th and 27th Sections) it is laid down that the Brahmana who goes to a Kshatriya woman, should give a thousand cows or bullocks for an atonement; to a

Vaishya woman, a hundred ; and to a Súdra woman, ten. The offending woman is to be banished to the wilderness. The Arya having connection with a Súdra woman is to be banished ; a Súdra having connection with an Arya woman is to be killed.

The following quotation from Dr. Max Müller is worthy of notice :—

* * * * "Those of Aryas, who would not submit to the laws of the three castes, were treated as outcastes, and they are chiefly known by the name of Vratyas or tribes. They spoke the same language as the three Aryan castes, but they did not submit to Brahmanic discipline, and they had to perform certain penances if they wished to be re-admitted into the Aryan Society. The aboriginal inhabitants, again, who conformed to the Bráhmnic law, received certain privileges, and were constituted as a fourth caste under the name of Súdras, whereas all the rest who kept aloof were called Dasyus, whatever their language might be."—Dr. Max Muller, *Times*, 10th April 1858.

In the Rámáyana, the four Varnas, or castes, are mentioned as forming the recognised divisions of the Aryan community. In the nineteenth chapter of the Ayodhyá Kánda various classes of inhabitants of the city of Ayodhyá are represented as going out with Bharata to bring back Rámachandra to occupy the throne, after his father, Dasaratha's death.

In the Mábábhárata, the four principal castes are mentioned, and Varna Sankaras (mixed castes) are also mentioned.

The Bhágavata Purána speaks of there having been originally only one caste (Varna). "There was formerly only one Veda, only one utterance, the Pranava (OM) the essence of all speech, only one god Náráyana, one Agni (fire) and (one) caste. From Parnavas came the triple Veda in the beginning of the Treta age."—(Bhágavata Purána. IX, 14, 48—49.)

The Bráhmavaivarta Purán. contains the usual statement of the origin of the four principal castes. It notices also a number of mixed castes.

Some of the passages quoted above show what we have stated before, that originally the Aryan community consisted of only one caste, and that to its several members were assigned those classes of duties which afterwards became the groundwork of caste distinctions. Sacrifice, for instance, formed a principal part of the duties of an Arya's life. It was thought necessary for the welfare of society always to appease the deity by means of sacrifice, to obtain his special blessings. This duty was at first committed to persons who afterwards became a distinct class, handing down the profession from father to son. Keeping themselves aloof from secular duties, and from pursuits of gain, these persons had ample time to cultivate literature, science and philosophy, theology, astronomy, &c., which at once elevated their position in the scale of society and made them the object of reverence and worship. These people formed the class of Brahmanas—a class destined

still to hold sway over the minds of millions of human beings inhabiting the country called Bháratvarsa. Similarly, to certain other members of the Aryan community was assigned the duty of acquiring new possessions and of protecting the country from the aggressions of the aborigines, and the invasions of the surrounding nations. These formed a distinct class and received the appellation of Kshetriyas, or protectors of the people. In process of time they formed a separate caste like the Brahmanas. In the same manner, cultivation of the land, the rearing of cattle, the carrying on of trade or commerce, &c., were assigned to certain other members of the community, and these formed the class known as the Vaishyas. Thus the three classes of the Aryan community were established. But another class was still wanting—the class which was to serve these three classes. Those members of the Aryan community who were fit for the duties neither of the Brahmanas, nor of the Kshetriyas, nor of the Vaishyas, were made a distinct class, the last in the scale of the society. These formed the fourth class known as the Súdras.* Thus the four classes of the Aryan community were formed, and thus its economy was established. These four divisions of the Aryan community were natural, which tended to promote its welfare in forming one harmonious whole.

At an early stage of the great Aryan community, persons belonging to a lower class were, if considered fit, promoted to the higher class, and recognised as belonging to that class. The celebrated Rishi, Visvamitra, though born a Kshetriya, was, no less for his erudition and genius than for his devotedness and piety, promoted to the rank of Brahmana; and we read in the Anusasana Parva of the Mahábhárata, how Rájá Vitahavya attained the order of the Brahmanas. Instances are not wanting of persons born in the same family betaking themselves to several Varnáramas, and the children of the same father, by adopting the profession of Brahmana, Kshetriya or Vaishya, were reckoned as belonging, respectively, to the class or caste whose profession they adopted. Thus in the thirty-second chapter of the Harivansa, it is said, that Mitreyu, the son of Rájá Devidása, was a Brahmarsi, his son was Soma Maitráyana, from whom proceeded the Maitráya Kshetriyas. Again, in the twenty-ninth chapter of the same work, we read that from Bhargarája, the son of Venuhotra, from Vatsabhúmi, the son of Vatsa, and from Bhrigubhúmi, the son of Bhárgava, all of the family of Angira, proceeded innumerable children of

* It seems not improbable that in process of time, those of the aborigines who conformed themselves to the Bráhmanic law, were admitted to the rank of Súdras, thus swelling the number of this class of people to a degree in which they are found in Manu and in subsequent times

the Brahmana, Kshetriya and Vaishya castes. According to the Vāya Purāna, the son of Venuhotra was Gārgya, and Gārgya's son was Gargabhūmi, and the son of Vatsa was Vātsya. The children of these two celebrated personages were reckoned some as Brahmanas and the others as Kshetrias. In the Bhāgavata Purāna we find that from Gabhira, a descendant of Pururavā (Kshetriya) proceeded Brahmanas. According to the Vishnu Purāna, the son of Riteyu, of the family of Yayāti, was Rantināra, who was the father of Tansu, Apatīrtha, and Dhruva. In the family of Apatīrtha was born Kanva, whose son was Medhatithi. From Medhatithi proceeded the Kānvīya Brahmanas, while the son of Tansu was Anitā, the father of Dushyanta, from whom proceeded the celebrated Bharata, the lord of the country, called Bhāratavarsa (Vishnu Purāna 4-19-2). Again, seventh in descent from Tansu, was born Ajamidha, and seventh in descent from Ajamidha, was born Mudgala. From the family of Mudgala proceeded the Kshetriyaja Brāhmanas, or Brāhmanas born out of the loins of Kshetrias (Vishnu Purāna, 4-19-16). Further, we read in the Bhāgavata Purāna (9-21-19) that the brother of Garga was Mahāvīrya, whose son was Duritakshaya. In the family of Duritakshaya were born Trayārūni Kavi and Pushkarārūni, who all obtained the rank of Brāhmanas. It is also a known fact that Rājā Janaka, of Mithila, attained the rank of Brāhmana, and that among the Vedic Rishis many were of the Kshetriya and Vaishya classes.

Although, as a matter of fact, there was not at first a very sharp line of distinction between the classes into which the Aryan community was divided for the purposes of its economy, yet in later times we find the reverse to be the case. As the descendants of the first Aryan settlers increased in number and multiplied and gradually extended over the country, by driving before them the original inhabitants, they by degrees began to regard the respective classes to which they belonged as their birthright which they could not forego. Inter marriages between the different classes, at least in the direct order, were allowed and recognised as valid. The children of such unions, called *Anulomas*, were allowed some privileges, as respects sacred rites, studying, and so forth.

The laws defining the position to which the different classes of the Aryan community belong are set forth in detail in the Mānava Dharma Shāstra (the Institutes of Manu), or rather, more correctly, Bhṛigu's rescension, or edition of the laws promulgated by Manu. The precise time when these laws were embodied in their present form has not been ascertained. Sir William Jones fixes the date of the Institutes at about

1280 years before the Christian era, while later Oriental scholars assign different dates to them as shown below :—

Schlegel	...	...	...	about	1000 B. C.
Elphinstone	...	...	...	"	900 "
Professor Monier Williams	...	...	...	"	500 "
Dr. Max Muller	not earlier than	"	...	"	200 "
Dr. Weber	...	...	...	Before	200 A. D.

It is useless to waste our time on a point which does not directly concern our subject, and on which so many learned Pandits of Europe have wasted their energy, with the result that each differs in opinion from the other remarkably.

The Mánava Dharma Shástra, or the Institutes of Manu, are the most ancient treatise which contains "the sacred laws in their order, as they must be followed by all the four classes, and by each of them, in their several degrees, together with the duties of every mixed class." It contains also the origin of the four principal Varnas, or castes, as well as of the Varna-sankaras (mixed castes). It is a book sacred in the eyes of the Aryas, and the Pandits are agreed that its authority should never be questioned.

According to Manu there are four castes (Varnas)—the Bráhmaṇa, the Kshetriya, the Vaisya, and the Súdra. The first three are called the twice-born ones, while the fourth has one birth only; there is no fifth caste.—(Manu, Chapter X., v. 4). The four Varnas, or castes, are then pure; persons outside the pale of these four Varnas are Varnasankaras (mixed castes).

The duties of the four principal castes are thus set forth by Manu: "The Bráhmaṇas must teach and study (the Veda), sacrifice for their own benefit and for others, give and accept alms. The Kshetriya must protect the people, bestow gifts, offer sacrifices, study the Veda, and abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures. The Vaisya must tend cattle, bestow gifts, offer sacrifices, study the Veda, carry on trade, lend money, and cultivate land. The Súdra has only one occupation to follow, viz., to serve meekly even the other three castes, (Manu.—Chapter I., v. 88-91). And further:—"Abstinence from injuring (creatures), veracity, abstinence from unlawfully appropriating (the goods of others), purity, and control of the organs, Manu has declared to be the summary of the law for the four castes.—(Chapter X., v. 63.)"

The first rule which Manu lays down to determine the caste of a person is thus set forth:—

"In all castes, (Varna) those (children) only which are begotten in the direct order on wedded wives, equal (in caste, and married as) virgins, are to be considered as belonging to the same caste (as their fathers).—(Chapter X., v. 5.)"

The next rule appertains to persons who are similar, but not the same, in class with their parents, and runs thus :—

“Sons, begotten by twice-born men on wives of the next lower castes, they declare to be similar (to their fathers, but) blamed* on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers.” —(Chapter X., v. 6.)

In laying down this rule Manu does not take the trouble of enumerating the names of these sons. Dr. Wilson, in his “Indian Caste,” thinks that a verse has here disappeared from the Code. But the commentators of Manu do not say so, and one of them, Kulluka Bhatta,† supplies the want. The following table shows who these offsprings are :—

<i>Father.</i>	<i>Mother.</i>	<i>Caste.</i>	<i>Occupation.</i>
• Bráhmāna	Kshettriya	Múrdhabhisikta	Teaching military exercises.
Kshettriya	Vaishyāni	• Máhisya	Music, astronomy and keeping herds.
Vaisya	Súdrāni	Karana or Kayastha	Attendance on Princes.

The Múrdhabhisikta caste is said to be no longer in existence,‡ but there can be no question about the existence of the other two, especially of the last, who in Bengal are regarded as occupying a social position next to the Bráhmanas, to the exclusion of the Kshettriyas and Vaisyas.

The social position which Manu assigns to those mentioned in verses 5 and 6 is thus set forth :—

“Six sons begotten (by Aryas) on women of equal and the next lower castes (Anantara) have the duties of twice-born men ; but all those born through a violation (of the law) are, as regards their duties, equal to Súdras.” (Chapter X., v. 41.)

The other mixed castes as given by Manu are enumerated in their order below :—

<i>Father.</i>	<i>Mother.</i>	<i>Caste.</i>	<i>Explanation.</i>
Bráhmāna	Vaisya	Ambastha§	Art of healing (Vaidya).
Bráhmāna	Súdrāni	Nisháda also called Pátasava.	As distinguished from Nisháda, who is a Pratiloma, and who subsists by catching fish as mentioned in verse 48.
Kshettriya	Súdrāni	Ugra	Ferocious in manners and delighting in cruelty. Occupation—catching and killing animals living in holes.

Sons begotten by a Bráhmāna on women of the three lower

* *i. e.*, excluded from the father's caste.

† Kulluka Bhatta was a native of Bengal, and flourished before Raghunandana, the celebrated Juggiveri of Nadia (Navadvipa). His commentary on Manu, written at Benares, in consultation with the learned Pandits of that place, is highly valued throughout the country. Speaking of it, Sir William Jones says :—“It is the shortest, yet the most luminous, the least ostentatious, yet the most learned, the deepest, yet the most agreeable commentary ever composed on any author, ancient or modern, European or Asiatic.”—Preface to the Laws of Manu.

‡ Wilson's “Indian Caste,” vol. I. p. 55.

§ Ambastai (Ἀμβασταῖ) is mentioned by Ptolemy.

castes, by a Kshetriya on women of the two lower castes, and by a Vaisya on a woman of the one caste below him, are called Apasada, or base-born.

Next we come to sons begotten in the inverse order, who are known by the appellation of Pratilomas, as distinguished from Anulomas, who are born in the direct order. They are :—

<i>Father.</i>	<i>Mother.</i>	<i>Caste.</i>	<i>Explanation.</i>
Kshetriya	Brāhmaṇī	Sūta „	Management of horses and chariots
Vaisya	Kshetriyaṇī	Māgadha	Trade.
Vaisya	Brāhmaṇī	Vaidela or Vaidchaka	Service of woman. Office of guardian in the harem. „
Sūdra	Vaisyaṇī	Ayogava	Carpenter's work
Sūdra	Kshetriyaṇī	Kshattri	Catching and killing animals living in holes.
Sūdra	Brāhmaṇī	Chandala	Excluded from living in town or village.

“As an Ambastha and an Ugra (begotten) in the direct order on (women) one degree lower (than their husbands) are declared (to be), even so are a Kshattri and a Vaidchaka, though they were born in the inverse order of the castes (from mothers one degree higher than the fathers).”—(Chapter X., v. 13.) The meaning of this is that the Kshattri and the Vaidchaka, though Pratilomas, hold the same position with respect to sacred rites, but not with respect to studying and so forth, and are as fit to be touched as the true Anulomas. This explanation is given by the commentators Medhatithi, Govindarama and Kullūka, Bhatta mentions the second point of equality only.

“Those sons of the twice-born begotten on wives of the next lower castes, who have been enumerated in due order, they call by the name Ananṭaras (belonging to the next lower caste) on account of the blemish (inherent) in their mothers.”—Chapter X., v. 14. The meaning of this verse is that they are reckoned as belonging to the mother's caste and receive the sacraments according to the law prescribed for the mother's caste. All the commentators of Manu, *viz.*, Medhatithi, Govindarama, Kullūka Bhatta, &c., agree in this explanation.

We next come to other mixed castes enumerated by Manu ; their names are given in order below :—

<i>Father.</i>	<i>Mother.</i>	<i>Caste.</i>	<i>Explanation.</i>
Brāhmaṇa	Ugra female	Avrita	
Brāhmaṇa	Ambastha female	Abhira	Modern Ahir.
Brāhmaṇa	Ayogava female	Dhigvana	Worker in leather.
Nishada	Sūdra female	Pukkasa	Catching and killing animals living in holes.
Sūdra	Nishada female	Kukkutaka.	
Kshattri	Ugra female	Svapaka	Must live outside the village.
Vaidchaka	Ambastha female	Vena	Playing drums.

Vrātyas are those sons whom the twice-born beget on wives of equal caste, but who, not fulfilling the sacred duties, are excluded from the Sāvitrī. From a Vrātya of the Brāhmaṇa

caste, by a Bráhmaṇa female, spring the wicked Bhriggakantaka,* the Avantya,† the Vatadhána,‡ the Pushpadha,§ and the Saikha.|| From a Vrátya of the Kshetriya caste, spring the Jhalla, the Mulla, the Licchivi, the Nata, the Karana, the Khasa and the Dravida. From a Vrátya of the Vaisya caste, are born a Sudhanvan, an Achárya, a Karusha, a Vijanman, a Maitra, and a Sátvata.

The following rule is laid down by Manu to distinguish sons who owe their origin to a confusion of the castes.

“By adultery (committed by persons) of (different) castes, by marriages with women who ought not to be married, and by the neglect of the duties and occupations (prescribed) to each, are produced (sons, who owe their origin) to a confusion of the castes.”—(Chapter X., v. 24.)

The six Pratilomas, *viz.* the Síta, the Vaidchaka, the Chandála, the Magadha, the Kshattri and the Ayogava, “beget similar races (Varna) on women of their own (caste), they (also) produce (the like) with females of their mother's caste (*Jati*), and with females (of) higher ones.”

These (who are excluded by the Aryan and called Váhya), marrying inversely, beget fifteen yet lower tribes, the base producing still baser; and in a direct order they produce fifteen more as shown below:—

IN INVERSE ORDER.

<i>Father.</i>	<i>Mother.</i>	
1. Mágadha	Female of the Síta	Caste.
2. Vaideha	“ Mágadha	“
3. “	“ Síta	“
4. Ayogava	“ Vaideha	“
5. “	“ Mágadha	“
6. “	“ Síta	“
7. Kshattri	“ Ayogava	“
8. “	“ Vaideha	“
9. “	“ Mágadha	“
10. “	“ Síta	“
11. Chandála	“ Kshattri	“
12. “	“ Ayogava	“
13. “	“ Vaideha	“
14. “	“ Mágadha	“
15. “	“ Síta	“

IN DIRECT ORDER.

<i>Father.</i>	<i>Mother.</i>	
1. Síta	Female of the Mágadha	Caste.
2. “	“ Vaideha	“
3. “	“ Ayogava	“
4. “	“ Kshattri	“
5. “	“ Chandála	“

* According to a commentator of Manu, the modern name is Barúda, the name of the caste of basket-makers.

† Living by sorcery.

‡ Serve in war.

§ Spies.

|| The Karana mentioned here is quite different from Karara, or Kayastha, noticed in verse 6.

		Female of the Vaideha	Caste.
6.	Mágadha	Ayogava	"
7.	"	Kshattri	"
8.	"	Chandála	"
9.	"	Ayogava	"
10.	Vaideha	Kshattri	"
11.	"	Chandála	"
12.	"	Kshattri	"
13.	Ayogava	Chandála	"
14.	"	Chandála	"
15.	Kshattri	Chandála	"

A Dasyu* begets on an Ayogava woman a Sairandhra, who is skilled in adorning and attending his master, who, though not a slave, lives like a slave, or subsists by snaring animals.'

A Vaideha begets on an Ayogava woman "a sweet-voiced Maitreyaka, who, ringing a bell at the appearance of dawn, continually praises (great) men."

A Nishada† begets in the same way a Márgava or Dása, who subsists by working as a boatman, and is called a Kaivarta.

Some of the other low tribes as given by Manu are enumerated below :—

<i>Father.</i>	<i>Mother.</i>	<i>Offspring.</i>	<i>Occupation.</i>
Nisháda	A woman of the Vaideha caste	Kátúvara	Working in leather.
Vaidchaka	A woman of the Kátúvara caste	Audhra	Dwelling outside the village.
Vaiúchaka	A woman of the Nisháda caste	Meda	Ditto.
Chandála	A Vaideha woman	Páudusopáka	Dealing in cane.
Nisháda	A Vaideha woman	Ahindika	.....
Chandála	A Pukkasa woman	Suful Sopáka	.....
Chandála	A Nisháda woman	Antyávasáyu	Employed in burial-ground.

The Apasada‡ and the Apadhvamśaya§ sons of the Aryas, shall subsist by occupations reprehended by the twice-born.

It is not possible to identify all the mixed castes mentioned in the Mánava Dharma Shástra with the castes or tribes which at present inhabit the country. The political conditions of India are quite different from those of the time when Manu's laws were collected and embodied in their present form, and hence some of the mixed castes, at least, who had fixed duties to perform under the Hindu monarchs, were obliged to go abroad in the country in search of livelihood, when foreign rulers became the masters of the land, and thus lost their original distinction. Religious movements, such as the rise and spread of Buddhism, the severe struggles which the Bráhmaṇas carried

* Manu's definition of Dasyu is this :—"Those tribes who are excluded from the community of the Bráhmaṇas, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas and Súdhas, are called Dasyus, whether they speak the language of the Mlecchas (barbarians) or that of the Aryas." Ch. X., v. 45.

† Here Pratiloma Nisháda.

‡ Base-born sons.

§ Apadhvamśaya sons are sons born in consequence of a violation of the law.

on for centuries to regain their lost privileges, and the ultimate triumph of Bráhmaism, resulting in the final expulsion of the Buddhists from the country, have operated as causes in changing the social status of the people, particularly of the lower classes. The preachings of Nanaka and Chaitanya, too, had the effect of producing religious sects which proved a fortress of refuge to many a mixed class. But it is believed, and with good reason, that the four principal castes and a few mixed castes of higher orders, as we find them in Manu, have remained intact amidst the civil and religious tumults which have passed over the head of the nation from time to time.

Having sufficiently guarded ourselves from being misunderstood by the reading public, we will next consider the castes as we find them in Bengal.

THE BRAHMANAS.

The castes, as we find them in the Mánava Dharma Shastra, or the Institutes of Manu, of which a summary description has been given in the preceding pages, exist in Bengal in their natural order and in all their pristine vigour. There is no question that the Bengalis are the descendants of the great Aryan people who, in times of yore, crossed the Indus and settled in Brahmavarta. Ethnology has established the fact that they are the same Aryas as the Bráhmanas, the Kshetriyas, the Vaisyas and the Súdras who inhabit other parts of the great Indian Peninsula and speak quite different languages. Even in their midst a Mitter (Mitra) differs not from a Mukharji, nor do the features of a Vaisya from those of a Bráhma, or a Kshetriya. A Suvarnavanik is as much an Aryan as a Kulin Bráhma.

It is said by some writers that in the present age (the *Kali Yuga*) there are neither Kshetriyas nor Vaisyas, and that, except the Bráhmanas, almost all are Súdras. This assertion is dogmatic and is unworthy of credence. Those who make this statement admit a proposition which is yet to be proved. No one can doubt that there are Kshetriyas and Vaisyas, too, though there may not be Bengali Kshetriyas, like Bengali Bráhmanas. In support of their argument these writers say that Hindu Society has lost its former great divisions, and has been split up into an infinite variety of decent castes of mixed parentage. There is no doubt that an infinite variety of castes of mixed parentage have sprung up in India—castes which the great Indian lawgiver never dreamt would ever come into existence. But what does it signify? Are these mixed castes ever allowed to mix with the members of the four great divisions of the Hindu Society, or even with people of any of the mixed classes of the *Anuloma* order? Can

it be shown that the outcastes of the three twice-born classes have ever been received back into the society from which they were cut off by acts of revolt? Do intermarriages ever take place between a Kshetriya and a Súdra, between a Vaisya and a Súdra, or between a Kshetriya of one order and a Kshetriya of another order, or between a Vaisya of one order and a Vaisya of another order? Such things can never take place in Hindu Society. In countries where no caste distinction prevails, a person who acquires heaps of glittering gold, no matter what his parentage might be, ^{is} we believe, allowed to mix freely with people of high pedigree. But the case is quite different in this country, where no one has ever witnessed intermarriages between a person of one class and a person of another class without both of them being excommunicated on the spot. Each class consists of persons of different *gotras* among which marriages take place. Intermarriage may take place, as we have recently witnessed, between a Bráhmāna and a Súdra, or between a Vaisya and a Bráhmāna in the case of persons who have embraced a religion other than Hinduism, but they are for ever cut off from the society of the Hindus. A person of the lowest class of the Hindu Society, such as a *Nishada* or a *Kaivarta*, will never drink water touched by such persons, not to speak of persons of the four principal castes, or of mixed classes of the *Anuloma* order. In no instance has such intermarriage taken place, and the persons been admitted as members of the respective class to which they belonged before.

From a very remote period of antiquity Bengal was peopled by branches of the great Aryan race. The Bráhmanas, the Kshetriyas, the Vaisyas, and the Súdras, as also people of mixed castes of Aryan origin soon covered the country from one end to another. The *Rámáyana* and the *Mahábhárata* contain allusions to places of Lower Bengal. Ethnology clearly proves that the people of Bengal are branches of the great Aryan stock.

The rise of Buddhism checked for some time the Bráhmanical ascendancy over the minds of the populace, but Bráhmanism at last prevailed and crushed the power of Buddhism. But although the Buddhists were vanquished and almost driven out of the country, the influence they exercised over the minds of the people lasted long, like fire concealed in cinders. In Bengal (or more properly Gauda) the influence was so great as to have completely ousted Vedic rites and ceremonies. The Bráhmanas of Bengal neglected and forgot the Vedas so much that when Adisúta, King of Gauda, consulted them as to how the *Putreshti Yajna* * was to be performed according to the rites

* Sacrificial ceremony for the welfare of the son. A person who has not been blessed with a son is said to get one by the performance of this *Yajna*.

prescribed in the Vedas, they confessed their total ignorance of them. This threw the King into a melancholic fit, till at last he resolved to restore the Vedas by importing Bráhmānas versed in the Vedic lore. Accordingly, in the tenth century of the Christian era, Adisúra wrote to Virasinha, King of Kanyakubja (Kanauj) to send five Bráhmānas of five different *Gotras* well versed in the Vedas. The five Bráhmānas came at the royal invitation with their wives and children accompanied by five faithful servants. Their names and *Gotras* are noted below :-

	Bráhmānas.	Gotras.	Servants	Gotras.
1.	Bhattanáráyana	Sándilya	Makaranda	Sankálina.
2.	Daksha	Káśyapa	Dasaratha	Gautama.
3.	Vedagarbha	Sávarna	Kúhúda	Vishvámitra.
4.	Chhándada	Vátsya	Purushottama	Maudgalya.
5.	Sriharsa	Bharadvāja	Vimúta *	Káśyapa.

These five Bráhmānas had fifty-six sons, *viz* :—

Bhattanáráyana	16
Daksha	16
Vedagarbha	12
Chhándada	8
Sriharsa	4

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These fifty-six sons became the founders of fifty-six families who were afterwards honoured by King Ballála Sena† with 56 villages as *Bráhmottara* lands, a village being assigned to each, and each of these fifty-six sons is reckoned as the father or patriarch of a distinct family. The fifty-six villages assigned to them being situated in that part of the country, called Radha, these Bráhmānas are called Radhí Bráhmānas. The appellations which they have received from residing in, or holding the possession of, the villages assigned to them by King Ballála are given below :—

16 sons of Bhattanáráyana the <i>Sándilya Gotra</i> .	14. Māschataka	36. Pushali
1. Vandyá	15. Vasuarí	27. Mūlagrámi
2. Kusuma	16. Karála.	28. Koarí
3. Dīrghángí	16 sons of Daksha of the <i>Káśyapa Gotra</i> .	29. Palásayó
4. Ghosali	17. Chaita	30. Pítamundi
5. Vatavyúla	18. Ambulí	31. Simaláyó
6. Párihá	19. Tailavarí	32. Bhatta
7. Kulakulí	20. Podadí	12 sons of Vedagarbha of the <i>Sávarna Gotra</i> .
8. Kusáí	21. Hada	33. Gangulí
9. Kulabhí	22. Guda	34. Pungsika
10. Seyaka	23. Bhúristúla	35. Nandí
11. Gargarí	24. Páladhí	36. Ghantá
12. Akúsaí	25. Pakdasí	37. Kunda
13. Kesarí		

* Alias Dasarathi.

† Ballála Sena is said by some to be the grand-son of Adisúra, by his daughter, but this is denied by others, who say that he was the seventh in descent from Adisúra's son-in-law.

38. Siyārika	8 sons of Chanddaa of the	4 sons of Śrīharsa of the
39. Satū	<i>Vātsya Gotra.</i>	<i>Bharadvāja Gotra.</i>
40. Dāyī	45. Kānjivillī	53. Mukhatī
41. Nāyī	46. Mahintā	54. Dindī
42. Pāri	47. Pūtītunda	55. Śāharī
43. Vālī	48. Piplāi	56. Rāyī
44. Siddhala	49. Ghosūla	
	50. Vapulī	
	51. Kānjārī	
	52. Simlāla	

There is, however, a similarity between the *Pravara** of the *Vātsya Gotra* and that of the *Sāvarna Gotra*. Hence the *Vātsya* and the *Sāvarna* are of the same *Pravaras*. The patriarch of Vedagarbha and Chhāndada being one and the same, the descendants of these two are reckoned as kinsmen, having the same blood running in their veins, and therefore intermarriages cannot take place among their descendants.

The Rādhī Brāhmanas are mostly followers of the *Kuthuma Sakhā* of the *Sāma Veda*; a few of them are *Yajurvedis*, but *Rigvedis* are scarcely met with among them.

The advent of the five Brāhmanas forms a marked epoch in the history of Bengal. Before that time Buddhism prevailed in the country, and the general morality of the people was at a low ebb. The introduction of the new element imparted new life into society for a time, but a re-action soon took place. Later on we shall have occasion to advert to this topic.

Next in rank to the Rādhī Brāhmanas stand the Vārendras. They are also the descendants of the five celebrated worthies who came to Bengal at the invitation of Adisūra. They have the same *Gotras* as the Rādhīs, viz., *Sāndilya*, *Bharadvāja*, *Sāvarna*, *Vātsya* and *Kāśyapa*. They left the country called Rādha, and sought for habitation in the land known as Varendra, which lies beyond the Ganges. They also received the honours of Kulinism at the hands of Ballāla Sena, and are either *Kulins*, *Srotriyas*, or *Kāp (Vansaja)*. The Vārendras have fifteen *gnais*.† They are Maitra, Bālma, Rudra, Sanjārini, Lahidī, Bhādudī, Bhādadā, Karanja, Nandanāvasī, Bhatta, Sālī, Sandel, Champatī, Jhampatī, Aditya and Kama Devata. Of these the first six are *Kulins*, the rest are *Mauliks (Srotriyas)*. The *Bhanga Kulins* are known as *Kāp (Vansaja)*. The *Ghataks*,

* Owing to the similarity of names of many *Gotra*-creating Rishis, these *Gotras* are qualified by the term *Pravara*, in order to avoid the mistake which would otherwise take place. The names of those persons who became celebrated are thus mentioned to the exclusion of others. This is what is understood by the term "*Pravara*."

† A *gawn* is a village, and is derived from the Sanscrit word *grām*. A *gnai (gramin)* is, therefore, one residing in or having the possession of the village conferred as a *Brāhmottara* land by King Ballāla.

who are employed in keeping genealogical accounts of the Varendra class, are known as *Kulaggnas*.

Among the Rádhí Bráhmanas a family once reckoned as *Vansaja* cannot mix with the Kulins, but the practice is quite different with the Varendras, among whom original or first *Káps* are always allowed to mix with the *Kulins* if they do good acts.

Polygamy is not so prevalent among the Varendras as among the Rádhís. *Anyapúrvá* marriage* is also prevalent among them. But a person marrying in *Anyapúrvá* is not respected in society.

There is another class of Bráhmanas in Bengal, called the Vaidiks, who are said to have left their original abode on the north of the Vindhya range, owing to the oppression of the Mahomedan rulers, and to have settled, some in Orissa and others in Bengal. The exact time when they came to Bengal is not known. The Vaidiks are either *Dákshinátyas*, or *Páschátyas*. Those who, on their daughters being born, at once make the marriage contract, promising to marry them in proper time to the bridegrooms selected, are known by the appellation of *Dákshinátyas*, while those who do not make such contracts, and who came to and settled in Bengal in later times, are called *Páschátyas*. The Vaidiks are not known by any *gáwn* (*grám*) or village, like the Rádhís and Varendras, and their number is comparatively small. But many of them are *Acháryas*, or *Gurús*, to the Rádhí and Varendra families. In process of time they became followers of the *Tantra Shástras*. The *Ghataks* say that they were excluded from Kulinism by King Ballála ; but the Vaidiks, themselves, assert that they opposed the right assumed by him of remodelling the castes, and declined to accept the distinctions conferred on the Rádhí and Varendra Bráhmanas. They are pretty numerous in Vikrampur, and are chiefly *Pandits* and astronomers.

Though not conferred by King Ballála there is among the *Dákshinátyas* a sort of *Kulinism* which is based on good acts. *Anyapúrvá* marriage is prevalent among them, but he who marries an *Anyapúrvá* is held in contempt by his kinsmen, and is doomed to occupy a degraded position in society.

There are twenty-four principal *Gotras* among the Vaidiks, as enumerated below :—

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Sándilya. | 5. Bharadvája. | 9. Agnivesmá. |
| 2. Kásyapa. | 6. Gautama. | 10. Krishnátreya. |
| 3. Vátsya. | 7. Sankálina. | 11. Vasistha. |
| 4. Sávarna. | 8. Kalvisa. | 12. Vishvámitra. |

* A girl betrothed to a bridegroom, who loses her would-be husband just before the nuptial ceremony takes place. This girl is called an *anyapúrvá*, i. e., a girl whose husband has already been fixed, but who through misfortune loses him before her hands are joined with those of her husband.

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 13. Kusika. | 17. Alamyána. | 21. Vásuki. |
| 14. Kausika. | 18. Parásara. | 22. Rohita. |
| 15. Ghrítakausika. | 19. Sauápyana. | 23. Vaiyághrapadya. |
| 16. Maudgalya. | 20. Atri. | 24. Jámadagnya. |

When King Ballála conferred *Kulinism* on the Rádhí and the Várendra Bráhmanas, he excluded the original Bráhmanas of Bengal from receiving the royal favours. Their number was counted and found to consist of 700 families, and hence they are known by the name "*Saptasati*."* Some of these Bráhmanas have mixed with the descendants of the five celebrated worthies, who came from Kanauj, some with the Vaidiks, while the rest are either *Agradánis*† or *Grahácháryas*, and gain their livelihood by attending at the *Skráddha* and other ceremonies of a like nature. The Saptasatis, who could not mix with other Bráhmanas, and who still remain separate, are Pithudi, Váláthuví, Nánaksáye, Jagáye, Sagáye, Yavagrámí, Kutnignéye, Aratha, &c.

The *Madhyasrení* Bráhmanas are found in Midnapore, Bankura, and the adjacent districts. At one time intermarriages took place between the Rádhis, the Várendras, and the Saptasatis on the one side and the Vaidiks on the other. Those Bráhmanas, who thus broke through the fetters of their own order, formed a distinct class, and are known as *Madhyasrení* Bráhmanas, or Bráhmanas who occupy a middle position. Their number is gradually on the increase. There is no hereditary *Kulinism* among them, but those who are of good disposition and who distinguish themselves by good acts are honoured in society. Nevertheless, those among them who are of the Sándilya, the Kásyapa, the Vátsya, the Sávarna and the Bharatvája *Gotras* are much more respected than the other.

We now come to another class of Bráhmanas who came to Bengal for trade or other purposes, but who are not completely domiciled there. Their communication with their kinsmen in the North-Western Provinces has been cut off, but they have not been able to mix with the Bráhmanas of this country. Their position is, therefore, isolated. They speak a language which is a mixture of the Bengali and the Hindi, and they are much addicted to the Vedic rites. Their family appellations are—Dobey, Chowbey, Tewadi, Pandá, Misví, Tripáthí, Trivedí, Satpathí, Píthi, Sukla, Bájapayé, Agnihotrí, Dasávamedhí, &c. These Bráhmanas have forty-two *Gotras*, of which

* Mr. Wilson, in his "Indian Caste," says that the Saptasatis are sometimes called Vaidiks, and are divided into *Páschátya* (Western) and *Dákshinátya* (Southern), but this statement is not correct, for the Vaidiks are a quite different class of Bráhmanas from the Saptasatis.

† Mr. Wilson speaks of the *Agradánis* as a separate class of Bráhmanas, but it appears that they are a branch of the Saptasatis, who have sunk in caste.

the first twenty-four are the same as those of the Vaidiks enumerated before, the rest, eighteen in number, having been created by eighteen Rishis, who separated themselves from the first twenty-four *Gotras*, and became the founders of eighteen different families. It is scarcely necessary to enumerate them.

There are certain other classes of Bráhmānas, who were originally, probably, pure Bráhmānas, but who, owing to the occupation they follow, have lost their dignity and have sunk in society. These are the *Agradānis*,* of about 400 or 500 families, who receive gifts at the *Preta-Shráddha*, the *Madaipodd* Bráhmānas, who repeat the *mantras* over the bodies of the dead when they are about to be cremated, the *Kapāli* and other Súdra-serving Bráhmānas, and the *Darvajña* Bráhmānas, who follow the profession of prognosticators and astrologers. Then we have the *Madyadoshi†* Bráhmānas, who are said to be the descendants of Vimpáksha, a Bráhmāna of Bírbbhum (more correctly Vírábhumā), who, although much addicted to drinking, was an extraordinary man, to whom miracles were ascribed.

There is also another class of Bráhmānas, who are said to be the descendants of a Súdra who was made a Bráhmāna by the word of Vyása. They are called Vyásokta Bráhmānas. These Bráhmānas are not much respected by the other Bráhmānas.

We will conclude our notice of the different classes of Bráhmānas by giving a short account of the Pir A'li Bráhmānas, who are well-known by the title of Thakur (Tagore). They are the descendants of Bhattanáráyana, through his son, Naru or Narsingha. The ninth in descent from the Bhattanáráyana was Dharanidhara, whose grandson was Dhananjaya. The tenth in descent from Dhananjaya, i.e., twenty-first in descent from Bhattanáráyana, was Purushotama, to whom the name Pir A'li was first applied. The fifth in descent from Purushottama, i.e., twenty-sixth from Bhattanáráyana, was Panchánana,‡ who left Jessore and settled at Govindapur. The son of Panchánana was Jayaráma, whose house was acquired by the British Government for the erection of the Fort William. He was the great-grandfather of the illustrious Dwarkanath Tagore and Prasanna Kumár Tagore, the son of Rammani Tagore and Gopimohan Tagore respectively.

The position of the Pir A'li Bráhmānas is isolated. Though descendants of Bhattanáráyana, who came to Bengal at the invitation of Adisúra, they are excluded from the community of Bráhmānas, owing to some blame which attached to the family

* See foot-note under the 'Saptasatis' (vide p. 354).

† Madya = wine and Doshi = blamed.

‡ Panchánana first assumed the title of Thakur or Tagore as it is now spelt.

when Purushottama was alive. If any pure Bráhmāna, attracted by the wealth of the Pir A'li Bráhmanas, marries a daughter of the latter, he at once becomes a Pir A'li Bráhmāna, and is cut-off from the society of his kinsmen.

KULINISM AS INSTITUTED BY KING BALLALA AND AS REORGANISED BY DEVIVARA.

We have seen before that the five Bráhmānas who came to Bengal at the invitation of Adisúra, had fifty-six sons, and that each of these fifty-six sons became the recognised father or patriarch of a separate family. In course of time some of the children* of these fifty-six patriarchs were found wanting in strict observance of all that religion demanded, and in the good qualities, which, according to the Hindu *Shástras*, should distinguish people of the highest caste from people of other castes. Accordingly, King Ballála, of the Ambastha (Vaidya) caste, who filled the throne of Gaúda about the twelfth century of the Christian era,† determined to create "an aristocratic and powerful hierarchy, placed in such a position of dignity that no misdemeanour and immorality could deprive it of hereditary privileges, or the reverence of the lower classes."‡ Having made up his mind to carry out this social reform, the King invited the representatives of the fifty-six families, and appointed a day for conferring upon them the honours of *Kulinism*. Some of the Bráhmānas attended the Royal Court at about 9 A.M., some at about 10-30 A.M., and the rest at about 1-30 P.M. Those who attended at 1-30 P.M. were considered model Bráhmānas, who must have performed daily the routine of all religious rites before they were able to attend, and were honoured with the highest rank of *Kulinism*. Those who attended at about 10-30 A.M. obtained the second rank of *Kulinism*, and are known by the appellation of *Srotriyas*, while those who attended at about 9 A.M. were placed last in the rank of *Kulinism*, and became *Gauna Kulins*. The number of families that received the three ranks of *Kulinism* are as shown below :—

8 families	...	Mukhya or first grade Kulins
34	"	Srotriyas or second grade Kulins
14	"	Gauna or last grade Kulins

Total ... 56.

With the establishment of *Kulinism* a code of law was passed, the principal features of which are that the *Kulins* should give

* The word "children," as used here, must be understood in a wide sense, including grandchildren and great-grandchildren also.

† The date of Ballála Sena is given by Dr. Rajendralála Mitra, as A.D. 1066. See *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1865, page 126. But this is disputed by others.

‡ See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII, Part III, No 1, 1893.

their daughters to and receive daughters from the *Kulin* family. They were also permitted to receive *Srotriya* daughters, but could not give their daughters to *Srotriyas*, and could never receive daughters from a *Gauna Kulin* family.* Those who acted otherwise lost the dignity of their rank. At the time of the institution of *Kulinism* a village with other rent-free lands was assigned to each family. Hence arose the fifty-six *gnais* (*gramins*) noted before.

In the new code of social law passed by Ballála Sena no provision was made for the elevation of the lower ranks when families became extinct, or when they fell from their position to lower ranks by contracting illegal marriages. Hence, as *Kulin* houses disappeared, the difficulty of procuring husbands for daughters greatly increased; the consequence was the giving of a number of daughters, amounting, in some cases, to 200 or 250, or more, to one person of the first grade *Kulin* family. The dire effects of having a plurality of wives can be imagined better than described. A person marrying (say) fifty wives (not to speak of 200 or more) in different villages can scarcely find time to visit each wife once a year. It is also not possible for him to bring in all the wives to his own house (a thatched cottage, perhaps), and cage them up in it. So he makes the best bargain of the foolish act, for which he himself is not so much to blame as the person who framed the code of law for the *Kulin* family. By turn he pays visits to each wife, demands money from her as due for the honour of the family in which he was born, and if her parents are sufficiently well off to satisfy his avidity, he tarries with her for a week or so, pockets the money and then hastens to pay a visit to another wife. Should the wife fail to satisfy his thirst for money, he abuses or ill-treats her and flies off at once, never to come again. The exacting of money from the families of wives became then a regular profession of the family of *Kulin Bráhmaṇas*, to the utter neglect of literary or religious pursuits. The nine good qualities which the first *Kulins* possessed at the time of Ballála Sena thus melted away, and the sons of *Kulin* families became a set of vain persons, expecting to be honoured on account of their *Kul* or family. "*Kulin* married women, neglected by their husbands, in hundreds of instances, live in adultery, in some cases with the knowledge of their parents. The houses of ill-fame at Calcutta and other large towns are filled with the daughters of *Kulin Bráhmaṇas*; and the husbands of these women have lately been found, to a most extraordinary extent, among the most notorious and dangerous dacoits—so entirely degraded, are these favourites of Ballála Sena,"†

* The work in which the *Kulin* arrangements made by King Ballála are recorded, is called "Mishra."

† Ward, Vol. I, p. 83.

When King Ballála instituted *Kulinism*, he had probably a good object in view, *vis.*, the creation of a number of Kulin families possessing nine good qualities. But he was short-sighted. He forgot to make in his code of social law provision for supplying the place of families which became extinct. Hence flowed all those evils and 'curses' which still remain a living scandal of the Bráhmāna community of Bengal. A Kulin Bráhmāna dies, and his wives, numbered by scores, become widows. Happily under the benign influence of English education, the practice of marrying a number of wives is fast decaying.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. X.—CAGLIOSTRO.

A CENTURY has not yet elapsed since, under the orders of the Pope, a lonely and half-forgotten captive was fretting out his soul in the upper storey of the dungeon of St. Angelo. His appearance, as described by his contemporaries, was common-place and even ignoble. His figure was squat and fat. He had a round bullet-head, with coarse black hair and a nut-brown complexion. His lips were thick and sensual, and he had a decided squint in his eyes. He spoke French and Italian with so execrable a Sicilian accent, that, as Pater Marcellus who reported his trial before the Inquisition recorded with humorous pathos, "it sounded as if he were talking Hebrew." His manner was so vulgar that a competent witness declared him to be "a lackey in disguise." A well-informed interviewer likened his appearance to that of "a Podolian bull." There was something, indeed, of nobility and of energy in his aquiline nose, in the bold sweep of his eyebrows, in his deep-ringing voice, in his square-set jaw, and, above all, in the dark steady gleam, which appears never to have been absent from his eyes. Still, he hardly suggested a person whom the Holy Roman Inquisition would deem worthy of its terrors. Nevertheless, this wretched captive was the greatest of mountebanks who ever strutted their hour on the boards of the world's fair. He was none less than that prince of charlatans, Cagliostro.

It is not enough to say that Cagliostro posed as a magician, or stood forth as the apostle of a mystic religion. After all, in its mild way, our own generation puts on its evening dress to worship at the feet of media, whose familiar spirits enable them to wriggle out of ropes in cupboards, or to project cigarette-papers from the ceiling. We ride our hobby, however, only when the whim seizes us, and, as soon as it wearies, we break it in pieces, and fling it aside with a laugh. But Cagliostro impressed himself deeply on the history of his times. He flashed on the world like a meteor. He carried it by storm. Princes and nobles thronged to his magic "operations." They prostrated themselves before him for hours. His horses and his coaches and his liveries rivalled a king's in magnificence. He was offered, and refused, a ducal throne. No less illustrious a writer than the Empress of Russia deemed him a worthy subject of her plays. Goethe made him the hero of a famous drama. A French cardinal and an English lord were his bosom companions. In an age which arrogated to itself the title of *the philosophic*, the charm of his eloquence

drew thousands to his Lodges, in which he preached the mysteries of his *Egyptian ritual*, as revealed to him by the Grand-Kophta under the shadow of the pyramids. His name has gone down to history for ever under the stigma of having been privy to the forgery of no less a name than that of the Queen of France for the most gigantic of swindles. He was flung, not like a felon, into a common gaol, but, like a noble, into the Bastille. Acquitted by the Courts, yet banished by the King, he proudly withdrew, a martyr to liberty, crying out with the scorn of a Titan of old: "Elsewhere will I make my voice heard," and five thousand people knelt down on the shore to receive his blessing as his vessel sailed for a freer country. There, on the 20th June, 1786, he "made his voice heard" in the predictions, that the Bastille should be demolished and converted into a public promenade, and that there should arise in France a ruler, who should abolish *lettres-de-cachet*, should convoke the General Estates, and should restore the true religion. Three years later, he burst into fiendish exultation over the fulfilment of his prophecy, as the mob swarmed over the parapets of the Bastille, and slaughtered the governor with his guard. Yet suddenly he was unmasked. A newspaper writer, whom he had received in his office with his hat insolently pulled over his brows, and whom he had ordered out of his house like a tramp or beggar, denounced him as a rogue and a quack. He fled. His power had vanished. He became almost penniless. He wandered at random from land to land, until at last he was arrested at Rome, and sentenced by the Inquisition as a heretic and a Freemason. He flickered out in a dungeon, forgotten and neglected, a spent rocket, the shadow of a great name.

Giuseppe Balsamo was born at Palermo on the 8th June, 1743. His usual alias, the "Conte di Cagliostro," was borrowed from an aunt, who bore the name without the title. His father, who was a respectable merchant, died in his childhood. Giuseppe was sent to a monastery for his education. He soon showed himself a graceless ne'er-do-weel. He fought with the police, forged passes for the theatre, robbed his uncle, blackmailed his cousin's lover, and kept the vilest company. He was suspected of the murder of a canon. He obtained access to the office of a notary, related to his family, for the purpose of forging a will of the Marchese Maurigi, whereby he defrauded a pious foundation. He also dabbled in magic. One of his experiments, in which, after a few passes in the air, he caused his companion to see a lady playing cards at her castle, if it be not mere hearsay, would certainly suggest a power of hypnotism. On another occasion, he swindled a goldsmith named Marano out of sixty ounces of gold by promising to

assist him in lifting a buried treasure. On entering the cavern, however, the luckless Marano found, not a treasure, but a crowd of Balsamo's accomplices, who, disguised as devils, gave him a sound thrashing. Marano swore to rip up the swindler with his dagger. Balsamo fled to Messina, where he picked up acquaintance with a strolling alchemist, calling himself Altotas, and of unknown origin. They travelled together to Alexandria and Rhodes, and afterwards obtained subordinate positions in the chemical laboratory of the Grand-master Pinto of Malta. Here Altotas died. Balsamo accompanied the Maltese Knight, Aguino, to Naples, and thence found his way alone to Rome, where he married a domestic servant named Laureenza Feliciani. He then went into partnership with a more refined scoundrel, calling himself the Marchese d'Agliata, and passing as a Colonel in the Prussian army. I mention these facts simply because they contain the germ of many of Balsamo's later pretensions.* The remainder of his earlier history is neither amusing nor instructive. It is the commonplace and sordid history of a scoundrel who, when the swindles of bill-forging and gold-making left him out at elbows, was glad to eke out a living as his wife's pander and bully.

In 1776, Balsamo was in England. He gave himself out as a Colonel in the Prussian service, and assumed various titles, of which the "Marchese Balsamo" and the "Conte di Cagliostro" are alone of importance. His wife called herself the "Countess Serafina Feliciani." She must have been of very striking beauty. As late as the trial, the worthy Father Marcellus describes her, with some enthusiasm, as still young, of middle size, with very white complexion, a rounded face, and a noble though buxom figure. He adds that her sparkling eyes, combined with her soft and engaging manner, and her interesting features, with their slightly melancholy expression, were well calculated to inspire a warmer passion.* Cagliostro posed as a species of wonder-doctor, receiving payment from the rich only to scatter it among the poor. He carried about two mysterious substances, his "Materia Prima," a red powder, with which he multiplied gold, and his "Egyptian Wine," with which he prolonged existence. He dropped hints that he was the son of the Grand-Master Pinto of Malta and a Princess of Trebizonde. He borrowed from the Comte de St. Germain the suggestion that he had attended as a guest at the wedding of Cana. He hawked common powders against wrinkles. He had to flee the country on account of legal proceedings, on the part of Miss Fry and Mr. Scott, whom he had victimised with such gross devices as pretending to foretell by astrology the numbers to be successful in a lottery, and obtaining a diamond necklace on the pretext that, by burying it in the ground, he

could increase the size of the jewels. Altogether, he does not appear to have risen much above the level of a jack-pudding in a quack-doctor's booth. The really important matters in connection with this visit are two: *1st*, that he was initiated into Freemasonry, and took four degrees, in the Scotch Lodge "Hope" in London; and, *2nd*, that he picked up, at a second-hand book-stall, the mystic writings of one George Coston, which suggested to him the idea of the Egyptian ritual.

A summary of the leading tenets of this ritual may be of interest. There are two chief sets of materials from which such a summary can be constructed: *1st*, the Inquisitors' account of the contents of a manuscript, entitled "Egyptian Masonry," which was discovered at Cagliostro's lodging when he was arrested, and which was destroyed by the Court's order at the close of the trial; and, *2nd*, the memoranda taken by Elise von der Recke at Mitau in 1779 of a lecture delivered by Cagliostro and published in her treatise in 1787. The tenor of these materials is different. "Egyptian Masonry" embodied the observances of votaries and the constitution of Lodges. The lecture traced the steps by which the votary could advance to higher powers over the spirit-world.

Freemasonry, according to Cagliostro, was founded by Enoch and Elias. It was open to both sexes. Its present form, especially with regard to the exclusion of women, is a corruption. The true form was preserved only by the Grand-Kophta, or High-Priest of the Egyptians. By him it was revealed to Cagliostro. The votaries of any religion are admissible, subject to three conditions: *1st*, that they believe in the existence of a God; *2nd*, that they believe in the immortality of the soul; and, *3rd*, that they have been initiated into common masonry. The candidate must swear an oath of secrecy, and of obedience to the *Secret Superiors*. The patron of Egyptian Masonry is St. John, not the Baptist, but the Evangelist. It is divided into the usual three grades of Apprentice, Fellow-craft, and Master-mason. A Lodge has four chief officers:—

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) the Venerable, | (3) the Keeper of the Seal, |
| (2) the Orator, | (4) the Inspector, |

each with a Deputy. The ceremonies are so ludicrous that they read like the practical jokes of a cynic. When a woman is admitted as an apprentice, a lock of her hair is cut off, and returned to her at the close of the ceremony, with the direction to present it, with a pair of gloves, to the man of her choice. Men are passed to the degree of Fellow-craft in the name of *Helion*, *Melion* and *Tetragrammaton* (which words, Cagliostro gravely informed the Inquisition, are Arabic, and holy). In raising a brother to the degree of Master-mason, the Venerable requires the services of an innocent boy or girl, known as

the "orphan," who, solemnly invested with a white gown and blue sash, is placed behind a screen, called the "tabernacle." This tabernacle contains only a footstool and a table with three burning candles. Here there will appear to the orphan in a vision the seven pure spirits:—

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| (1) Anael. | (4) Gabriel. |
| (2) Michael. | (5) Uriel. |
| (3) Raphael. | (6) Zobiachel. |
| (7) Annachiël. | |

These will declare, whether the candidate is or is not worthy of office. In case of a woman, however, Moses must also be summoned, and will declare his assent by retaining in his hand, throughout the vision, the wreath of artificial roses with which she will be invested. The object of Egyptian Masonry is *Perfection*, to be obtained only through *Regeneration*, which is partly *Moral* and partly *Physical*. Either species of regeneration must be preceded by *Isolation*, called the "Quarantine," and lasting for forty days. Moral regeneration is effected as follows: On a high mountain, known for this purpose as "Sinai," the candidates, who must consist of thirteen Master-masons, are secluded in a building, to be called "Sion," and to be built in three storeys, each forming one apartment. The upper apartment is 18 feet square, with one small entrance, and, on each side, four oval windows. The second apartment, which is round, and lit up by a single lamp, contains thirteen beds, and is called "Ararat," in memory of the mountain on which the ark found repose. The third chamber is a storehouse and dining-room. Every day, six hours are to be passed in meditation and rest, three in prayer, nine in religious exercises, and six in recruiting the shattered energies. The religious exercises include the preparation of pentagrams out of the skin of a lamb or a Jewish boy's caul. On the 33rd day the candidates will begin to be visited by the seven pure spirits. At last, on the 40th day, these spirits will hand over, to each candidate, one pentagram, signed with all seven names, and seven pentagrams, each signed with one name only. The one pentagram gives the holder control over all seven spirits. Each of the seven pentagrams, however, gives control merely over its signatory, but (save the mark?) is a transferable instrument. For physical regeneration, the Master-mason must, every fiftieth year, lock himself up, with a friend, at full-moon, in an apartment with an alcove. His diet consists of light broth with herbs, and rain-water, which must have fallen in May. Each meal must begin with a fluid and end with a bread-crust. On the 17th day, the candidate is to be cupped, and begin to take certain white drops, six in the morning and six in the evening increasing the number by two each day up to the 32nd. He

is then again cupped in the morning twilight, and put to bed, where he remains till the operation is completed. On the 33rd, he will take one grain of the *materia prima*, which will be followed by loss of consciousness. On recovering his senses, he will be given a broth, prepared from a pound of beef, without fat. On the 34th, two grains will be administered. The candidate will become delirious, and will lose his skin and his teeth and his hair. A tepid bath follows on the 35th. On the 36th, one grain of *materia prima* is to be taken in a glass of old wine. The candidate will fall into a gentle sleep, during which his skin and his teeth and his hair will grow afresh. On awaking he will take a perfumed bath, and, on the 38th day, a bath of saltpetre. On the 39th, ten drops of Cagliostro's balsam will be administered in two spoonfuls of claret. On the 40th day the physical regeneration is complete. The benefit to be derived reads almost like the tag of a quack-doctor at a fair. The candidate's life is prolonged—until the Almighty shall be pleased to take it away.

In the lecture, to which I have already alluded, Cagliostro declared Moses, Elias and Christ to be the Secret Superiors. They have attained to such perfection in Masonry that, exalted into higher spheres, they are able to create fresh worlds for the glory of the Lord. Each is still the head of a secret community. Such a community falls into five classes, each recruited from that below. The first and lowest, composed of the elect of perfect Master-masons, comprises 72 members, who possess an elixir for prolonging life, but are forbidden to divulge it to others without the sanction of the Secret Superiors. The second comprises 49 members, who possess the powers, firstly, of transmuting metals into gold by the "red powder;" and, secondly, of instantly communicating their thoughts to their superiors, though more than a hundred miles distant. The third comprises 35 members, and the fourth, 24. These two classes constitute the most critical period of development, during which the evil spirits labour to lead astray the members to black magic. The fifth and highest comprises 12 members, one of whom, at the time of the lecture, was about to be exalted to the sphere of the Superiors, and thereby head a fourth community. Cagliostro modestly claimed to belong to the third class in the community of Elias. Members, during this long course of perfection, must, of course, often appear to die. Cagliostro, in his lecture, prophesied that he would soon undergo such a momentary demise. In fulfilment of this prophecy, he pretended to die, and return to life, at Lyon, six years later in 1785. Perfect wisdom is embodied in three chapters, missing out of the Bible, but to be recovered by a proper understand-

ing of the formula I. S. H., the sun, the compass, and triangle, the numbers 2 and 7, 3 and 9, and the word Jehovah.

The greatest miracle which Cagliostro ever performed, is, to my mind, that he ever persuaded anybody to listen to this rubbish. The "Arabic" formula is on a level with the gibberish of a gipsy fortune-teller. Professor Norberg of Upsala accosted him in Arabic at Strásburg, and the charlatan could only stare in helpless ignorance. The whole system was patched up of snatches of those mystic missions, with which visionaries like Swedenborg and swindlers like Schrepfer had rendered the world familiar. The trial before the Inquisition discloses that Cagliostro was familiar with both these teachers. "Svedieborg" and "Scieffort," however, are the nearest approach, that honest Pater Marcellus can make to names so barbarous. Much acumen has been wasted in attempts to explain Cagliostro's amazing influence, on the ground that he was a secret emissary of the Jesuits, who plotted to enslave men's minds by entangling them in mystic day-dreams. Such a thesis, on the face of it, is not argument, but invective. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that Cagliostro must, beyond question, have had the support of the Jesuits. The suggestions, by which the thesis is supported, are four in number: *1st*, that contemporary opinion set him down as a Jesuit emissary; *2nd*, that Schrepfer was such an emissary, and that Cagliostro indented largely on his system; *3rd*, that Cagliostro's operations were directly conducive to the attainment of the Jesuits' object; and, *4th*, that no other theory will explain the immense sums of money, of which he was able to dispose. None of these suggestions are established. In the first place, contemporary opinion was not, by any means, unanimous in setting down the adventurer as a Jesuit emissary. Many regarded him as one of the leaders of the mysterious, and chiefly imaginary, Society of the Illuminati, to which that generation, unable to grasp the idea of the upheaval of a nation, attributed the working of the revolution. After all, however, the guess-work even of contemporaries is a very feeble argument. In the second place, it is not proved that Schrepfer was a Jesuit emissary, and it is certain that his system, if he had one, was bitterly opposed by Cagliostro. Schrepfer was an innkeeper of Leipzig. He appears to have taken up mysticism as a money-making business. He attracted custom to his tavern by pretending to possess the secret wisdom of Freemasonry, and to be able to call up spirits from the tomb. He admitted women to his performances, and taught obedience to Secret Superiors. He *laid himself out* to be regarded as an instrument of the Jesuits, and, for this purpose, entered into correspondence with Dr. Stark and

Count Brühl, using the undoubted jargon of the society. Amongst other symbols, which were believed to appertain to the Jesuits, and which Cagliostro employed equally with Schrepfer, I may instance the formula I. S. H., the Sun, the Seven Spirits, supposed to refer to the seven sacraments, and the word Jehovah, which contained the numerical value of three times three, in allusion to the Trinity. These devices enabled him to persuade the world that he had been entrusted with a secret fund by the Jesuits. The success of this imposture turned his head. He gave himself out as the natural son of the Duke of Orleans, and a Colonel in the French army. He nodded familiarly to a prince, who had him flogged for insolence. He borrowed large sums of money on the security of mysterious caskets. He attempted to effect a secret arrangement, by which the Duke of Saxony was to become a mercenary of the Jesuits. The whole affair, however, was a swindle. Unable to keep up the pretext, Schrepfer shot himself on the 8th October, 1774, in the park known as the Rosenthal. The boxes, in which his treasures were deposited, contained rubbish and waste-paper. Cagliostro claimed to have met Schrepfer at Leipzig; but, though he patently borrowed hints from his life and his gibberish, he always protested his horror of his system, and even alleged that he had prophesied his death. Pater Marcellus, indeed, muddles up the dates of this occurrence; but the fact is very evident, that the charlatans were not in accord. When Cagliostro proceeded to Mitau in 1779, he found Dr. Stark performing all sorts of hocus-pocus in a secret and mystic society, of which he was the leader. A bitter quarrel existed between them, and each inveighed against the other as a "black magician." In the third place, Cagliostro's operations were not directly conducive to the attainment of the Jesuits' object. It would appear that the Jesuits' object was, or was supposed to be, to entice away Freemasons from the Lodges of the so-called "Strict Observance," of which they were afraid, as being organised on a severe system of obedience to almost self-electing superiors. Thus Schrepfer, writing to Dr. Stark, declared, in his mystic shibboleth, that he "must proceed against the Strict Observance; for that is the duty of the B.J.J." Cagliostro, however, throughout his trial, describes himself as specially visiting the Lodges of the Strict Observance; and if, as is generally supposed, Dr. Stark's mission was to leaven Freemasonry with Jesuit principles by what he termed the "clericatè," it stands to reason that Cagliostro, in preaching a crusade against him, was performing no service to the Order. In any case, it is difficult to understand how the Order could be served by a swindler who shamelessly plundered his converts for his own behoof. In the

fourth place, it is not true that no other theory will explain the immense sums of money of which he was able to dispose. Father Marcellus reckons up that, apart from presents, he must have made no less than 100,000 scudi out of his believers. At most places, he lived in apartments assigned to him by his wealthy disciples. In France, where his style was most dashing, it is certain that the Cardinal de Rohan paid for his extravagance. The Cardinal himself alluded to the fact in a letter, in which he laboured to prove "how unjust is the assertion of the world, that I am ruining myself for Count Cagliostro," though the reasons assigned, that his friend was "a god" and had "lived for the last 300 years," are not very convincing. The value of private presents may be estimated from the fact, that during his one month's stay at Warsaw, which was a failure from start to finish, 2,500 ducats in jewelry, besides 8,000 ducats in fees for operations, passed into his clutches. He certainly spent every farthing that he pocketed; for his wardrobe was actually seedy on his bolt from St. Petersburg, and, at the close of his last visit to London, he fled to avoid arrest, leaving his wife to face the catch-poles. The period of his magnificence, at most, extended to about seven years. Under the circumstances, there is not the least reason for supposing that he drew on a secret fund. The real fact is that Cagliostro was a shameless and cunning scoundrel, serving no purpose other than his own. The age was morbid. Except in England, where he found the fewest of his dupes among the better classes, all healthy interest in affairs of State was repressed with an iron heel. It gave place to a sickly craving for the art of gold-making, the elixir of life, the philosopher's stone, and the buried wisdom of the Templars. Secret societies, once, perhaps, necessary as a safeguard against oppression, were now required to invest these studies with a nimbus, which alone rescued them from exposure and ridicule. Then followed that awakening of ideas, which ended in the Revolution. People thought for themselves. The practical affairs of life furnished an all-absorbing interest. The musty cobwebs were brushed aside. Enfranchised citizens rebelled against the dictates of Secret Superiors. Cagliostro's occupation was gone. He was powerless, except before audiences of awe-hushed believers. He fell out of the ranks. The world shrugged its shoulders and he was forgotten.

From England, Cagliostro proceeded to the Hague, where he created some sensation by forming, under the Countess Feliciani, a Lodge of female Masons. A Dutch gentleman, however, paid him 400 rix-dollars for the numbers to be successful in the Brussels lottery; and, as soon as he had left to engage the numbers, the astrologer fled in hot haste to Venice,

where, under the alias of the Marchese Pellegrini, he swindled a merchant out of 1,000 sequins by all sorts of *hocus-pocus*, amongst which the arts of converting mercury into silver, and hemp into silk, figured largely. At Nuremberg, he eased a nobleman of a diamond ring, by giving him to understand that, though travelling *incognito*, he was a Grand-master of Freemasons. At Berlin and Danzig, he achieved no marked success. At Königsberg, the coarseness of his manners so disgusted the leaders of society; that, finding no one at home for his visits, he drove off in the highest dudgeon. He still appears, in fact, as a rather vulgar type of swindler in high life, with nothing very original in his claims or his methods. Nevertheless, he had already conceived a project so dazzling and so daring, that it reads almost like a fable. The Empress Catherine of Russia was undoubtedly the most powerful, and also the most brilliant, potentate in Europe. Her hobby was to transform Russia, by virtue of her fiat, from barbarism to culture. For this purpose, she was the avowed champion of "advance" in every department of thought. Cagliostro's idea was nothing less than to engraft on Freemasonry, and thereby disseminate through the world, his new and mysterious religion, with all the pomp and glamour of the Tsarina's patronage.

He began by feeling his ground with skill and with caution. In March 1779, he appeared at Mitau in the Baltic Provinces. Mitau appeared a convenient stepping-stone to St. Petersburg. His plan was to obtain a foothold among the German nobility at Mitau, and, supported by their influence, to enter St. Petersburg in triumph. At the outset his success was amazing. He took the little world of Kurland by storm. The reigning Duke and Duchess were deep in his mysteries. The leading nobles and their ladies worshipped him. In fact, a section of them offered to place him on the ducal throne. This offer he had the loyalty, or, as his wife declared, the caution to decline. The Duchess' sister, Elise von der Recke, was urged by her own father, Count von Medem, to accompany Cagliostro to St. Petersburg, and thereby to earn for Mitau the glory of furnishing the first Grand-Mistress of the Lodge, to be opened under the auspices of the Empress of all the Russians. Years afterwards, when Cagliostro was a prisoner in the Bastille, he referred to the Duke as one of the persons with whom he had associated at Mitau. By way of retort, Elise von der Recke published a treatise, in which she attempted to unmask the impostor. She was a lady of singular nobleness and sweetness of character. She appears, however, by brooding over the death of her brother, to have moped herself into a morbid state of day-dream, half-religious and half-mystic.

The first "operation" was held at the mansion of Count von

der Howen. A boy of six, the son of Marshal von Medem, and thus Elise's own cousin, was selected as the "innocent orphan." Cagliostro anointed the boy's left hand and head with "oil of wisdom," and thereby threw him into profuse perspiration. Cagliostro, who read out a psalm, *asked the boy's father, what vision he would like.* "His mother and sister," replied the father, afraid lest the child might be terrified by a strange apparition. The boy gazed for ten minutes at his anointed hand, and then cried: "I see my mother and sister." "What is your sister doing," asked Cagliostro. "She is clutching at her heart as if in pain," replied the boy, "and now she is kissing my brother, who has come home." This appeared impossible, because the brother was away, at a distance of some seven miles: but inquiry elicited, that, as a matter of fact, the brother had unexpectedly returned, and the sister had suffered from a severe attack of palpitation of the heart, in a house so distant, that the magician could not have informed himself of the occurrences by means of a mirror. Cagliostro, before his Judges, gave the same account of the experiment, except that he there described the boy as kneeling before a table, and gazing into a glass bottle, lit up from behind by two or three candles. This, however, was clearly an error of memory, because he described the boy as first seeing an angel, showing that he was confusing a later experiment.

On the 10th April, Cagliostro suddenly announced, that, as revealed to him by a spirit message, the familiar demons of a necromancer, by whom he meant Dr. Stark, were searching after an immense treasure and some magic instruments, deposited, 600 years before, by a potent sorcerer, at Wilzen, near the Baltic Sea. If the demons achieved their object, centuries, he alleged, would elapse, before the world would recover from the deadly effects. He sketched a plan of the forest, in which the treasure was buried. On the next day, the little von Medem saw, in a vision, an angel in the form of a child standing in a forest, and disclosing, beneath the earth, the treasure and the magic instruments, besides a casket of "red powder." Some time later, Cagliostro held, at the mansion of the von Medems, an "operation," in which the same boy again officiated as the "orphan." Cagliostro burnt a piece of paper, inscribed with magic characters, and rubbed the orphan's head with the ashes. The orphan was then locked in an apartment, in which two candles were burning on a writing table. By the side of the candles lay a sheet of paper, covered with magic characters. The audience assembled around the closed door. Cagliostro, waving his Freemason's rapier, broke into an incantation, of which nothing but the recurring formula *Helion, Melion, Tetragrammaton* could be understood. A spectator

who offered to satisfy himself, whether his doors were properly locked, was ordered back with frightful menaces. The orphan was directed to kneel, and Cagliostro asked, what he saw. The following colloquy was held through the closed door:—

Orphan.—I see a pretty boy, who last time opened the earth for me in the forest.

Cagliostro.—Good. Ask the boy to show you X., with chains at his throat and hands and feet?

Orphan.—I see X. He looks very sulky, and is fettered hand and foot, and at his throat too.

Cagliostro.—What do you see now?

Orphan.—The little boy keeps drawing the chain tighter.

Cagliostro.—Where is X. now?

Orphan.—(named X.'s estate, a few miles outside the town).

Cagliostro.—Stamp on the ground and order X. to disappear; and ask the pretty boy to show you the brother of your cousin von der Recke?

Orphan.—Her brother has come.

Cagliostro.—Does he look gay or sad? How is he dressed?

Orphan.—He looks pleased and is wearing a red uniform.

Cagliostro.—Tell him to answer "Yes" or "No" to my thoughts by signs.

Orphan.—He says "Yes."

Cagliostro.—What is he doing now?

Orphan.—He is laying his hand on his heart, and is looking at me pleasantly.

Cagliostro.—What would you like to see now?

Orphan.—The little girl that looks like your wife, and that you showed me last time.

Cagliostro.—What do you see now?

Orphan.—The little girl has come.

Cagliostro.—Embrace the little girl and kiss her; then ask her to show you the forest (the orphan was heard kissing the apparition).

Orphan.—I see the forest and a felled tree in it.

Cagliostro.—Ask the little girl that the earth may be opened?

Orphan.—The earth is open and I see five candle-sticks, gold, silver, and various papers, some red powder, and some iron instruments.

Cagliostro.—Now let the earth be closed up again, the whole forest disappear, and the little girl too, and tell me what you find there?

Orphan.—All has disappeared, and I now see a fine tall man, dressed in a long white robe, and with a red cross on his breast.

Cagliostro.—Kiss this man's hand, and let him kiss you? (Both kisses were heard)

Cagliostro called out the orphan. In the next instant he

himself sank fainting to the ground. He declared that, by leaving the magic circle too early, one of the spectators had broken his power over the demons. He entered the apartment, *closing the door behind him*. His voice was heard apparently upbraiding the demons in an unknown language. At last there was a "muffled noise," and he returned to the audience with an air of triumph. He explained that he had been compelled to chastise X., who was a local nobleman, and with whom he had, the day before, had a violent quarrel at dinner. They would discover, he added, that, when the orphan had seen him in chains, X. had been seized, on his estate, with spasms in his throat, and had sent for a certain doctor, whom he mentioned by name. On the following morning, inquiry elicited, that the allegations were correct; and, awed into submission, the whole party drove out, some days later, to Wilzen, to secure the treasure against the necromancer's attacks, until the date fixed for raising it should have arrived. After the usual mummeries, the orphan was again concealed behind the screen, behind which he was heard by the audience to descend the 14 steps of the charmed cavern, and to exchange kisses with the seven guardian spirits, while the treasure was secured by a magic nail, which no one could remove without the consent of Count von der Howen.

Elise von der Recke's account of these operations, from which the above statement is abridged, is, on the face of it, vague and incomplete. It is not stated, for instance, whether, in the first operation, the orphan was, or was not, concealed within the tabernacle. It must be recollected that the authoress published her description, after a lapse of eight years, from memoranda, taken when she was a blind believer. It may safely be assumed that the orphan was so concealed for three reasons: *1st*, because that is the practice laid down in the manual of his secret religion; *2nd*, because, in his statement at his trial, Cagliostro treated this operation as on the same footing as the others, in which the system was undoubtedly followed; and *3rd*, because this assumption is alone consistent with the orphan's later confession with regard to the working of the whole illusion. Incredible as it may appear, the little Count acted, in his own father's house, as the juggler's hired confederate. Cagliostro won him for his purpose by the bribe of a uniform, and then terrified him into silence by threatening to cut him limb from limb. The child had to rehearse each vision before his master, and, at the actual performance, refreshed his memory from coloured pictures of the apparitions, concealed under the sheet of paper, which was covered with magic characters, and lay on the writing-table, near the burning candles. This, of course, explains why, in the first place, Cagliostro objec-

ed to a spectator's offer to ascertain whether the doors were locked ; and why, in the second place, he entered the tabernacle before the audience, closing the door behind him. I must further point out that the dialogue was not reported in shorthand, and represents merely the recollections of a devoted believer. It will be observed, that the account of the third operation is most detailed, and that, in several places, there is in Cagliostro's questions a strong suggestion of "forcing answers." This, so far as it goes, corroborates the confession, afterwards made by two orphans at Warsaw. They explained that Cagliostro framed his questions in the form of an alternative, which, to the irreverent moderns, strongly suggests the dialogue in Ollendorff's phrase-books. The orphan, by way of reply, adapted the *first* portion of the alternative. For instance :—

Q.—Do you see the angels hovering above you, or do the pine-trees bow down to your feet ?

A.—The angels are hovering above me.

The kisses were produced by the orphans in kissing their own arms. In the absence of exact details with respect to time and place, we may be pardoned for doubting, on the authority of a blinded enthusiast, that distant events occurred quite at the moment, when they were reproduced in the vision. It appears, however, that, even at Mitau, it was suspected that Cagliostro had poisoned X. for the purpose of foretelling his illness ; and this opinion was strengthened by the circumstance, that, when Elise von der Recke was supposed to be assailed by unseen powers of evil, he repeatedly compelled her to take pinches from his snuff-box, to which she afterwards attributed her nightly spasms and sleeplessness. On the whole, the vaunted operations appear distinctly inferior to the performances of third-rate conjurers of to-day. It is remarkable, however, that Cagliostro's wife was the bitterest witness against him at his trial ; yet, though she truthlessly unbared his other swindles, she professed never to have been able to fathom the mystery of the orphans. In view of the independent confessions of orphans at Mitau and Warsaw, this profession can hardly have been genuine. I am far from suggesting that the Holy Court suborned false evidence ; but it is not difficult to discern that they were anxious to obtain proof that the accused person had meddled with *real* magic. For this purpose, they raked up, and placed on record, an account of a trick, reported to have been performed in his boyhood, and communicated to them, not by a witness, but by a letter from Sicily. A possible explanation is that Cagliostro's wife, shrewdly detecting this predisposition, tendered such evidence as she believed to be most welcome.

Cagliostro did not await the expiry of the term fixed for raising the treasure. Towards the end of his sojourn his credit appears to have been severely shaken. Even Elise von der Recke could not believe in a third elixir of life, which he produced under the name of Barba Jovis. In two of his lectures he let slip expressions, which shocked his hearers beyond measure, and which can be explained only by the "several bottles of wine," with which, according to his wife's evidence, he used to strengthen himself before he began. He beat his valet, and turned him out of doors. The valet revenged himself by publishing some home-truths. Elise von der Recke now refused to accompany the adventurer to St. Petersburg. He was compelled, once more, to make his appearance in the modest capacity of a wonder-doctor. His wife, however, who had now been exalted to "Princess Santa Corce," created a great sensation with her beauty. She accepted, from her admirers, the presents which her husband affected to decline. Suddenly, the Tsarina, without having granted Cagliostro an interview, ordered the worthy couple to cross the frontier at a moment's notice. The reason has never been determined. Three sensational rumours were current: *1st*, that the Tsarina disapproved of a love-passage between one of her favourites and the lovely princess; *2nd*, that the Scotch physician Rogerson, jealous of his practice, intrigued against the new-comer, who challenged him to a duel with poisoned pills; and, *3rd*, that Cagliostro, failing to save the life of a child-patient, had burnt the corpse in a vain attempt at palingenesis, and had substituted another child stolen from its parents. Probably the Empress Catharine simply turned him out as a dangerous charlatan, whose mystic operations were hurtful to the enlightenment which she was determined to introduce. At any rate, she considered ridicule the most effective weapon against him. In this spirit, she satirised him in two comedies, *The Impostor* and *The Dupe*, to which, some years later, she added a third, *The Shaman from Siberia*.

In May 1780, Cagliostro and his wife turned up at Warsaw. At his trial he afterwards admitted that he was compelled to flee from this city, owing to the failure of an attempt at spirit-raising. He was received, at the outset, with the highest distinction. It is possible that the Poles credited him with a political mission in favour of their liberty. A leading prince assigned him apartments in his palace. He paraded himself in the white shoes and red heels of a noble. Nevertheless, everything turned to fiasco. He selected, as the "orphan," a little girl, eight years of age. After pouring oil into her hands, he closed her in a room, the door of which was covered with a black curtain. The spectators collected out-

side. The usual colloquy followed, and the child's voice was heard speaking to visions of a grave and an angel, whom she kissed in the stereotyped manner. The performance closed, however, with a sorry piece of legerdemain. The sorcerer made the spectators write down their names on a piece of paper, which he appeared to burn before their eyes. He called out to the child that a note would flutter down at her feet, and directed her to pass it to him through the door. *He passed his hand through the opening of the door to receive the note.* In the next instant, he produced a note, very badly closed with a Freemason's seal, but containing the signature of each of the spectators. On the day following the child admitted that she had been tutored, and that the visions were a complete invention. Cagliostro hastily replaced her by a girl of the maturer age of sixteen ; but had the folly to fall in love with his new accomplice. In exasperation, she repeated the confession of her predecessor, adding that she had herself produced the spirit-kisses by kissing her own arm. The Polish nobles became impatient. They insisted on seeing the Grand-Kophta, to whom the adventurer was never tired of alluding as the revealer of his mystic religion. This operation took place in a dark room, on a sort of stage, lit with two candles only, and filled with clouds of incense. The Grand-Kophta appeared. Through the uncertain glimmer the spectators saw a figure with a snowy beard pass, in white robe and turban, between the candles. "What see ye?" cried, in a hoarse voice, the sage of a thousand years. "I see," replied a graceless novice, "that Count Cagliostro has disguised himself with a mask and a white beard." Everybody recognised the portly figure of the vision. A rush appeared imminent. Quick as thought, the Grand-Kophta, by a wave of his hands, extinguished the two candles. A sound followed as of the slipping off of a mantle. The candles were relit. Cagliostro was observed sitting where the sage had disappeared. So ludicrous an exposure would have annihilated a smaller impostor. Cagliostro, however, was equal to the occasion. With admirable astuteness, he appealed to their cupidity. He offered to enrich them beyond the dreams of avarice by transmuting mercury into silver. In a private laboratory at Wola, Cagliostro, girt with a Freemason's apron, and standing on a black floor, worked, in the gloom of twilight, at a furnace, protected by cabbalistic figures. Count Moszynski, a chemist of no mean order, watched the proceedings, and after the appropriate materials had been placed in a vessel, and duly sprinkled with "red powder," was allowed, with his own hands, to cover up the whole in a coating of gypsum. The alchemist rebuked him for not covering it properly. The Count lost his temper, and spoke his mind freely. The alchemist,

however, calmly added a coating of gypsum, and placed the vessel inside the oven. After a sufficient interval, the vessel was withdrawn. The gypsum was cracked open. The mercury had disappeared and its place was taken—*by silver, with traces of gold!* The distinguished chemist cut rather a sorry figure. Unluckily, however, for the alchemist, the fragments of the original vessel, with portions of its contents, were soon after discovered in his garden. He had in fact prepared a duplicate vessel, which contained the silver, and which, while Count Mosczynski was storming at him, he had deftly substituted under his Freemason's apron. Cagliostro attempted to bluff. He promised to transmute 50 lbs. of mercury into silver, for the benefit of the poor. Count Mosczynski held him to his promise, and, on the 26th June, 1780,—Cagliostro and his Countess had vanished.

In September 1780, Cagliostro appeared at Strasburg. News travelled slowly at that period. The Alsatian nobility had no knowledge of his failures. They received him, quaintly remarks the reporter of his trial, with more enthusiasm than if the palladium had fallen from "heaven." He again assumed the modest character of a wonder-doctor, and created a sensation by the cure of the commandant's secretary. As a Lodge for his Egyptian ritual, he constructed, outside the city, a country villa in Chinese architecture, which was long pointed out as the Cagliostranum, and which the awe-stricken peasants are stated to have passed with their heads uncovered. Famous men, such as the historian Schlosser, and the physiognomist Lavater, were carried away with an insane enthusiasm for him. It is pitiful to think that Lavater wrote of him: "I could weep tears of blood, that a figure, such as nature creates only once a century, that such a product of nature, should be so terribly traduced." It was at this period that Cagliostro attracted the notice of the Cardinal de Rohan, Grand Almoner of France, and Member of the Academy. No doubt the charming Countess was again the attraction. The influence, however, which the wizard obtained over this distinguished, but weak-minded, prelate, is amazing. It is stated that, but for the Cardinal's protection, he would have been driven out of Alsace. He began, however, to affect a Royal magnificence. His Egyptian ritual became the rage. Votaries of gentle birth prostrated themselves before him *for hours*. Letters are still extant breathing the most insane devotion.

Three ministers directed, in the name of the King, that he should be treated with special respect. Nevertheless, the maxim "*omne ignotum pro magnifico*" has special reference to charlatans, and Cagliostro was too shrewd to "make himself too cheap" by staying too long in the same locality. In

January, 1783, he visited Naples, as he alleged, to attend the Maltese Knight, Aquino, on his death-bed, but left hurriedly, thirteen days later, under circumstances which are disputed. On the 8th November, 1783, he appeared at Bordeaux, where, meeting with a rush of success, he was emboldened to offer attentions to a married lady, and was turned out of the house by the irate husband, with the result that he was confined to a bed of sickness. He improved the occasion by sinking into a trance, and seeing a glorious vision, during which he was invested with "a sword fashioned like that with which the *destroying angels* are depicted." There is no proof that the adventurer ever served any purpose except that of his own pocket; but it is possible that, with his amazing knowledge of the passing follies of men, he was here baiting the line with a scrap of the revolutionist jargon. One incident lends colour to this suggestion. In October 1784, having swindled a lady out of 5,000 livres by a promise to raise a treasure for her, he bolted, before the date fixed, to Lyon, where he feigned the death which he had foretold at Mitau, and, having arisen like the phoenix, founded, with every fantastic requirement of his ritual, an Egyptian Lodge, under the name of "Wisdom Triumphant." The bombastic charter, opening

HONOUR, WISDOM, ETERNITY,
BENEFICENCE, PROSPERITY,

was surrounded by a margin, containing, in the midst of an uncanny medley of death's heads and masonic emblems, the mysterious letters L. P. D. The meaning of this devise, Cagliostro never divulged; and the Inquisitors, anxious to saddle him with revolutionist principles, interpreted it as "*Lilium pedibus destrue.*"

The Lodge at Lyon was actually inaugurated after three days' ceremonies and 54 hours' prayers, on the 27th July, 1785. Cagliostro, however, was not present. He believed Lyon to be to Paris what Mitau should have been to St. Petersburg. In January 1785, he arrived at the capital. He affected the magnificence of a grandee. He travelled with a train of horses and coaches. The liveries of his lackeys cost 20 louis apiece. In his hotel in the Rue St. Claude, he entertained the leaders of Paris society. Cardinal de Rohan, no doubt, still supplied the means of this display. He had become the conjurer's bond-servant. "On several occasions," records a contemporary authority, "he was seen to kneel before Cagliostro, kissing his hands and begging him for miracles and wisdom." These the adventurer showered upon him. He became an adept in spirit-raising. He brought his dupes, face to face, with the "schemes" of Alexander and of Seneca. Montesquieu sat down to table

with them. The Cardinal de Rohan, however, he invited to dine with Henry IV, and to pass the evening with Cleopatra.

The juggler was at the zenith of his power. Hats and neckties "à la Cagliostro" were the rage. The bust of the "divine Cagliostro" was seen in the palaces of the great. Suddenly, at 8 A. M., on the 22nd August, 1785, he was arrested under a *lettre-de-cachet*, and flung, with his wife, into the Bastille. He became the object of indignant sympathy. This feeling was, no doubt, due to political under-currents. He was deified as the martyr of the insolence of the King. The facts were briefly as follows: The Court-Jeweller, Böhmer, had, on his hands, a diamond necklace, which he valued at 1,600,000 fr., and which he offered for sale to the Queen. Her refusal to purchase it drove him half-brazy with despair. Cardinal de Rohan was out of favour with the Queen, chiefly owing to the looseness of his life. He was extremely anxious to recover her favour. One of his mistresses called herself the Countess de la Motte-Valois. She was, in fact, distantly connected with a degenerate scion of the Valois family, who had forged money under Louis XIII. Her husband, whose Count's title was more than doubtful, was a common police-officer. She gulled the Cardinal into the belief that she was in the Queen's confidence. She persuaded him into the belief that the Queen was yearning for the necklace, but, as she could not afford it, he could assure himself of her favour by becoming security for the payment. She produced a forged instrument, which purported to have been executed by the Queen, and upon which he bound himself as security. The necklace was delivered to the Cardinal. Through the glass-panes of a cabinet at his mistress' lodging, he was allowed to see it delivered by her to her accomplice Villette, disguised as the Queen's confidential servant. Several at least of the diamonds were carried over seas soon after by her husband, who attempted to dispose of them in London. Meanwhile, the Cardinal's suspicions were quieted for the time, by a comedy of the most daring conception. By a forged letter, she persuaded him to believe that the Queen was anxious to grant him a secret interview towards midnight in a shrubbery at Versailles on the occasion of a masked garden-party. He hurried thither in a domino, and was met by a masked lady, who, after a few words of whispered encouragement, was startled by approaching footsteps, and vanished in the darkness. It was a woman of light character, calling herself d'Oliva, who had been smuggled into the Royal gardens in the disguise of the Queen. Meanwhile Böhmer's suspicions were aroused. A shrewder man would have avoided all scandal. The Cardinal would have submitted to any sacrifice rather than face exposure. Böhmer and his partner, Bassange, however, lost their heads

altogether. On the 12th August, they filed a formal petition before the King. On the 15th following, the Cardinal was ordered into the King's presence, and summarily committed to the Bastille, where he was soon followed by the Countess de la Motte.

The Countess at once attempted to shift the blame upon the Cardinal and the alchemist. She alleged that they had called her into one of their mystic operations. Their magic stock-in-trade was littered about the room. After the usual hocus-pocus, the Cardinal made over to her a casket, containing the diamonds without their setting, and directed her to deliver them without delay to her husband, with instructions to dispose of them at once in London. Upon this information, Cagliostro and his wife were arrested. He was detained, without hearing, from the 22nd August, 1785, until the 30th January, 1786, when he was first examined by the Judges, and he was not set at liberty till the 1st June, 1786.

Three observations arise upon this procedure. • In the first place, the arrest of Cagliostro's wife upon no evidence was an act of intolerable oppression. In the second place, the arrest of Cagliostro himself, on the bare and unsupported allegation of an accused person, was harsh and inconsiderate, though possibly not illegal. In the third place, a system under which a prisoner could be detained over five months without a hearing, and was not released for over four more months, in spite of total absence of evidence, explains, and to some extent justifies, the sympathy of the public with a scoundrel and an impostor. There can be no doubt that, *on the record as it stands*, Cagliostro was entitled to acquittal. On the other hand, it is impossible to state that he was certainly innocent. The record is so inadequate, that neither his guilt nor his innocence is established. This incompleteness arises from two reasons: 1st, the action of the Cardinal; and, 2nd, the line adopted by the counsel for the prosecution. The Cardinal, as soon as he was arrested, had all his papers destroyed by the Abbe Georgel. The counsel for the prosecution held in his hand the result of inquiries into Cagliostro's antecedents, in Sicily, through a lawyer, who afterwards supplied Goethe and probably the inquisitors with their facts, and in Paris and London, through a journalist, who afterwards proved the adventurer's deadliest enemy. Cagliostro, in his written statement of defence, pleaded his distinguished origin and excellent character; but the counsel for the prosecution made no attempt to put in his rebutting evidence. Several considerations raise a suspicion that a more careful inquiry would not have been favourable to Cagliostro. *First*, his immense influence over the Cardinal, and his intimate relations with him, render it improbable that so gigantic

a fraud could have been practised without his knowledge. He himself had a weakness for other people's jewelry. *Second*, he was in league with the Countess, for the purpose of deceiving the Cardinal, in connection with the Queen. Even while he was still at Strasburg, she had visited him in disguise. Afterwards, she lent him her niece to foretell, in the capacity of an "orphan," the result of the Queen's forthcoming delivery. The Cardinal fell at his feet and kissed his hands. *Third*, some person, other than the Countess and her husband, received the lion's share of the booty, because they had the greatest difficulty in beating up the trifling sum of 30,000 francs, for the vital purpose of meeting the first instalment of interest on the debt. *Fourth*, there was no inquiry into the sources of Cagliostro's income, though, at this period, he accepted no payment, and yet supported the most lavish expenditure. Speculation was rife on this point, as upon his origin. Nevertheless, the Court was quite content to treat either as an open question. *Fifth*, he afterwards boasted that, by bribing the warders, he had been able to consult with his fellow-prisoners on the line of defence to be adopted. This is not the conduct of an innocent person, who has nothing to conceal in common with the undoubted criminals. *Sixth*, he never explained how it was that, if he was innocent, the Countess came to accuse him.

Cagliostro's demeanour during his imprisonment is a splendid example of pluck and nerve. The Countess de la Motte certainly misjudged her powers when she set up her spiteful wit against the practised charlatan's. He "scored off her" at every shift and turn. Had he met the Countess at Strasburg? Certainly, she was wearing a man's breeches. Had he ever pretended to foretell the future? Yes, once, to amuse the Queen in her illness. The Countess assisted him. How so? O nothing much. The Countess lent him her niece, aged about sixteen, to act as the "innocent orphan." "Stamp on the ground," cried the sorcerer, "with your innocent foot, and tell me what you see?" "I don't see anything," replied the girl, with hasty frankness. "Very well, then," said the sorcerer, "of course, you cannot be innocent." "I see the Queen," screamed the girl, perceiving her error; "from which I gathered," Cagliostro added maliciously, "that the innocent niece had been tutored by her aunt, who was—well—not innocent." At last the exasperated Countess, unable to endure his provoking good-humour, flung a candlestick at his head. It is amazing that he should have had the effrontery to banter the Court even with respect to his past. Conjecture had been rife with reference to his origin. Some thought him a Greek. Others set him down as a Roumanian, or Egyptian Jew. One speculator, more circumstantial than his fellows, described him as "the son

of a Portuguese carter of Moslem origin." At last, in 1785, a remarkable, though anonymous, pamphlet was published against Cagliostro, probably at Paris, by some brilliant and witty writer, obviously having access to diplomatic correspondence, and writing in the interests of the King. In retort, Cagliostro published what he was pleased to term his authentic history, and even placed it on record at his trial. A gloomy mystery, he declared, enshrouded the story of his birth. He was an orphan ever since he could recollect. His earliest years were passed under the name of Acharat in the palace of the Mufti Selahaym of Medina. His tutor was the aged Altotas, who, like himself, was a Christian. Night and day, a white valet and two negroes were in attendance on him. In his twelfth year, he travelled in state to the Sherif of Mecca. The tenderness with which the Sherif received him, appeared to suggest some hidden relationship. Not a hint, however, could he obtain of his origin, except one mysterious hint, never to visit Trebizonde. He travelled by caravan to Egypt, and was initiated by the priests into the secrets of their mystic religion. In 1766, he visited Rhodes, and sailed thence, in a French ship, to Malta. The Grand-Master, Pinto, assigned him apartments in his palace, and told off Aquino, a Maltese Knight of the Royal blood of Caramanica, to act as his guide. Altotas here flung aside his Turkish garments, and assumed a cleric's robe, with the Maltese cross. He now addressed Acharat only as the Count Cagliostro. Shortly afterwards he died. Overwhelmed with grief, Cagliostro travelled in the company of Aquino, who left him at Naples. In 1770, he married the Countess Serafina Feliciani at Rome, and, in her company, travelled through the countries of Europe. He had the hardihood to refer, for purposes of inquiry, to several of his dupes in high life, including the Duke and Duchess at Mitau. This piece of bluffing produced two rejoinders: 1st, Count Mosczyński, at Strasburg, published a scathing criticism of his experiments at Warsaw; and, 2nd, the Duchess's sister, Elise von der Recke, at Berlin, published her account of his operations at Mitau.

Judgment was delivered on the 31st May, 1786. The Cardinal and Cagliostro were acquitted with honour. Cagliostro's wife had already been discharged. The d'Olive was enlarged without punishment. The Count de la Motte, though sentenced *in contumaciam*, had escaped over seas. Villéte was banished for life. The Countess underwent a barbarous punishment. She was exposed naked, with a rope round her neck, in front of the Conciergerie. She was there publicly whipped, and branded by the hangman with the letter V on either shoulder. She was further sentenced to imprisonment for life. She escaped, however, to London, where she was killed, on the 23rd

August 1791, by a fall from a window under circumstances which are disputed. One account has it that she sprang out to escape her creditors. The other is, that she was thrown out in the course of a drunken orgie.

Cagliostro drove down in triumph to the Court-house, to hear his order of discharge, in a carriage preceded by a fantastic cripple, who distributed medicines and presents among the crowd. At the entrance to his hotel, he found an enormous concourse of sympathisers, and, with melodramatic gestures, the shameless impostor seized the opportunity to fall swooning into the loving arms of his wife. The King's advisers played into his hands with a mixture of malice and stupidity, which argued an absence of all sense of the ridiculous. Cagliostro had charged the Marquis de Launay, Governor of the Bastille, and M. Chesnon, commissary of police, with criminal misappropriation of his effects, which he valued at a fabulous amount. The Judges referred him to the civil court. His statement of claim was so full of quibbles and contradictions, that, in all human probability, no Court would have decreed it. A sensible Government would have allowed him to work out his own exposure. On the day after his acquittal by the law-court, however, he was served with a pre-emptory order of banishment "in the name of the King." The alchemist made the most of this opening. He besought his followers not to rise up in arms, assuring them that he would "make his voice heard elsewhere." He endeavoured to re-assure Government by stating that he "desired no revolution." On his journey to the coast, however, demonstrations, having a deeper meaning than this cheap bombast, may well have inspired the King with regret for the blundering which enabled a quack and a swindler to assume the character of a martyr of the people's liberties. At St. Denis, his carriage drove between two dense and silent lines of well-wishers, while, as his vessel cleared from the port of Boulogne, five thousand persons knelt down on the shore to receive his blessing. His voice was, indeed, soon heard elsewhere. No sooner had he arrived in London, than he filed his suit against the Marquis de Launay, appealing, of course, to the hearts of all Frenchmen as a lonely and hunted exile. The French Government, through its ambassador, granted him permission to prosecute his action in person at Paris. The cunning rascal, whose object was merely to keep open a running sore in the side of the French authorities, refused the offer, stating that the King's safe conduct was not sufficient guarantee against violence, and hinting broadly that he suspected the whole affair to be a stratagem for the purpose of flinging him once more into a dungeon. The suit, after dragging on for over two years, was swallowed up in the awful events which fol-

lowed. These events Cagliostro predicted with a luck which seldom befalls a charlatan. In a pamphlet, dated London, the 20th June, 1786, he prophesied, 1st, that the Bastille would be demolished and converted into a public promenade; and, 2nd, that a ruler should arise in France, who should abolish *lettres-de-cachet*, convoke the General Estates, and reinstate the true religion. In a few years his terrible prediction was fulfilled to the letter. When the mob stormed the Bastille, and his enemy, de Launay, was butchered, Cagliostro had the baseness to give vent, in another pamphlet, to his fiendish exultation.

None the less, Cagliostro's fortune had ended. It is true that the weak-minded and eccentric Lord Gordon became his bosom-friend. Even this patronage, however, availed him little against a new and powerful enemy, by whom he now began to be confronted. Cagliostro was crushed by the Daily Press. Morand, who edited the *Courrier de l'Europe* in London, had been consulted by the French Government in the course of their inquiries into the Necklace Mystery. He appears to have picked up some ugly facts about the swindler's early career. When Cagliostro took refuge in London, Morand called upon him and attempted to cross-examine him. Cagliostro, who herein has our fullest sympathy, ordered him pretty sharply off the premises. The editor, however, was chiefly enraged because the alchemist did not consider it worth while to remove his hat in his presence. He revenged himself by a series of trenchant articles. The details are not amusing, with perhaps one exception. Cagliostro had given out an absurd story to the effect that, at Medina, he had fattened up pigs on arsenic until their bodies were altogether saturated with the poison. On one occasion, he had slaughtered such a pig, and scattered pieces of it in the "surrounding forests." On the following day, he concluded, the places in question had been found literally covered "with the corpses of lions, tigers, leopards, wolves and other wild beasts, with which the forests of Medina are filled." Morand scoffed at the idea, Cagliostro invited him to his house. He was ready, he said, to supply his guest with a living pig, fattened up on arsenic. Morand was to kill it and serve it up. Each was to eat one half. Cagliostro betted £5,000, that he would survive, and that Morand would die. This bet, which strongly recalls the proposed duel with poisoned pillules at St. Petersburg, was accepted by Morand, who, objected, however, to sit at table with a vulgar charlatan. He suggested that a "wild beast" might fittingly attend on his behalf. Cagliostro at once declared the bet to be "off," on the ground that he had no quarrel with any beast except Morand. In the long run, however, the charlatan was defeated. His credit was shattered. He pawned his diamonds. He

became indebted. In March 1787, he had vanished. To avoid arrest, he had fled to Switzerland, leaving his wife to her own resources. She followed him, in the company of the artist Lauteberg. At Basle, Cagliostro founded an Egyptian Lodge, but he soon migrated to Biel, where he treated nervous diseases by animal magnetism. Soon afterwards he turned up at Aix, at Turin, and afterwards at Vienna, where he was ordered off at a moment's notice. A short stay at Roveredo provoked an anonymous but pungent satire, which stripped him of the last shreds of credit as a doctor. At Trient, he was at first admitted into the palace of the Bishop, who, for his pains, received a sharp reprimand from the Emperor Joseph II. Cagliostro moved on wearily to Rome. It was the last flicker of his bold and restless spirit. By Papal regulations, Freemasonry was a capital offence. One Lodge, however, existed. There is reason to suppose that it was tolerated only because it enabled the Holy Church to spy out the movements of Freemasons in general. Cagliostro, with something of his old dash and pluck, attempted to introduce the Egyptian ritual, and to found a Female Lodge. Both attempts failed. He was reduced almost to poverty. He appealed to the National Assembly, to revoke the order of banishment, on the ground of his "services to the liberty of France." His petition was passed over with silent contempt. This proceeding, which was unjust and arrogant, proves at least that, in the opinion of the revolutionists themselves, Cagliostro had no claims to consider himself one of their number.

On the evening of the 27th December, 1789, Cagliostro and his wife were suddenly arrested. His masonic instruments, and his jealously-guarded manuscript of, "Egyptian Masonry" were impounded. Under an escort of twelve grenadiers, the worthy couple were forced into a coach, and driven off in silence to the fortress of San Angelo. Somebody had scared the Papal authorities out of their wits, by an information to the effect that (save the mark?) Cagliostro had plotted to overthrow the State, and to lay the fortress of San Angelo and the palace of the Holy Inquisition, in ashes. The Papal Court was chiefly concerned about Cagliostro's religious apostacy. The outside world was interested mainly in the lifting of the veil from his earliest history. The principal witness against him was his wife. In fact, there is some reason for supposing that she betrayed him to the authorities. His line of defence was that he had laboured throughout to lead back Freemasons, through the Egyptian ritual, to Catholic orthodoxy. Such a contention, of course, amounted to nothing more or less than arguing against time. In view of the seizure of his instruments and his manuscript, his condemnation was certain from the

outset. Finding his professions of deep contrition to be useless, the arch-humbug amused himself by astonishing the Holy Fathers with preposterous stories of his exploits. A single instance will suffice. On his way to Strasburg, he related, he visited the "Illuminati" of Frankfurt, where, in an underground cavern, the secret Grand-Masters of the Order of the Templars showed him his signature under a horrible form of oath, traced in human blood, and pledging him to destroy all despots, especially in Rome. This story was about as serious as his suggestion in London, to light the streets with sea-water, which, by his magic powers, he would convert into oil. He harangued his Judges for hours, regardless alike of their threats and entreaties.

At last, on the 21st March, 1791, Pope Pius VI. pronounced sentence. As restorer and disseminator of Egyptian Masonry, Cagliostro was declared to be worthy of death. The judgment further declared that he was liable to all the penalties provided, in the first place, against "heretics, teachers of false doctrines, arch-heretics, masters and followers of superstitious magic;" and, in the second place, against Freemasons in general, but specially where such practices were followed at Rome or in the Papal State. He was sentenced to imprisonment for life, and his manuscript, which was declared to be "superstitious, blasphemous, wicked, and heretical," was ordered to be burnt, with his masonic implements, by the common hangman. His wife was interned, for life, in a nunnery. She died very shortly after. Her husband, who was removed to the dungeon of St. Leo after his sentence, followed her to the grave in 1795, invested with the halo of a religious martyr, of which perhaps no one was ever less deserving. It is possible that, for his frauds and his swindles, he deserved many terms of imprisonment, had his dupes had the manliness to charge him before the law-courts, and to place him on his fair and open trial, instead of publishing pamphlets behind his back. It is impossible, however, to refuse sympathy even to this hierophant of humbug, who was tried on a matter of opinion, by his own accusers, and whose condemnation is a monument of bigotry and ignorance.

R. GREEVEN.

ART. XI.—THE MARRIAGE SYSTEM IN MALABAR.

THERE is now under the consideration of the Government of India and the Secretary of State a proposal for legislation, interesting not only to those whom it would directly affect, but also to all who take any interest in movements of social reform in this country.

On the West Coast of the Madras Presidency lie the Native States of Cochin and Travancore, and under British rule the Districts of Malabar and South Canara. The Native Brahmins of this Coast, excluding those of Canara, are Nambudiris, who follow the ordinary Hindu Law with certain modifications. The Mussulmans of the Coast are called Moplas, some of them following the Muhammadan Law, while the others follow the peculiar law of succession through females called *Marumakkatayam* followed by the Nairs and other Hindu races which will be described later. The next great division of the population are the Nairs. They are the dominant race in Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar and formed, in the old days, the Militia and the ruling race in the Native States and Malabar. They are also found in South Canara. There are also other allied Hindu races following the same customary law. The Nairs and their allied races in Malabar and Canara, amount to 631,137. There are also other Hindu castes amounting to 773,283, who in some parts of the District follow *Marumakkatayam*.

They live in joint families, called *Tarwads*, consisting of members tracing their descent in the female line from one common female ancestor, and holding property in joint ownership, impartible except by common consent. Such property is, however, as a rule, under the practically uncontrolled management of the senior male member of the family, called the Karpavan, who cannot be called to account for his management, and whose only obligation towards the others is to maintain them in the family house, and not to waste the joint family property.

Self-acquisition of property was originally not recognised. Any property, however, acquired by a member of the *Tarwad*, male or female, was regarded as common property; but recently a person's dominion over separate acquisitions has been upheld, though, on his or her death, it still becomes common *Tarwad* property. The children of the deceased father or mother thus get nothing out of such property. In its simplest form, therefore, a *Tarwad* may be composed of a mother and her children. In many cases it consists of a large number of persons living in

subordination to the Karnavan of the family. But the husband of any female and the children of any male members are never members of such *Tarwad*, and marriage, in its legal aspect, does not exist among them. It is now proposed to provide by legislation a form of marriage for these Hindu races, and to make the widow and children heirs to the acquisitions of a deceased person.

In 1881, when the Government of Madras appointed a Special Commissioner, Mr. Logan, C. S., at that time Collector of Malabar, to report upon the question of land tenure and tenant right in Malabar—although this subject was not strictly in the scope of his enquiry—the Commissioner felt that the report would be incomplete without some allusion in it to the marriage and inheritance laws of the Nairs. He found that “a man’s own acquisitions, during his lifetime, descended at his death to his *Tarwad* and not to his own children ;” and that though, “in the days when the Nair population were all soldiers, and the material tie was not much regarded, this did not matter much, things are changed now that a Nair usually marries one wife, lives apart with her in their own home, and rears her children as his own also.” He found also that the Nair felt a strong desire that his children and their mother should get all his property, and accordingly suggested a modification of their laws of inheritance.

The subject was referred to another Commission in 1884, of which the late Rajah, Sir T. Madava Rao, was president, and that Commission submitted a draft Bill to Government providing a form of marriage and giving to the wife and children the property of the deceased.

In 1889, the matter was brought before the Legislative Council of Madras, and leave was asked to introduce a Bill to carry out the recommendations of the Commission of 1884. That Bill proceeded on the assumption that there is a comparatively large and increasing number of instances, where the family is composed of father, mother, and children, and that marriage, as an institution, exists, though as yet unrecognized by law.

The Madras Legislative Council granted the leave asked for ; but the India Government, with their usual caution in all movements for social reform, referred the whole matter to a Commission, composed of a Brahmin Judge of the High Court of Madras, a Collector of experience in the District, a gentleman representing the aristocracy, connected with the Royal Families of Travancore and the Zamorin, and two Nairs and a Canarese gentleman, to ascertain the feeling in the District on the proposed changes, and to suggest any reforms that might be necessary. The Commission submitted their report in

December 1891, and final orders have not yet been passed by the Secretary of State.

Legislation is opposed by those who claim divine sanction for this system. His Highness the Zamorin, the Brahmins, and generally those who take their stand upon custom, point out that, according to their religion and teaching, the land peopled by these races was re-claimed from the sea by Parasu Rama, an incarnation of Vishnu, and granted by him to his Brahmin colonists. To keep their property impartible, the eldest son alone was allowed to marry a Brahmin wife, and the others were allowed to cohabit otherwise than by marriage with females of the other castes, who were introduced into the District.

As the institution of marriage among them, with its attendant obligation of chastity, would defeat this purpose, by narrowing the circle available for Brahmins, and would make Brahmin alliance disreputable, such castes were denied any such institution, and the lawgiver declared that they should not observe the rules of chastity, or cover their breasts. The orthodox opponents relied on a text quoted by one of them in a paper submitted to the Commission, thus translated:—

"Among the folk of this land, in this, my country, among all castes, among all *Samandas*,* and among all other women likewise, let there be no chastity. But as for the wives of Brahmins and *Dwijas* let the rules of chastity stand in regard to them—with other residents let there be no rule of chastity. Behold I declare the truth!"

Religion has thus consecrated non-Brahmin womanhood to Brahmin lust. Marriage and chastity being denied them, paternity was uncertain, and the result was the family law and law of succession based on female kinship already described. This is called "*Marumakkatayam*."†

Though marriage, in the sense in which it is usually understood, has been denied to them, yet, before attaining puberty, every girl has to undergo a form of ceremony of "*Tali kettu*," or tying of the *Tali*.‡

In some places the *Tali* is tied round the neck of the girl by a Brahmin. In others, by a man of the same caste. In many localities it is celebrated as a real marriage. The casteman (who is selected after the examination of horoscopes to ascertain whether he may marry her) leaves his residence, holding a sword, escorted by a procession, and meets another procession from

* *Samandan*.—The chief of a District.

† *Marumakkatayam*.—*Marumagan*, sister's son; *tayam*, inheritance.

‡ *Tali*, a neck ornament. Outside Malabar it is worn as the marriage badge, and is not removed from the neck of a woman during her husband's lifetime.

the female's house, headed by a member of her Tarwad ; is taken to the marriage-pandal, seated by her, puts down the sword, and ties the Tali round the neck of the girl, who is then required to hold an arrow and a looking-glass in her hand, while happiness on their married life is invoked. They are placed together in a room for three days, remaining under a sort of pollution. On the fourth day, they bathe in a neighbouring tank or river, and return to the girl's Tarwad house, the man having to force open the door, which he finds closed against him, and the pair, after taking their meals from the same leaf, sever their connection by cutting in two and dividing between them a piece of cloth, and the girl is then free to form any sexual alliance in any form she pleases ; and, according to the Brahmin view, the only restriction is that she should not associate with a man of any lower caste than her own. Ancient writers state that this freedom has been freely exercised.

It need scarcely be pointed out that many European writers "on sociology" have considered the case, of the Nairs an illustration of that stage in social evolution, when man is supposed to have lived in a state of promiscuity, though, as a fact, the Nairs are more advanced in civilization than many of the races who have adopted the paternal family system.

The teaching that the Nambudri Brahmin is the holiest of human beings, is the representative of God on earth, and that for his pleasure alone the others live in this holy land ; the land of Parasurama, is now, at any rate, repudiated by a large class of people.

The enormous influence of this teaching may be gauged by the fact that even now, in the high-caste Royal Rajah's families, or Tarwads, in Malabar and Cochin, as also in the aristocratic Tarwads that follow their Rajahs, the ladies usually form sexual relations only with Brahmins. The princes and noblemen of the country are the children of Brahmin fathers. The princesses and ladies of the noble houses are their consorts. Their alliance is regarded with such favour that they are also maintained by these families or Tarwads. Adhering, as these old Tarwads do, so tenaciously to the ancient customs, no form of social marriage has yet been allowed to spring up amongst them, and the Brahmin is only regarded as a casual visitor, and the alliance as terminable at will.

On the Nambudiris themselves the effect has been disastrous. Instead of leading the van of material and moral progress, as their castemen do elsewhere, they are enervated by a life of sloth and indulgence, refusing to avail themselves of the benefit of English education ; and not only have the lower races far outstripped them, but the race itself is diminishing in numbers, and must, unless their customs are altered, eventually disappear.

How far this system has degraded them, will appear from a fact stated by a native Judge, an opponent of the proposed legislation, that "the Nambudiri keeper himself very often takes a pride in seeing the woman excelling in her love intrigues, and not unfrequently, he makes a trade of her accomplishments."

On account of the rule of allowing only the eldest son to marry, "many Nambudiri women never get a chance of marriage," and "they live guarded with more than Moslem jealousy."

But, though it is impossible to say that the Brahmin influence even now does not enforce respect and submission to this teaching in some parts of the country, yet various forms of marriage prevail, and have been adopted by various classes of people, other than those who even now view the Brahmin alliance alone with approval. It must at the same time be admitted that cohabitation without any of these forms of marriage is not regarded as prostitution, provided the man is of equal or higher caste, "Tali kettu" alone being regarded as indispensable. There is one form of marriage known as (Usham Porukka), the word indicating that a man has to wait his turn. Another form of marriage (Vidaram Kairuga) show that the husband was only regarded as a casual visitor, and he is not even now entitled to take the girl to his Tarwad. A declaration that the man is to continue his visits for six months forms a part of the ceremony in another form of marriage. Among the lower castes, again, there is a form of marriage which shows that the female was regarded as mortgaged for a sum of money. There are also other forms where the ceremony consists of certain presents of clothes, or betel and nut, by the bridegroom to the bride. It is curious that this last form of marriage, which prevails only in some localities, though it is now coming into vogue elsewhere, was long regarded in other parts of the District as reducing women to servitude. But, whatever form is observed, the union, where-ever possible, generally lasts for life. Marriage is recognized as a social institution, and, as observed by a Collector of the District, "nowhere else is it more jealously guarded, and its breach more savagely avenged." It has been said that a man looks upon his sisters' children "with the same fondness that fathers in other parts of the world have for their own children to the exclusion of his own children." This is certainly not true now.

There are some who take the view that the Courts ought to recognize the validity of these marriages; that the children and wife are maintained and protected by, and are adequately provided for, by gifts from the father and husband; and that, therefore, any legislation is unnecessary. Apart from any con-

clusion that may be arrived at on this question, it is plain that, so long as the first opinion is held by the priestly and other influential classes, the need for legislation is a crying one. Marriage is not one of those matters the validity of which may be left in uncertainty. The Courts have, however, till now acted on the assumption that the institution of marriage does not exist among Nairs and other kindred races, and have not scrupled to call the parties to the sexual connection "paramour and concubine."

It also appears that a majority of four Commissioners out of five, including the High Court Judge, consider that there is no probability of the social marriages now prevailing being recognized as binding in a Court of Law, and if this view is correct, then the position taken up by those who think that legislation is not wanted can hardly be persisted in.

The first question for consideration seems to be, what weight is to be attached to the opposition of the orthodox party. It is scarcely possible to argue with those who maintain that the Government ought not to legislate, because the priests consider that such a law will interfere with their sexual license.* Those who consider that the moral and religious view of marriage is affected by the legal view, will consider that circumstance alone a powerful argument for legislation. In those parts of the country where obedience to the orthodox teaching is still enforced, legislation will be a protection to female chastity.

Under the existing system of law the senior male, called the *Karnavan*, is the guardian of all the minor members of the *Tarwad*, though many degrees removed, and he is expected to protect their interests to the neglect of the interests of his wife and children. It is against human nature to expect him to fulfil adequately a duty which is in habitual conflict with his private affections and interests, and we see that, as a matter of fact, he neglects his duty to the *Tarwad* in the interests of his children.

If there was a time when paternity was uncertain, when the orthodox teaching was implicitly followed in practice, either on account of Brahmin influence, or of its being in harmony with what, according to some inquirers, may have been the usage of the country, then it is possible the system may have worked well. But it is necessary now to recollect that, though in some parts of the country the influence of the Brahmins may enforce concession to their teaching, and polyandry prevail in some obscure localities, though the Courts try to compel the people to act up to their *Tarwad* usages, yet the people have adopted marriage as a social institution, and are beginning to conform to paternal family life. The husband considers it a moral obligation to give a proper education to his sons, and to provide

for his wife and children by gifts, or purchase of property in their names. We find, accordingly, that, though Tarwad property is intended for the use of the members of the Tarwad, the wives and children of the male members generally, particularly of the Karnavan, are more benefited by the same than the others. The Karnavan is the eldest male in the Tarwad, in whom the entire uncontrolled management is vested, and, in Tarwads composed of numerous members, that position can only, as a rule, be attained at an advanced age without much prospect of continuing in it long. He uses this opportunity to provide for his wife and children at the expense of the Tarwad. He devotes his attention not so much to the prosperity of the Tarwad as to the interests of his own children. The influence of his wife over him is, naturally, exercised always against his Tarwad. The poorer members of the Tarwad, from helplessness, the others from a feeling that their resources are better employed in ways more directly beneficial, often allow him to go on unchecked. The Karnavan cannot, in law, be called to account; and the result is that not only the profits, if any, disappear, but the properties are on his death encumbered. The story is repeated: One Karnavan succeeds another; each follows more or less the same course of management. Every individual accuses his Karnavan of attempts to aggrandize his own wife and children, to be accused in his turn of the same attempt, when he becomes the Karnavan. This endeavour on the part of the Karnavan to lead a double life, to preserve an appearance of honesty towards the Tarwad, and to do all he can to help his wife and children, has of course a demoralizing influence. There may be a few old Tarwads that continue prosperous, but by far the greater number have been ruined, or brought to the verge of ruin by mismanagement and dissension.

Occasionally, a Karnavan's management is impeached in a Court of Law, and then the downward progress is accelerated. If the impeachment is successful, then another man is appointed Karnavan, and in the words of a Judge of the High Court, "It is generally the substitution of the empty leech for the full one."

A Karnavan is assailed, by the temptation not only to provide for his own children, but also to help his nearer kindred, the descendants of his own mother, to the prejudice of the rest of the Tarwad. This desire to provide for his wife and children is strong enough to induce the husband to defraud the Tarwad, as he is able to do it almost with impunity, but can hardly be said to be a sufficient stimulus to exertion so essential to progress, when a man's "wife" may leave him to-morrow, and his children may be taken away from him without any reason, at any time, by their Karnavan. The result has thus been

stated by Mr. Logan, the Special Commissioner appointed by Government in 1881, to inquire and report upon the property laws, and other matters calling for investigation in the Malabar District. The subject was discussed by him frequently with the people, and he was, therefore, in a position to state what the best informed and the most intelligent of the Malayalis themselves thought of this system of inheritance..

He found that a Nair has hardly any motive at present to exert himself, as his property passes to persons with whom he has but little sympathy, and he concluded by observing that this false position is fatal to individual industry and thrift, and if the law is not soon changed, the consequences will be disastrous. By working for the benefit of the Tarwad he gains no benefit. Few, therefore, attempt to improve the Tarwad. What is the duty of every member is in particular nobody's duty or business. Thus coming into contact with other races, the stern law of natural selection is to every observer proving the incapacity of this family system to maintain its ground. Mr. Logan; in his Malabar Manual published under Government authority, concludes thus:—"With a large increase in their numbers, and with comparative poverty for the large body of them, the race is fast degenerating." Not adapted to modern conditions of existence, the Tarwad can only survive consistently with a full recognition of a man's duty to his wife and children.

The effect of the system of inheritance by which the property descends in the female line to the exclusion of one's own children has been thus described in a memorial presented in 1869.

"This system of Inheritance," say the memorialists, "is opposed to nature; for, nature has implanted in the heart of man an affection for his progeny, and a desire to bestow on them all that he possesses and to see them happily settled in life. But the *Aliyasantanam** Law demands that a man shall love his nephews more than his own children, and thereby compels him to run counter to human nature. No positive law, however stringent it may be, ever triumphs against nature, and the result, therefore, is that, while the estates of Aliyasantanam families are made over to the management of a single individual, he, on his part, is prompted by his natural inclinations to betray the trust reposed in him in the interest of his nephews, which it was the object of the lawgiver to protect, and to press into his service perjury, forgery, and other utterly demoralizing expedients to carry out his wishes the more effectually.

* *Aliyasantanam*.—*Aliya* means sister's son; *santanam*, offspring. Inheritance, Canarese equivalent of *Marumakkalayam*.

"The Law of Aliyasantanam or nepotism, therefore, has, ever since its introduction, been breeding nothing but mischief. And Courts of Justice in the District and almost every one conversant with Canara, are fully aware how the Ejaman or Karnavan of a family governed by the Law of Aliyasantanam fraudulently contrives to bestow on his wife and children what fortune he can, at the expense of the property which by law he is bound to keep and bestow on his sister's son. Such Ejamans are, however, in one sense not to blame, for they only yield to nature, which the law, with little policy, directs them to disown. And, we believe, much of the demoralizing litigation that disgraces this District can be traced to this revolting system.

"This system of inheritance has proved ruinous to great and wealthy families. The Ejaman, or the head man of a family, in which the son succeeds his father, has it generally at heart, to improve and increase the property of his family, for he is sure to bestow it on his children, towards whom he has a natural affection. And even if such a headman should happen to encumber his estate with debt, his children think it their interest to redeem it. The same, however, is not the case with the Ejaman of a family governed by the Law of Aliyasantanam. He would defraud his nephews—at present rightful heirs of all the property real or personal—to provide his own wife and children with a suitable fortune; while his children also, who would otherwise have improved their father's property, join their father in destroying it, for they know they must make hay while the sun shines, and that, when the property passes away from their father, they would lose all means of profiting by it.

"His successor also does the same in his turn, for it is not natural that he should act otherwise. It is thus that great and wealthy families, sooner or later, but surely collapse, and gradually dwindle into nothing."

Such is a Nair Tarwad home.

The females in a Tarwad are under the control of their Karnavan; they may not leave the Tarwad house without his consent, even with a husband, on pain of forfeiting their claims to the Tarwad properties. In the selection of husbands, the education of their children, they have absolutely no voice whatever, however old they may be. Their Karnavan, not their parents, selects for them a husband, whom they should accept; who, in his turn, is completely under the control of his own Karnavan. Such selection is more often than otherwise made, not with a view to the women's own happiness, but to the pecuniary benefit that would result to the Tarwad, or the Karnavan himself, and, often married when unfit to bear the strain

of maternity, they break down easily. They have to divorce their husbands when it pleases the Karnavan, and it is well known, and it came out in the evidence before the Commission, that various reasons, other than those which affect either husband or wife, such as dissensions in the Tarwad, operate on the mind of the Karnavan in inducing him to turn him out, and the unfortunate woman may be transferred from one husband to another whenever it benefits the Karnavan or the Tarwad.

Living thus out of the husband's control, subject to the influence of a teaching that they are born to minister to the Brahmins' sensual cravings, it is only natural that their moral nature should be seriously influenced. And if progress and civilization rest upon the morality of the people generally, not upon those few alone who are in advance of the rest, then it seems necessary that the law should not stand in the way of those who wish to abandon an institution based on the notion that there is no sin in unchastity. Married early, about her thirteenth or fourteenth year, she is a grown up woman in a few years; she is not, indeed, always deserted by her husband, for herself and children are no burden to him, but she often finds herself supplanted in her husband's affections by a younger rival. Polygamous unions are, in fact, increasing. Without much difficulty and without opposition, legislation may now check it. Later on, it may become impossible. The belief that women are created to secure to men the indulgence of their passions, a belief strengthened by Brahminic teaching, leads to a man marrying a second wife, when his first wife has lost the charms of youth. To that belief must also be attributed certain practices to which girls are subjected too revolting to be mentioned. They are referred to in a paper submitted to the Commission. The evils resulting from the present system can scarcely be checked, but it may be minimised by legislation recognizing marriage and the obligation to provide for wife and children.

Inside her Tarwad, the theory of the subjection of women to the Karnavan and other males of the Tarwad is consistently carried out. She herself is not independent, she has nobody to rely on, and she has no control over the Tarwad property. That, on the whole, this state of things is tolerated, is due only to the circumstance that, in spite of the priest, who keeps the door to profligacy invitingly open, people are breaking with the past, and, adopting the paternal life, have escaped the evils of the Tarwad Marumakkatayam system. But unless regulated, there are indications of the movement taking a direction not entirely beneficial. Disgusted, as they are, with the old freedom and license allowed to women, aware that the law does not recognise any institution of marriage, that the law does not

punish the adulterer, sexual jealousy is beginning to display itself by female seclusion and surveillance ; scrupulous enough regarding woman's fidelity, confidence in female virtue has not advanced far enough to make one willing to trust to a female's sense of duty. Marriage, where claimed as an institution, is becoming a species of domestic slavery. It has to be distinctly borne in mind that the absence of marriage does not imply freedom to the women. In the present state of society marriage is to her comparative freedom.

Female education in its widest sense is now impossible. I do not, of course, speak of those who have discarded the ancient usage and adopted the paternal family system, but of those who still adhere to the ancient usage. Education in the Tarwad home itself, at the expense of the stranger father, is naturally impossible, as the Karnavan would not tolerate any difference in treatment between the children of that father and the other children of the Tarwad. The Karnavan, if conscientious, is naturally more desirous of educating the males, because it may pay. The money spent in educating a girl is badly invested. He is, therefore, indifferent to the education of the girls of his Tarwad. Those instances of female accomplishments and learning which the Nairs justly proclaim to be commoner in their part of the Madras Presidency than elsewhere, are found mainly in those Tarwads where the old teaching and usage is still followed, where the Tarwad's attractions depend upon female wit and beauty, and rarely in those cases where the Tarwad family life has been entirely discarded. In ancient days, when the female members of Tarwads led a free life, when there was no sexual jealousy, when national consciousness did not insist on female chastity, with knowledge and learning that made them interesting companions, their society was sought by Nambudiris, whose Brahmin wives, if any, were ignorant and uneducated. Their houses became often a literary resort. With the decline of the old family life and of ancient teaching such instances are becoming rarer. In that part of the country where marriage is claimed as a social institution, but where the paternal family life has not been fully adopted, the females are reputed to be far behind their sisters of the other parts in culture.* In fact, for female education, you have either to revert to the old customary life, or adopt the pure paternal family life. The first is impossible in the case of those who have abandoned it, and of the educated classes, generally, and a great majority are of these classes. The paternal family institution which the people are attempting to adopt, though the Courts and the lawyers are placing every conceivable obstacle in their way, must, therefore, be recognized and legalized.

The law refuses to recognize the right of the husband and

wife to live together. Neither of them can bring the other into the Tarwad home for residence, except for occasional visits; neither has any right of guardianship over their children. They have no community of interest with one another. Briefly, marriage and family life are now precarious and unsettled.

Without any authority, social or domestic, without any voice in the disposal of her affections, subject to the influence of a pernicious teaching, practically denied education, the social marriages, where they prevail, becoming a sort of slavery, without any stability in her marriage union, without any unity of interest with her husband, without any control by the mother over her children, it seems absolutely necessary the Nair female should be allowed to escape, where possible, from her Tarwad home, where she has no separate existence, and the law should recognize the paternal family home of which she will be the mistress, where she, with equality of rights with her husband, will be the guardian of their children, whose education will then be in their hands, and to whom they may leave their property.

From the Marumakkatayam maternal family system of the present day to the paternal family system, with, of course, an equalisation of rights, as between man and woman, it will be a great stride towards the recognition of rights of individual women, and the national progress will, there can be little doubt, be proportionate.

Now consider the position of children in a Nair family as at present constituted. Their parents have nothing to do with their education; they are under the control of the Karnavan of their Tarwad, who is not greatly interested in their well-being. The close association between children and their guardians, if essential for the right formation of their children's character, does not exist.

Their Karnavan is, in law, their guardian. As a matter of fact, his natural affections draw him to his own children, though there he may not be free, but has to subordinate himself to the pleasure of his children's Karnavan. Their father may be inclined to do his duty by them; but against their Karnavan's pleasure he cannot take them away to live with him; he himself cannot live with them, or guide their education. Except, therefore, in those cases where the husband and wife have left their Tarwad homes, and lead with their children a paternal family life, a healthy home education for the children is impossible; and even in the other class of cases, such paternal family life exists on the sufferance of the Karnavans of husband and wife, who may dissolve their home at their pleasure by ordering either of them back to their Tarwad, to divorce the other, or by taking away the children to the Tarwad. As a rule,

It is not out of Tarwad funds that the children are educated. Where the paternal family system is growing up, it is almost invariably the father; in other instances, it is either the father, or some favourite relative, who may be member of the Tarwad.

If, therefore, the foundations of character are laid in early life, if the character is formed at home, then it is clear enough that the Tarwad home is not a fit home for the well-being of the children. Again, where their mother is only one of the wives of their father, or where he is dead, even the indirect influence he may be able to exercise for their benefit is wanting. The Tarwad is really not a home of peace and security to the children. This desire for change in the existing system is not new. Where the Brahmin influence was all powerful, the paternal family life was not easily adopted; but in other parts of the District, at the commencement of this century, it was found that the Tarwad life had been practically abandoned. The tendency towards paternal family life has continued to increase. Yet the Legislature and the Courts hesitate to recognize the change.

What is now under consideration is only an attempt to follow the same course of evolution that has been followed, apparently, by every community that has made any progress in civilization. It may possibly be that everywhere maternal filiation alone was first recognized, and that property was held in joint ownership by joint families, tracing their kinship only in the female line; but it is certain that every progressive community has adopted paternal filiation, and has given up this female joint family system, even proceeding to the opposite extreme, ignoring all female claims and reducing the woman to the position of a slave. The enquiry disclosed a practical unanimity in the desire to break up the joint family system in its present form; and even those witnesses before the Commission, who were not prepared to adopt the patriarchal family system in its entirety, were anxious to allow a female's property to descend to her children to the exclusion of the entire family.

Generally speaking, there is a wish to conform to the paternal family life, and such desire is foremost amongst the progressive sections of the community. It is only after a great struggle that the maternal family, in communities which have adopted it, has given way to the paternal family. In Malabar, if the Brahmins did not introduce it, they certainly regulated the maternal family law, to their own advantage, consecrated it, and perpetuated it. Into the translations of the great Hindu national epics, stanzas were introduced prescribing succession in the female line. But for them, it would, long ago, have undoubtedly ceased to exist. But for the Courts of Justice enforcing those laws of property, the joint family system

based on maternal kinship would have been broken up, and usage based on paternal rights would have taken its place. The Marumakkatayam law is now attacked by its orthodox opponents on account of its repugnance to the *Shastra*, whose teaching is now correctly known, the Nairs having been for centuries forbidden to read the *Shastra*. It is attacked by others in the cause of morality and progress. It has on its side the Nambudiris, whose sexual privileges are threatened by the proposed reform : it is defended by some of the aristocratic families still under the influence of the old teaching. There are also others who honestly believe that the joint family system on this maternal basis tends to the preservation of large estates; and, for that and other minor reasons, in their view, it ought not to be broken up. National vanity resents any attack on a national institution. After all the greatest opponent of reform is the licentious tendencies of man that find a scope in the present system, perhaps almost impossible, under any other usage, often sacrificing any number of women on the altar of lust.

The institution of the paternal family, or a monogamic basis, with equal rights between man and woman, would be a great advance in the cause of morality and progress. All that is now proposed is to enable persons so willing to enter into a contract of marriage, to regulate the law of divorce, and to give the property of the deceased, in the absence of any will executed by him, to his wife and children. And those who from patriotic or humanitarian motives wish to see these races set free from a law which, as has been shown, is most degrading in its results and utterly opposed to the enlightenment of the age, must eagerly look for the day when British legislation shall step in and effectually bring about the long-needed change.

THE QUARTER.

P**OLITICALLY** the past three months in India have been unmarked by any event of special importance. The expectations entertained by some nervous people, and discussed with more freedom than prudence, of a disturbance during the Bakr Id festival, were fortunately disappointed ; and, if we except the conversion of the four per cents., the period will be remembered chiefly for the succession of heavy floods and landslips which have accompanied an unusually heavy and unevenly distributed monsoon in various parts of Bombay and Upper India. There have been heavy landslips on the Poona Ghâts ; in Kulu and the Zhob Valley ; in the Mohan Pass ; on the Simla-Kalka road, and elsewhere—those in Kulu and the Zhob Valley attended by serious loss of life ;—and heavy floods in the Indus Valley and various parts of the Punjab, Oudh and Rohilkhund. The Great Indian Peninsula ; the Bombay and Baroda ; the North-West ; the Sind-Sagar and the Oudh and Rohilkhund railways have all been badly breached, some of them more than once ; and finally the great Gohna Lake, contrary to the expectations of the experts, has burst its bonds and carried destruction through the valleys of the Birahi Ganga, the Alaknanda and the Ganges, as far as Hurdwar. The lake overflowed on the morning of the 25th ultimo. The rush of water, which was at first moderate, gradually washed away the tail of the dam ; towards midnight there was a collapse of the upper part, and in a few hours three hundred feet of the lake had escaped. Owing to the tortuous character of the valley, the water made its way downwards more quietly than might have been expected ; but it rose in places to a height of 160 feet. At Srinagar, which suffered most severely, the bazaar, police-quarters and hospital, together with the surrounding villages, were carried away ; at Deopryag, the suspension bridge and buildings were destroyed, and at Rikhi-hish, the bridge and temple. At Hurdwar, where the river rose twelve feet, the bazaar was flooded, but little serious damage appears to have been done. Nowhere, thanks to the excellent arrangements of the Government for warning the inhabitants by telegram, and the vigilance and assiduity of the officials concerned, were any lives lost.

The result of Mr. Westland's notification of the intended discharge of the 4 per cent. loan of 1842-43, with option to the holders to convert it into a 3½ per cent. loan, guaranteed for ten

years, was so satisfactory that a similar notification was subsequently issued as regards the portion of the 4 per cent. loan of May, 1865, held in Calcutta. The latest returns show that, on both accounts, a total of 6,587 lakhs has been converted, leaving only 2,922 lakhs, or rather more than a fourth of the whole, to be dealt with. Of this sum, 145 lakhs, being the unconverted balance of the loan of 1842-43, and 105 lakhs of the loan of 1865, stand to be discharged; but the option of conversion as regards the latter securities extends to the middle of the current month, so that the total will, in all probability, undergo a considerable further reduction. Though there has been a certain amount of grumbling, as was to be expected, the operation, which was amply justified by the state of the market, has, on the whole, been well received.

A further notification appears in a *Gazette of India, Extraordinary*, dated the 1st instant, advertising the balance of the loan of 1854-55 for discharge on similar terms; and it is stated that a Gazette will immediately issue giving to holders of the remaining four per cent. loans, the option of the same terms as those offered to the holders of the 1854-55 loan.

In the House of Lords, on the 20th July, Lord Lansdowne called attention to the exemption of cotton goods from import duty. In the debate which followed, Lord Kimberley stated that while he thought it advisable to await the result of the recent financial measures, before taking any fresh steps, he was prepared to consider further representations from the Government of India, if necessary, when Indian interests would be the first considered, though they could not be considered independently of British interests, an ambiguous utterance which may mean anything, and probably means that only the severest pressure will induce the Government to consent to the re-imposition of the duties. The subject, however, was again touched upon, in the course of the discussion on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, by the Secretary of State, who said that the Government were not opposed to the re-imposition of the duties, if they were accompanied by a countervailing excise duty on Indian goods, a condition to which, if an excise duty on all classes of Indian goods is meant, it is altogether unlikely the Government of India would consent, it being clearly established that, in respect of some ninety per cent. of the goods manufactured, Manchester does not compete with the local mills, and the result of Mr. Westland's recent enquiries in Bombay having been to show that, though it would be physically possible for the mills to manufacture the higher counts of yarn, they could not do so profitably. In the debate in the House of Lords, the late Viceroy was strongly supported by Lord Northbrook and Lord

Roberts ; and the writer on " Indian Affairs " in the *Times*, summing up the result of the discussion, says :—

" The discussion in the House of Lords has had the result which the Marquis of Lansdowne probably intended. It has shown that every one of the speakers who was free to express his own views, including two Viceroy, the last Commander-in-Chief, and a recent Secretary of State, believed that a serious injustice is being done to India, and that that injustice cannot, in the joint interests of Great Britain and India, be persisted in. It also showed that the Ministerial speakers who had the distasteful duty of excusing the injustice, had no defence to make. It placed in an authoritative manner before the British nation the cruelty which that injustice means, alike to the Indian tax-payer, and to those on whom falls the heavy task of holding and governing the country."

On the occasion of the debate on the Indian Budget, a resolution was moved by Mr. Samuel Smith and seconded by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, praying for an enquiry into the condition of India, financial and general ; but the motion was withdrawn, on Mr. Fowler declaring that Government were prepared next session to appoint a Parliamentary Committee to enquire into the expenditure of the country. At the same time Mr. Fowler stated, referring presumably to the Home charges, that he feared India would not come best out of such an enquiry. A hardly less important announcement, made by the Secretary of State on the same occasion, was that the Government had no intention of resuming the coinage of silver in India, meaning, no doubt, the coinage of silver on private account, and that India must sooner or later have a gold standard for the better regulation of her dealings with gold standard countries.

While on the subject of the currency, it may be mentioned that the latter part of the period under review has witnessed a decided improvement in exchange, following on a rise in the price of silver, attributable, no doubt, in part, to the demands, actual and expected, of China and Japan, in connexion with the war between those countries ; but the heavy exports of gold in the earlier part of the period have probably contributed in some measure to this welcome result.

Among the events of the period under review are the opening of the Lucknow Water-works by Sir C. Crosthwaite, which took place on the 21st July, and Sir Charles Elliott's tour in Eastern Bengal, in the course of which he made several speeches of importance, and, on the whole, produced a decidedly favourable impression. Most noticeable of these speeches was that delivered at Dacca, where, among other things, Sir Charles explained that, under the Sanitary Drainage Bill now before the Bengal Council, it was not intended to

undertake the drainage of swamps and bheels, with a view to land reclamation, but only the improvement of silted-up rivers and channels, which, owing to obstruction, had ceased to perform their original functions.

The proceedings of the Legislative Council at Simla include little of special interest, though a certain amount of excitement has been aroused in Bengal by one of the provisions of the Civil Code Amendment Bill introduced by Sir Alexander Miller on the 12th July, which, should it become law, will have the effect of making it discretionary with the Court, in suits for restitution of conjugal rights, to enforce its decree by imprisonment of the recalcitrant wife. It seems to be admitted on all hands that suits for restitution of conjugal rights are unknown to Hindoo Law, and it is difficult, under the circumstances, to justify, or account for, either their introduction by the British Government, or the outcry which the proposed amendment has caused among Hindoos. On the same day Sir Alexander Miller introduced the Indian Cantonments Act, and, in doing so, made the significant statement: "I have very little indeed to say upon this Bill. It is a Bill which has been introduced by direction of Her Majesty's Government, in order to comply, if this Legislative Council should think fit to do so, with the requirements of the majority of the Commission which sat on the question of the practice of the examination of prostitutes in cantonments. That Commission reported (by a majority of three to two) that legislation was necessary in order to carry out the Resolution of the House of Commons on that subject, and the result of that decision is that Her Majesty's Government have expressed a wish that this particular Bill—which has been practically, though not formally, drawn in England—should be introduced for the consideration of the Legislative Council." Presumably this is another case in which the official members of the Council will feel themselves bound to subordinate their consciences to the wishes of the Secretary of State.

The further consideration of the Presidency Small Cause Courts Bill was deferred, in spite of a certain amount of pressure on the part of the Legal Member, for consideration after the re-assembling of the Council in Calcutta. On the 16th ultimo General Brackenbury introduced an important Bill to amend the Indian Articles of War. Other Bills in preparation are a Bill to amend the Companies Act and the Army Re-organisation Bill.

The Bengal Council have passed the Bengal Tenancy Act Amendment Bill, the chief object of which is to enable the Government to revise the settlement of rents in temporarily-settled estates, if necessary, before the expiry of the Land Settlement.

The announcement, made officially, that Sir Salter Pyne, who has returned from England and arrived safely in Kabul, is the bearer of an invitation to the Ameer from the Queen to visit England, has not been taken very seriously by the public in India, the general impression being that the Ameer, while not definitely declining the invitation, will hardly venture to undertake so long a journey.

Matters in connexion with the Khyber-Asmar boundary delimitation are proceeding more slowly than was expected, and there has been a rumour that the negotiations were on the point of being broken off. This rumour, however, appears to have arisen from the fact that Mr. Udny will return to Simla to discuss matters with the Viceroy, after the preliminary negotiations with Ghu'am Hyder at Jellalabad have been concluded, and it is denied that any serious hitch has occurred.

The force which will accompany the Commission into Waziristan, and which is a considerable one, is to rendezvous at Dehra Ismail Khan on the 1st October. Whether any steps will be taken to exact retribution for the series of outrages that have been perpetrated by Waziris during the last few weeks is doubtful. But, from the strength of the force, it seems reasonable to infer that it is, at all events, thought well to be prepared for other than peaceful contingencies. The work of the Kurram Valley Boundary Commission is said to be progressing satisfactorily.

The Hemp Drugs Commission have submitted their Report, in which they formulate the conclusion, that prohibition is neither necessary nor politically expedient, and recommend the adoption of a policy of adequate direct taxation, combined with the prohibition of unlicensed cultivation and limitation of shops and legal possession. The last news regarding the Opium Commission is that its Report will not be completed till October.

It has been notified in the *Gazette of India* that the Viceroy will leave Simla, on his autumn tour, on the 24th October, first visiting Dharmasala, where the remains of the late Lord Elgin are buried, and arriving at Umritsur on 31st October; at Sukker on the 1st November; Quetta, 3rd to 8th November; Shikarpore, 9th November; Kurrachee, 10th to 13th November; Mooltan, 14th; Pindae, 16th; Peshawur, 19th to 22nd November; boats to Kalabagh, 23rd and 24th; Rewah, 25th; Lahore, 26th November to 2nd December. After that the Viceroy proceeds to Calcutta, *via* Delhi and Cawnpore, reaching Calcutta on the morning of the 15th December. His Excellency will be accompanied by Mr. Cunningham, Foreign Secretary, Colonel Durand, Military Secretary, Mr. Babington Smith, Private Secretary, and three Aides-de-Camp.

News has been received from Rangoon that Mr. Tucker, District Superintendent of Police of Pegu, was brutally murdered by dacoits on the 20th ultimo at the village of Wa, where the dacoits were engaged in plundering a boat, some fifteen miles from Pegu. It appears that, seeing what was going on, Mr. Tucker jumped ashore, gun in hand, and, after firing twice on the dacoits, called for more cartridges; but before they could be brought, the dacoits surrounded him. Mr. Tucker defended himself with the butt-end of his rifle, but was overpowered, one of his assailants cutting open his skull, and another severing his head from his body. Major Eyre is in pursuit of the band with sixty of the Pegu police, and the Local Government has offered a reward of Rs. 2,000 for the arrest of the murderers.

The disarmament of the Chins having been successfully carried out, the posts hitherto held by regular troops are to be taken over by the Military Police, a fresh battalion of which is to be formed from the Civil Police, the Military Garrison being, at the same time, reduced.

A list of railways to be surveyed during the coming cold season, which has been published, includes:—

Bara-Mutra, 150 miles; Wazirabad-Lyallpore location, 206 miles; Rohri-Kotri location 206 miles; linking up the metre-gauge systems in Northern India, 90 miles; extensions of the Bengal and North-Western Railway from a point west of the Chota Gunduk to Benâres with a branch to Ballia, 157 miles; Hilli-Kaligunge, 48 miles, Northern Bengal-Assam connection (exploration only), 200 miles; Arsikere-Mangalore, 125 miles; Shoranur-Cochin, 60 miles; Calicut-Cannanore, 55 miles; Tinnevely-Quilon, 106 miles; Madura-Paumben, 91 miles; Vizianagram-Parvatipore, 300 miles; Chittagong-Minhla, 420 miles; Assam Burmah connection (exploration only)—Total 2,208 miles.

We have to record the failure of the old and well-known firm of Messrs. Ernsthausen and Co. of Calcutta, with liabilities amounting to over £300,000, the greater part of which, however, are fully covered, and assets amounting to £17,498, due, it is said, to losses connected with indigo. Arrangements have been made for continuing the business of the firm in Calcutta.

A London Committee of the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association has been formed, and held a preliminary meeting, with Mr. J. J. Keswick in the chair, at which it was resolved that steps be at once taken to form a Constitutional Indian party in England. It is surprising that steps for the purpose were not taken long ago.

We have referred above to the effect of the war which has

broken out between China and Japan on the Eastern exchanges. Should the conflict, as seems not improbable, prove a protracted one, it is likely to be attended by other important consequences,—economic and political. It can hardly fail, for instance, to benefit the Indian cotton manufacturing industry, by relieving it, to some extent, from the competition of Japanese goods in the China markets. But the struggle is likely to have a more important effect in compelling China to enter into closer relations with Western civilisation, to enable her to meet her more advanced antagonist on something like equal terms as regards the appliances of war.

When operations first commenced, the general expectation was that the superior discipline and armament of the Japanese troops would give them a decided advantage over the Chinese in the field at the outset, but that, in the end, the Chinese must wear out the invaders by sheer force of numbers. So far as the war has gone, however, the former expectation has hardly been fulfilled, the Japanese, after defeating comparatively small bodies of Chinese in two engagements and driving them from their positions, having, according to the latest accounts, sustained two crushing defeats at the hands of the Manchu force which subsequently entered the Corea from the landward. By sea, too, it would seem that the Japanese fleet has failed to make any impression on the Chinese forts in the Gulf of Pitcheli which it attacked. The news from the seat of war, however, is both obscure and untrustworthy, and it is impossible to come to any decided conclusion as to the actual state of affairs.

Comparing the positions and resources of the two Powers, and remembering the character and traditional policy of the Chinese, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that the Japanese are embarked in a hopeless enterprise. Even should they succeed in establishing themselves in the Corea, it is certain that the Chinese, as long as they can continue to put armies in the field, will never allow them to remain there in peace. It is difficult to believe that the injury inflicted on Japan by the misgovernment in the Corea, to put an end to which she has ostensibly taken the field, is so great, or even that the advantage she would derive from establishing a permanent suzerainty over the country, which is probably her real object, would be so important, as to recompense her for the sacrifices which an interminable struggle of this kind, against a powerful enemy, must entail upon her. If the Japanese were strong enough to carry the war into China itself with any hope of success, the case would be different.

Parliament was prorogued on the 26th August, after a session which has been more than usually barren of useful legislation,

even for these days of obstruction. The Queen's Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, states that foreign relations are friendly ; expresses regret that a variety of African questions with France are still unsettled, but adds that friendly negotiations are going on, and trusts that a final settlement of the Siamese question will not be much longer delayed. Regret is also expressed at the outbreak of war between China and Japan ; and the conclusion of a treaty with the latter country is announced.

The Finance Bill of the Government was carried on the 17th July, by a majority of 283 to 263, after a protracted discussion and the rejection of an usually large number of amendments. The Bill has since been passed by the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury taking the opportunity of the occasion to affirm the legal right of the House to deal with such Bills.

The Scotch Local Government Bill has passed both Houses of Parliament ; but the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill has been once more rejected by the House of Lords, this time by a majority of 129 to 120.

A much more important act of the Lords, and one of, perhaps, doubtful wisdom, is their rejection of Mr. Morley's Evicted Tenants Bill, which had been forced through the House of Commons by the application of the closure, with so little just reason that the Opposition had declined to take part in the further discussion of the measure. The Bill was of so arbitrary a character and so certain to prove demoralising in its results, that the Lords could not have passed it as it stood without abandoning a clear duty. But the feeling is general that they would have shown more policy, and, probably, more kindness to landlords as well as tenants, had they recast it in such a way as to divest it of the feature of compulsion, and thus cast upon the Government the odium of throwing away the chance of a compromise which, it would appear from Mr. Dillon's speech, a section at least of the Nationalist party were not unwilling to accept.

The rejection of the Bill will furnish the Radicals with a new instance of the wickedness of the Lord which, though the country will probably not attach much importance to the incident, it would have been well to avoid.

Sir William Harcourt, in the House of Commons, on being questioned as to the course the Government proposed to adopt, declared the matter to be one of great gravity, but declined to state definitely the views of the Government. A meeting held in Hyde Park on the 26th ultimo, as a demonstration against the action of the Upper House, is admitted to have been a fiasco.

The Miners (Eight Hours') Bill has been withdrawn, after an amendment had been passed, limiting its operation to districts

in which a majority of workmen were in favour of its application. A Bill has been introduced by Lord Salisbury, and passed in the House of Lords, to check the immigration into the United Kingdom of destitute aliens, and give power to the Government to expel foreigners engaged in contriving schemes against other nations. The Bill is opposed by the Government on the ground that it is unnecessary and contrary to British sentiment, and there is little likelihood, under the circumstances, of its being passed by the House of Commons.

Among the minor events of the quarter may be mentioned the birth of a son to the Duchess of York, on the 23rd June; the announcement that Mr. Gladstone—the operation on whose eyes seems to have been successful—will not return to Parliament, and the departure from Greenhithe, on the 11th July, and arrival at Archangel on the 5th August, on its way to Franz Josef Land, of the Jackson-Harmworth Arctic Expedition, probably the most completely equipped of its kind that has ever left the shores of the United Kingdom.

The British Association commenced its sittings at Oxford on the 8th ultimo, the Presidential address being delivered by Lord Salisbury, who, instead of dwelling, like previous Presidents, on the achievements of science, or some particular branch of it, devoted himself mainly to an exposition of its shortcomings. As, however, in the very nature of things, these must always immeasurably exceed its achievements, the address can hardly be said to have been very informing. An interesting announcement has been made in the Chemical Section, of the discovery of a new gas in the atmosphere by Lord Rayleigh and Professor Ramsay.

The American Tariff Bill was passed by the House of Representatives on the 13th ultimo, and is generally expected to lead to a revival of business.

On the Continent of Europe the most important event to be recorded is the assassination of President Carnot, by an Italian anarchist, who stabbed him in his carriage, while on his way to the theatre, at Lyons, on the evening of the 24th June. It is well for the world that Carnot was universally beloved by the French people, and it is not improbable that the horror and indignation excited by the deed throughout the country will do more to discourage anarchist outrages than any measures of repression. Whether the anarchists are enthusiasts bent on the regeneration of society, or whether they are friends whose object is its destruction, the conviction that their efforts are doomed to certain failure must sooner or later give them pause; and nothing could be better calculated to produce this conviction, than the display of feeling provoked by the dastardly act of the man Santo among all classes of the French population.

The election of a successor to President Carnot, which was held on the following Wednesday, resulted in the return of M. Casimir Perier, the other candidates being M. Brisson, General Fevrier, M. Arago, M. Cavaignac, and M. Dupuis.

The assassin was executed at Lyons on the 16th ultimo.

The French Senate, by a large majority, have passed a stringent law against anarchists, one of the provisions of which empowers the Courts to prohibit the publication of reports of the proceedings.

An agreement has been entered into between France and Belgium, under which the French Congo district is extended to the waters of the Nile, and Belgium engages not to occupy the territory ceded to the Congo State by the British Government.

The negotiations with France on the Siamese question are still proceeding, and—judging from statements made by Sir E. Grey in the House of Commons during the discussion of the Foreign estimates, to the effect that, while the British Government was careful to avoid irritation in its intercourse with Foreign States, it would be compelled to adopt a different course, if a new phase arose in Siam—are not progressing very satisfactorily. It is, however, announced that the expedition to define the Buffer State on the Upper Mekong will start in October.

The *London Gazette* of the 19th June notified the assumption of a protectorate of Uganda, and it is announced that it is ultimately intended to appoint a Civil administrator.

Between the 10th and 19th July, Constantinople was visited by a series of earthquakes of extraordinary violence, which resulted in great loss of life and the destruction of buildings and property to the estimated value of six thousand Turkish pounds. The shocks were felt with great severity in the neighbouring islands of Prinkipo and Anfigoni, where most of the houses were wrecked. A severe earthquake is also reported to have occurred in Sicily.

The obituary of the quarter includes the names of Lord Coleridge, who had occupied the position of Chief Justice for fourteen years; Sir Henry Austen Layard; Mr. Walter Pater; Professor Dwight Whitney, the eminent Sanskritist; Madame Alboni and Mr. Fraser Macdonald, late of the Bengal Civil Service.

September 5th, 1894.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Penal Settlements of Port Blair and the Nicobars for 1892-93.

SOME years have passed since Captain Horsford won reputation for himself as a terror to the budmashes of Lucknow, in the capacity of Cantonment Magistrate of that station and an indefatigable sanitary reformer. A better qualified man to succeed Colonel Cadell, V. C., as Chief Commissioner of the Andaman Islands and Superintendent of the Convict Colony at Port Blair, it would have been difficult to find in all India. The ruffianly element there was clearly of this opinion, and paid him the compliment of trying to murder him, and so get rid of unceasing vigilance and uncompromising discipline. His first Administration Report lies before us. From it we gather that the strength of the Military Police Force in 1892-93 was 630; that no insuperable difficulties opposed themselves to recruitment; that the physique of the forty new hands enlisted was good; and that the discipline of the Force was much improved by the end of the year. Brigadier-General Hamilton, who then inspected them, was well satisfied with their appearance, and the way in which they handled their arms. They secured fair figures of merit at musketry practice.

In the courts, justice was active: 62 freemen were brought to trial, as against 44 last year. The number of convict cases tried judicially was 26, as against 15, and the number of convicts implicated 31, against 18. Proof that these results were not due to misdirected energy may be found in the fact that the Sessions Judge only, in one instance found it necessary to revise the sentence of the lower court.

The daily average number of convicts was 10,856, as compared with 11,459, in 1891-92.

Ten of them suffered capital punishment (three were executed in the previous year), ten were returned as runaways, (there were 19 missing when accounts were made up for 1891-92). The ratio of Jail offences, 23.55 per cent., compares favourably with the average of Indian Jails. The number of escapes has decreased from 87 to 41. 34 marriages were sanctioned during the year of report, 11 of them between convicts and free people. On the subject of these mixed marriages Colonel Horsford says:—

“The women simply agree to marry men who will have completed their 20 or

25 years, when they (the women) have completed their 15 years. And judging from the history sheets, only the women with bad history sheets wish to marry and get away from work. So far as can be judged, most of the women who marry eventually return to Port Blair, even if in the first instance they leave it with their locally married husbands. The Superintendent is very reluctant to allow women to marry who will be released at the end of 15 years. He has little doubt that when the local female prisoners are completely separated from the others, and find that they are shut off from communication with the outer world, they will become less unwilling to marry men who have to put in about the same amount of imprisonment that they have. The Superintendent has not the slightest doubt that the removal of all self-supporters to the Northern Division, and the keeping of them away from the so-called "free" people, will result in time in a better class of self supporters springing up, men who will try not to be remanded to labour, and will make better husbands than many of them have hitherto done, judging from the judicial cases which come up. In other words, the better class of the women will be more ready to marry when they find that the husbands are of a better class. This will take a little time, but if we have patience this will come about."

The Financial position of the Andamans does not improve—

"According to the accounts received, the total receipts and expenditure, as compared with those of the preceding year, were—

	1891-92. Rs.	1892-93. Rs.
Receipts	6,24,368	6,76,769
Expenditure	13,66,944	14,85,061
NET COST .	7,42,576	8,08,292

A net increase of Rs. 65,716."

Of the position of the Public Works Department we are told—

"The original and revised grant under Civil Works was Rs. 43,200. Rs. 210 was also sanctioned under Military Works to meet the pay of a Barrack Sergeant. The allotment for the year thus stood at Rs. 43,410. The cash expenditure against this grant was Rs. 53,321, the excess expenditure being met by refunds on account of sawing timber for the Forest Department.

"The financial statement of the Chatkam saw-mill shows a deficit of Rs. 2,149, if the book expenditure on account of labour and local material be included, and a profit of Rs. 3,425, if these charges are omitted. The boilers of this mill are old and nearly worn out. Double the existing power could be used with advantage. A new engine and boiler is sanctioned, and will, it is hoped, soon arrive from England.

"The financial statement of the portable saw-mill at Dhani-Khari shows a deficit of Rs. 752, if labour and local material be taken into account, and a profit of Rs. 1,716, if these items are excluded. This mill was employed throughout the year in cutting up shingles."

The Tea Garden at Navy Bay made a cash profit of Rs. 15,071. A new garden has been started at Kalatang. Coffee is not such a success as Tea, and the area of the Liberian Coffee Estate has been restricted. The Cocoa Estate continues to flourish; but the Ceara-rubber trees were damaged by the cyclone. As regards the Forest Department, we are told—

"The total credits in 1892-93 amounted to Rs. 3,60,486, against Rs. 2,72,338 last year. The total debits, Rs. 2,31,206, against Rs. 1,79,908, and the surplus to Rs. 1,29,280, against Rs. 92,430—an increase of Rs. 36,850. If to the year's surplus is added the net increase in the value of stock, the grand total becomes Rs. 1,50,705. As remarked, however, in previous reports, the accounts for one

year do not prevent a fair index of the working of the department during that year, as the value of the timber exported during the year is not realized in that year.

"Two cargoes were sent to London during 1892-93, consisting of 2,084 tons of padouk. The London sales were the largest on record. During 1892-93, 2,007 tons of timber were sold from this depôt, and realized R 2,51,417, as compared with 1,530 tons, realizing R 1,78,309 in 1891-92. The average rate per ton for the aggregate of timber squares and dunnage boards was, however, slightly better than in the previous year, and this, together with the fall in exchange, resulted in an advance of Rs. 4 per ton for 1892-93.

"In the Calcutta Depôt the sales were 131 tons of timber, as compared with 81 tons last year. The prices realized do not appear to be very satisfactory. The amount realized was R 7,223.

"The sales from the local sale depôts (excluding saw-mill) were 1,513 tons in 1892-93, as compared with 1,603 tons in 1891-92. This shows a decrease for the year under report of 90 tons; but comparing the sales of the two years to local Government Departments, there is an increase of 13,486 cubic feet in the year 1892-93.

The value of the Settlement's imports was Rs. 8,20,619, of its exports, Rs. 1,50,712, against Rs. 7,45,234 and Rs. 1,73,932 last year.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

Memorials of Old Haileybury College. By FREDERICK CHARLES DANVERS, SIR M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, SIR STEUART COLVIN BAYLEY, PERCY WIGRAM, the Late BRAND SAPTE, and many contributors, with numerous Illustrations, and Plans. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company, 14, Parliament Street, S. W. 1894.

THIS handsome volume comes forth at the moment when the old "Covenanted Civil Service" of the East India Company has all but ceased to have a representative in India. It consists of contributions by various hands; the first two-hundred and fifty pages being reminiscences by Sir Monier Williams, followed by a sketch of "College Literature," by Sir Steuart Bayley, by lists of the students classed according to Presidencies, and by a record of services of all engaged in the suppression of the great revolt of 1857. Executed with different degrees of ability, but with considerable care and commendable urbanity, the book forms a pleasant and useful record of an extinct system which cannot be separated from the history of India.

The East India College—for that was the exact appellation of what is here called "Old Haileybury"—was founded in 1806, when the Court of Directors refused to sanction the somewhat audacious plan of Lord Wellesley for establishing an academy for young "writers" in Calcutta. Some of the tutorial staff, dignified by the title of "Professors," were men of distinction; such as Henry Melvill, the famous preacher; T. R. Malthus, the Political Economist; Sir James Mackintosh, Sir James Stephen, Horace Hayman Wilson, and several others. The College had the essential disadvantage of being planted in the midst of a desolate heath, about equi-distant from three petty towns; the country-gentry of the neighbourhood were never friendly to the inmates; a gulf usually separated the young men (known as "students") from the professors and their wives; and the whole tone of academical and social life suffered grievously from want of the salutary influences of public opinion.

Nevertheless, the teaching afforded was of good quality; and those of the students who were disposed to make use of their opportunities were able to obtain a considerable amount of wide, if somewhat superficial, knowledge. Courses of Oriental and European instruction were conducted by competent men; the classical lectures of Dean Jeremie, held in the College Library, were an encyclopædia of general culture; and "Jones on Rent" was always vigorous if occasionally given to paradox.

A fair proportion of the young men availed themselves of these and the like; and many names might be cited to show that knowledge and mental power could be cultivated at "Old Haileybury."

Some record of these things is not unwelcome, though in its present shape the work may be thought unsuited for permanent preservation. It was, perhaps, inseparable from such a combination of labourers that the product should be a little incoherent, and that some redundancies should appear. Sir Monier, both by his general introduction and by the superior bulk of his contribution to the body of the book, occupies the position of editor; and he has struck the key-note at page xv.

"I soon became aware," he says, "that to make my chronicles at all valuable, it would be necessary to resist the temptation to be simply amusing and anecdotic."

With what difficulties he had to contend we cannot say: whatever they were, the editor has certainly succeeded in surmounting them. His "Reminiscences" are not only entirely free from anecdotic frivolity, but contain much matter which can hardly be deemed relevant to a "historical account of the working of the College." On the other hand they show the hand of the scholar and the gentleman. Readers may wish that they were more "amusing" and less autobiographic, but will find that they include mention of memorable men, and are always inspired by good feeling. Mr. Percy Wigram's part of the work involved more labour and is more businesslike. He undertook to revise and otherwise complete the account of Mutiny services begun by the late Brand Sapté, C. B., and this he has done in a workmanlike manner, besides making out the lists already mentioned, which, though neither complete nor quite accurate, must have given rise to much research. Sir S. Bayley has given a sympathetic account of the various periodical publications put forth by the students during the course of many years; and some of the extracts which he includes in his notice are favourable examples of adolescent literature.

Of course—as has been observed—there are repetitions; and some of these it will be easy to avoid in any reprint that may be hereafter required: one at least of these involves a considerable inconsistency. In a preliminary account of the Company's Civil Service, Mr. Danvers, of the India Office, states that "a debating society was formed at Haileybury, named *The Wellesley Club*," and he refers to Sir S. Bayley's section for further particulars. Pursuing this reference, we find (page 308) that, in Sir Steuart's time, the Club was known as "*The Wellesley Whist-Club*." The writer of this notice is able, from personal experience, to say that *The Wellesley* was not originated for

whist—as indeed, Sir Steuart admits—and was never in the least connected with debating: it was originally a Society, of a certain degree of social pretension, which rendered itself representative in the way of hospitality to visitors from the outside world: there was a chartered toast drunk out of a silver tankard filled with portwine; the Club was exclusive, and entrance was guarded by a strict system of ballot. From such affectations and assumptions boys are seldom free, and the curious thing is that a minority, by whose members such things are practised, is apt to be taken seriously and admiringly by the excluded majority.

Other discrepancies are observable, in a few instances, among the names; though, considering their number, the general accuracy is remarkable. The name, for example, of an accomplished Civilian, who was brother to the late Archbishop of Dublin, is given at one place as “Philip Charles Trench,” elsewhere as “Philip Chevenix Trench,” neither being quite right. Mr. Trench’s actual names were Philip Charles Chenevix. So his brother-in-law, Hervey Greathead—who died before Delhi in 1857, is twice called “Henry,” where, indeed, there is no inconsistency, but rather persistence in error. To have done with fault finding; there is a copy of a pictorial wrapper assumed by the *College Magazine* in 1846, which is said to be by John Doyle, the celebrated artist of the “H. B.” caricatures, on what is called “good authority.” It was, in fact, drawn on the wood—in the presence of the present writer—by the late H. B. Lockett, who died a member of the Bombay Civil Service in 1860; at the foot of the engraving will be found the words:—“*Hobble fecit*,” of which the first contains the initials of the artist.

The interest of all these things is, purely antiquarian—and feeble at that. The East India College was like a battered beau who is old without being venerable; and even its age came within one human life-time: Austin, the celebrated Printer at Hertford, saw its career from start to finish, and outlived it by a whole generation. Yet the book connects itself with memorable names; and, if only it could be edited by one clear head (with a strong pair of scissors), an account of the school which formed so many founders and administrators of Empire would not be without permanent importance. On the Bengal List, the first two names are those of Holt McKenzie and Melbourn Bird, the agrarian reformers to whom Hindustan owed the beginning of much social welfare: among the last are those of Alfred Lyall and Auckland Colvin, the two latest Governors of the same Province, both highly distinguished in less remote fields. Between these extremes is many a name of men who only needed a brighter and more frequented theatre: Thoby Prinsep, Sir George Clerk, Bryan Hodgson

Rev. Henry Venn, James Thomason, Sir C. Trevelyan, John Muir, Lord Lawrence, Sir G. Campbell, and Sir Richard Temple.

Nor would comic elements be wanting. It would still, perhaps, be possible to gather from lagging veterans some unconsidered trifles that would raise a smile on modern lips. Does the Marquess of Tweeddale (Hereditary Chamberlain of Dunfermline and sometime High Commissioner for Scotland) recollect a day in November when he, with one other, became the subject of a warrant for house-breaking? The Rape of the Billiard Table is not referred to by any of the Five Editors; it might make a good story for a new edition. Melvill was then the Principal; and on the morning in question he sent for the two youths while the holder of the warrant stood ready at the other door with his two-handed engine. But when the tale was told and the "Prin" found that the alleged criminals had law on their side for all that had been done, he exploded in genial laughter as he cried—"good morning gentlemen! *Solvuntur risu tabulae.*"*

In the present state of the book the best fun is to be found in the stories about the Professor of Political Economy (1835-1855), the Rev. Richard Jones, once well-known as a member of the Charity Commission at Somerset House, of whom some killing anecdotes are told, mainly from the recollections of Mr. Leslie Probyn. Best of all is the description of Jones, as a Lecturer and as a Preacher, by Mr. J. W. Sherer, C. S. I., remarkable alike for curious observation and light dexterity of touch.

It is all over now. With the retirement of Mr. Justice Prinsep from the High Court, and of Sir Charles Pritchard from the Viceregal Council, will disappear from Indian life the last vestige of the nominated service. The story of that service is that of an official species of Dodo. Their successors have nothing in common with the old Civilians, being of all sorts and conditions, only resembling each other in this one respect, that they are not related to their predecessors, either in birth or breeding. Many readers will be thankful to Sir M. Williams and his fellow labourers for having raised this monument to a bygone institution. But opportunity should be taken not only to eliminate error, but to give the amorphous mass a more coherent character.

* Hay and his companion were members of a small Club, which kept a billiard table in the historical Rye-House—the scene of the ambush for Charles II. in 1633. The landlord having failed, the creditors attached his goods, and among them this table, which was accordingly removed, under the opinion of counsel. The man in possession took out warrants from a Magistrate against the only members of the body that he recognised. But, on learning the facts, Melvill turned away his wrath.

Perhaps the matter of most permanent interest for general readers will be found in three preliminary pages from the Memoirs of Miss Martineau, referring to visits paid to the College by that well-known writer during the years 1832-1834. She was the guest of Malthus, as befitted the author of *Tales of Political Economy*; and she states a fact which will surprise those who can remember the defective utterance of "Old Pop," as the Professor was irreverently called. Malthus had some defect of the palate, vaguely known to his friends as "having no roof to his mouth," and it is quite impossible to understand how the deaf lady mastered the communications of the inarticulate gentleman. That she did so, however, rests on her own authority; and that ought to be final. Miss Martineau describes the social aspects of College Life, in professorial circles, with grace and feeling:—

"The subdued jests, external homage, and occasional insurrections, of the young men; the archery of the young ladies; the curious politeness of the Persian Professor; the fine learning and eager scholarship of Principal Le Bas; * and the old fashioned courtesies of the summer evening parties; all are over now except as pleasant pictures in the interior gallery of those who knew the place—of whom I am thankful to have been."

The nightingale alone remains to tell us what Old Haileybury was in those summer-evenings:—

"Thou was not born for death, immortal Bird !

No hungry generations tread thee down ;

The voice I hear this passing night was heard,

In ancient days, by Emperor and clown :

Perhaps the self-same song that found a path

Through the sad heart of Ruth when, sick for home,

She stood in tears among the alien corn ;

The same that oft hath charmed magic casements opening on
the foam

Of perilous seas in fairy lands forlorn."

So he sings there still. *Cantat ille, nos tacemus.*

H. G. K.

* Le Bas would have made the fortune of a comic dramatist if he could have been adequately put on the stage. His diminutive person, clad in the once correct clerical costume, gave him quaintness even in the earlier Victorian epoch; while his deafness must have made his conversations with Miss M. a matter of singular intricacy. Add to this a sesquipedalian diction, and a use of Latin words and quotations which made his talk almost as remarkable as his appearance, blended as it was with an occasional phrase more resembling imprecation than is now expected from clerical lips. Thus, to a student who had given a noisy wine party, he observed (answering a half heard excuse) "good God Almighty, Sir, you were the *Corypheus* of this unhallowed orgy." The effect may be partly imagined.

The Heroes Five. An Attempt to collect some of the Songs of the Pachpirya Ballad-mongers in the Benares Division. By R. GREEVEN, B.A. (Oxon), of the Bengal Civil Service and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, and Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Allahabad: printed at the *Pioneer Press*. 1893.

THE collection of ballads with which Mr. Greeven presents us in this volume, and which have been taken down by him from the mouths of the people in verandah and over camp-fire, is not only a valuable addition to our still-meagre knowledge of Indian folklore, but possesses a special scientific value; as illustrating the tendency to hero-worship which is so marked a feature of the Indian mind, the slightness of the incidents on which it is sometimes based, and the way in which it comes, in the course of time, to assume a religious character.

The "Heroes Five" originally represented the quintette of Saints, revered by the Shiah Mahomedans; but these Saints have everywhere been superseded by local heroes, of whom Ghazi Miyan is the chief and centre, and who are revered by Mahomedans and low-caste Hindoos alike. This Ghazi Miyan was the son of Sahu Salar and his wife Mamal, and nephew of Mahmud of Ghuzni, and was killed at Bahraich, on the day of his wedding, during a popular rising of the Hindoos; since which he has been revered as "The Prince of Martyrs." His birth and exploits form the subject of the first set of ballads in Mr. Greeven's collection. The second set deals with the legend of the Demon Palihar, an adaptation of certain of the incidents of the Ramayana, full of wonderful anachronisms in its popular form. The third is occupied with the pathetic story of Saint Amina, the most popular object of worship in the quintette. The fourth set is entitled "The Quest of the Mare Lilli," the ballads describing among other things the exploits by which Ghazi Miyan provided himself with that wonderful animal. The fifth deals with "The Downfall of King Banar," and the sixth with the wedding and martyrdom of Ghazi Miyan.

Mr. Greeven has wisely studied literalness rather than elegance in his version of the ballads, and, while preserving the metrical structure of the originals, as far as possible, has made no attempt to turn them into English verse.

Marcella. By MRS. HUMPHRY WARD, Author of 'Robert Elsmere,' 'The History of David Grieve,' etc. *Macmillan's Colonial Library.* London: Macmillan and Co. and New York, 1894.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD is gifted with grace to write novels surcharged with a moral purpose that are not dull.

that one is never tempted to skip a page of. Robert Elsmere, it will be remembered, because of a quibble over the Biblical chronology of the Book of Daniel, betook himself to preaching and active furtherance of the aims of a quasi-unitarian religious socialism. Its "note" was unfaith in Christianity at large, and the refuge open to that unrest in the narrow way of untrinitate, but yet religious, Socialism. In *Marcella*, the vain attempts at regeneration of a Socialism without leaven of Christian charity are exposed, in all their callow, blinking nakedness. They get what the slang of the day would style a fair show; their light is hidden behind no bushels; clever *Advocati Diaboli* are allowed to expound the Socialist creed and its gospels with such force, such logical acumen, such preponderance of reasonable seeming argument, that, before he has got midway through the book (if ever he gets so far into it) your commercially orthodox *rentier* will begin to fear lest, by vice of his reading, he has unwittingly been aiding and abetting treason against the State and Majesty of the great god—Respectability. He may reassure himself. *Marcella*, after sowing her allowance of wild oats, discovers in due season that they are light weight, infructuous, economically as well as morally unsound. On page 347 we find her defying a Socialist shining light, revered by herself, as such, once upon a time.

"And as to your Socialism," she went on, unheeding, the thought of many days finding defiant expression—"it seems to me—like all other interesting and important things—destined to help something else! Christianity begins with the poor and division of goods—it becomes the great bulwark of property and the feudal state. The Crusades—they set out to recover the tomb of the Lord!—what they did was to increase trade and knowledge. And so with Socialism. It talks of a new order—what it *will* do is to help to make the old sound!"

Marcella's mother, staid, silent, cynical victim of a unique, utterly senseless, wisely devotion, is a subordinate figure on the boards, worked out with as much careful elaboration of detail as Aldous Raeburn, the slightly priggish hero of the play, as is Harry Wharton, its bright, vivacious, golden-tongued, curly-haired Alhiriman.

And that fairy elf, Betty Macdonald! And the inimitable life-like old women in the tumble-down cottages on her father's estate, with whom *Marcella* seeks to make friends, and who, subserviently polite the while, regard her as a licensed nuisance, in spite of her kind speeches and her doles. The subsidiary moral concerns the impertinence of "district visiting," and the inkling, inherent in every English peasant mind, that his or her cottage tenement ought to be as much his or her castle, as free from impertinent intrusions, as my Lord their landlord's stately palace a mile or two further on. *Marcella* was strong on philanthropy towards the poor at the expense of well-to-do people; and she held, in thought, if not in words, that, the Game Laws

being a manifest iniquity, there could be no harm in running counter to them. This involved her in hot-headed defence of a poacher, who had murdered a game-keeper, and led up to a breach with her lover, the heir to the lord of the manor, whose preserves had been poached on, Lord Maxwell. It came of excess of charitable impulses inflicted on a village community arrogantly self-sufficient and self-assertive on one side of the brain, as all village communities are—on the other side, futile, servile, with just such grovelling attachments to the soil as Zola depicts in *La Terre*. As a matter of fact, they disliked Marcella's would-be friendly domiciliary visits; distrusted her motives when she was by way of organizing co-operative advantages for them in the straw-plaiting business with which their women were ceaselessly busy, for an inadequate wage; considered the Alms' House a more assured prospect of comfortability than any of the self-helping industrial schemes with which the girl enthusiast sought to work out their independence for them.

A bucolically-minded, not over honest, work-eschewing poacher was one of Marcella's village pets; and, when a game-keeper against whom he had a grudge, was murdered by him, Marcella, with her one-sided insight, could see in the act little more than a protest against the iniquity of the Game Laws, and, inferentially, Landlordism all over the country. Consequently, with all the might and main of her frothily ingenuous young soul, she espoused the murderer's cause; identified herself with it; became a scorn and reproach to county society because of it; broke with her affianced husband, because, as a man endued with common-sense and responsibilities, he was unable to sympathize with her high falutin, and, with tenderest manly affection, tried to make her understand what valid reasons he had for not approving of her opposition to Law, Justice, and the practical Humanitarianism that can consider aggregates as well as units.

In vain his affectionate pleadings. Their direct result was to throw the warm-hearted, impetuous devotee of Socialism into the meshes of the net that a calculating, cold-blooded, specious humbug, one Wharton had long been trying to entangle her in. He only half succeeded. Marcella's ardent individuality could at that time brook no personal dominion. She found impersonality, the *service* her womanly soul craved for, in the sickwards of a London Hospital. And, by means of self-abnegation, constant thought for others, disciplines, she was comforted and strengthened. Though she never took kindly to scrubbing pots and pans and house-maid's work of that description, she never rebelled against it, but submitted herself graciously to all the humiliations attendant on the habit of a life she had adopted, together with her Sister of Mercy cloaks; and their trick of disguising the artistic lines of her shapely figure.

Underlying (when not overlaying) all Mrs. Humphry Ward's deliverances, one may discern "note" of assured conviction that, whatever happens in this melancholy merry-go-round of what we are pleased to call life, everything comes right, falls into its proper place, before that final end comes when there can be no restitutions, no discussion of Socialism, or any other Isms. Lady Selina is the puppet representative of a not quite Matthew Arnoldian similitude of aristocratic culture. Here follows a dialogue that, *intër alia*, impels to that conclusion:—

"What did *you* think of Mr. Wharton's speech the other night?" said Lady Selina, bending suavely across the tea-table to Marcella.

'It was very interesting,' said Marcella, stiffly—perfectly conscious that the name had pricked the attention of everybody in the room, and angry with her cheeks for reddening.

'Wasn't it?' said Lady Selina, heartily. 'You can't *do* those things, of course! But you should show every sympathy to the clever enthusiastic young men—the men like that—shouldn't you? That's what my father says. He says we've got to win them. We've got somehow to make them feel us their friends—or we shall *all* go to ruin! They have the voting power—and we are the party of education, of refinement. If we can only lead that kind of man to see the essential justice of our cause—and at the same time give them our help—in reason—show them we want to be their friends—wouldn't it be best? I don't know whether I put it rightly—you know so much about these things! But we can't undo '67—can we? We must get round it somehow—mustn't we? And my father thinks Ministers so unwise! But perhaps'—and Lady Selina drew herself back with a more gracious smile than ever—'I ought not to be saying these things to you—of course I know you *used* to think us Conservatives very bad people—but Mr. Wharton tells me, perhaps, you don't think *quite* so hardly of us as you used?'

Lady Selina's head in its Paris bonnet fell to one side in a gentle interrogative sort of way.

Something roused in Marcella.

'Our cause?' she repeated, while the dark eye dilated—'I wonder what you mean?'

'Well, I mean,—' said Lady Selina, seeking for the harmless word, in the face of this unknown, explosive-looking girl,—'I mean, of course, the cause of the educated—of the people who have made the country.'

'I think,' said Marcella quietly, 'you mean the cause of the rich!—don't you?'

'Marcella!' cried Lady Winterbourne, catching at the tone rather than words—'I thought you didn't feel like that any more—not about the distance between the poor and the rich—and our tyranny—and its being hopeless—and the poor always hating us—I thought you'd changed.'

And, forgetting Lady Selina, remembering only the old talks at Mellor, Lady Winterbourne bent forward and laid an appealing hand on Marcella's arm.

Marcella turned to her with an odd look.

'If you only knew,' she said, 'how much more possible it is to think well of the rich, when you are living amongst the poor!'

'Ah! you must be at a distance from us to do us justice?' inquired Lady Selina, settling her bracelets with a sarcastic lip.

'I must,' said Marcella, looking, however, not at her, but at Lady Winterbourne. 'But then, you see'—she caressed her friend's hand with a smile—'it is so easy to throw some people into opposition!'

'Dreadfully easy!' sighed Lady Winterbourne.

The flush mounted again in the girl's cheek. She hesitated, then felt driven to explanations.

'You see—oddly enough'—she pointed away for an instant to the north-east through the open window—'it's when I'm over there—among the people who have nothing—that it does me good to remember that there are persons who live in James Street, Buckingham Gate!'

'My dear! I don't understand,' said Lady Winterbourne, studying her with her most perplexed and tragic air.

'Well, isn't it simple?' said Marcella, still holding her hand and looking up at her. 'It comes, I suppose, of going about all day in those streets and houses, among people who live in one room—with not a bit 'of prettiness anywhere—and no place to be alone in, or to rest in. I come home and *gloat* over all the beautiful dresses and houses and gardens I can think of!'

'But don't you *hate* the people that have them?' said Betty, again on her stool, chin in hand.

'No! it doesn't seem to matter to me then what kind of people they are. And I don't so much want to take from them and give to the others. I only want to be sure that the beauty, and the leisure, and the freshness are *some* where—not lost out of the world.'

'How strange!—in a life like yours—that one should think so much of the *ugliness* of being poor—more than of suffering or pain,' said Betty, musing.

'Well—in some moods—you do—I do!' said Marcella; 'and it is in those moods that I feel least resentful of wealth. If I say to myself that the people who have all the beauty and the leisure are often selfish and cruel—after all, they die out of their houses and their parks and their pictures, in time, like the shell-fish out of its shell. The beauty and the grace which they created or inherited remain. And why should one be envious of *them* personally? They have had the best chances in the world and thrown them away—are but poor animals at the end! At any rate I can't hate them—they seem to have a function—when I am moving about Drury Lane!' she added with a smile.

'But how can one help being ashamed?' said Lady Winterbourne, as her eyes wandered over her pretty room, and she felt herself driven somehow into playing devil's advocate.

'No! no!' said Marcella eagerly, 'don't be ashamed! As to the people who make beauty more beautiful—who share it and give it—I often feel as if I could say to them on my knees, Never, *never* be ashamed merely of being rich—of living with beautiful things, and having time to enjoy them! One might as well be ashamed of being strong rather than a cripple, or having two eyes rather than one!'

It only remains to be added to the foregoing sketch, that Marcella in the end surrenders to the forceful patience of Aldous Raeburn's character.

The moral of Mrs. Humphry Ward's last book may be, if you like, that unselfish devotion is never, never can be, one of Nature's waste products. *Sic itur ad astra, et ad animam.* We confess to having been impressed, by reading *Marcella*, with the uses and advantages of a homelier proverb, to wit

"A woman, a dog, and a walnut tree,
The more they are beaten, the better they be."

Primer of Philosophy. By DR. PAUL CARUS. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1893.

WE have to thank the Open Court Publishing Company of Chicago, U. S. A., for a *Primer of Philosophy*, the key-note, and, to all practical intents and purposes, conclusion of which are thus set forth in a preface by Dr. Paul Carus:—

"The point of view adopted in this, as in other publications of the author, is new to the extent that it cannot be classified among any of the various schools of recent thought. It represents, rather, a critical reconciliation of rival philosophies of the type of Kantian apriorism and John Stuart Mill's empiricism. The reconciliation reached disposes for good of a number of fundamental problems, and, particularly, of that old *crux philosophorum*, the question of the nature of reason, and will, thus, after a long unsettled period of embarrassments in which all progress has ceased, set the ship of philosophy afloat again.

The Protected Princes of India. By WILLIAM LEE-WARNER, C.S.I. London : Macmillan & Co. and New York, 1894.

MR. TUPPER'S book, *Our Indian Protectorate**, was a masterly digest of the high political and diplomatic businesses it treated of, within the lines its author laid down. The only fault to be found with it was that it did not go far enough, was not exhaustive. There is a respectable saw—attributed to Lord Verulam, amongst other axiom-mongers—which propounds that a big book is a big evil. Mr. Tupper may or may not have been influenced by that unwritten but canonical law for the literary caste, in determining the scope and area of his field of enquiry. Other quite as sufficient reasons may have guided him in the track he chose. This much is sure that he left wide fringes of the material he worked on available for other fingers. Mr. Lee-Warner, C.S.I., who, as Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government, is as well “posted” in the political business as Sir Charles Aitchison was when he delivered himself *re* Punjab Treaties, has picked up the dropped skeins in his *Protected Princes of India*.

Mr. Lee-Warner believes that law is more powerful than reason, than instinct, than a man's own self; he considers it an ever watchful Providence, as omniscient as it is almighty. “The Sovereign is the State,” he asserts, with a light-heartedness that reminds one of Napoleon III. and Sedan. Only in Native States, he says, like Mysore, Baroda, or Kolhapur, which have long enjoyed administration by British officers, during a minority or for other cause, does there exist any body of laws, and they are simply taken from the British Code, *mutatis mutandis*. Did Jung Bahadur abide by that Code, when he entrapped all his enemies in Durbar, and shot them down one by one with Enfield Rifle? Did King Theebaw ever recognise the validity of the Code as a check on his blood-thirsty inclinations? Has it ever been operative in Cashmere, with or without a British protectorate? Or in Hyderabad, or Baroda, or any other Native State? The honesty, the honourableness of the Foreign Office is like Cæsar's wife, beyond question; the likelihood of its degeneracy into mere cant and paraphrase is nevertheless an element in the question, a questionable force, worthy of consideration as such.

Mr. Lee-Warner holds that “the absence of any definite interstatal law” is a blessing to Native States. He is partly right, partly wrong, and his thesis might be profitably extended in many political directions. What it pleases Mr. Lee-Warner to call interstatal law would have been a serious

obstacle in John Lawrence's Punjab Settlements and their beneficiary results for millions of Cis and Trans-Sutlej opportunists. What measure of interstatal *law* could ever have existed between King Theebaw, and the dominancy of a sense of strict morality, such as prevails in England, Scotland and Wales?

Mr. Lee-Warner is a smug, comfortable member of society, and, therefore, used to regarding affairs as they ought to be, rather than as they actually are. The intelligent reader who bears this in mind may derive something from his writing. "Vulgar compactness" is no more to his taste than it was to Lord Lytton's. Nature herself has set Indian Magistrates and Collectors a wise example—

"So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life."

Mr. Lee-Warner says:—

"The reign of law and system is often condemned as imposing a needless shackle upon the heaven-born administrator, or the far-sighted reformer. But so long as the wheels of the Legislature run smoothly, there is no reason why the law or system should not keep abreast of the requirements of a progressive society. The individual officer who perceives the need for change, must indeed hold his hand until the law has removed its obstructions; but when it does so, the whole country benefits by the change, and not merely the single district to which the activity of one officer is confined. The historian finds his task rendered easy by the process. He has simply to fix his eye on the action of the law-maker as progress is registered in new enactments, and he experiences no sort of difficulty in ascertaining the reasons and objects of the new departure. It is thus obvious that the compensation balance, which prevents the reign of system in British India from becoming too rigid, is the capacity of the Legislature to advance or recede. But the tie which unites the Native States, various in their size and social conditions, with the British Government, is not strengthened by law, or by the support of any federal courts. No supreme assembly defines or registers changes in the character of their political intercourse. Such principles as have been declared have resulted from particular conflicts arising out of their own environment of circumstances, and they are not to be found collected together in any manual that bears the stamp of authority."

Obviously Mr. Lee-Warner would not like to be taken *au pied de la lettre*—at the foot of the letter, as a school-board girl translated it the other day.

We may, perhaps, be allowed to remark, that Philip of Macedon (pp. 9-10) was not particularly distinguished as a Jurist: it was not consistent with the temper of the times he lived in, that he should be; his sole endeavour was keeping together the spoils he had gained in war with his neighbours. He had no more notion of the finicking niceties of International Law than an unsophisticated Caribbee Islander.

Mr. Lee-Warner can give us but little beyond sermonising on the subject.

"Most valuable," he says :—

"Most valuable to the British would have been the experience of the States of America, had they shown a way to the preservation of the Indian States on their borders. But here, again, History failed to give the Indian Administration a helpful object-lesson. In 1846, the Supreme Court of America rendered it impossible to preserve the indigenous organisations by ruling that, where a country occupied by Indian tribes was not included within the limits of one of the States, Congress might by law punish any offence committed therein, whether the offender was a white man or an Indian. The intrusion into any such areas of the regular jurisdiction of Congress obviously excluded Native rule. But it might be thought that, if the West gave the British no light to assist them in maintaining the country States, the East certainly did. Whence came the Native States which the British desired to uphold, and how did the Indian system treat dependent allies? Unfortunately the British arrived on the scene when nothing but disorder and the shadow of the Imperial rule at Delhi remained. The strongest powers with whom they came into contact, were rebellious viceroys of a Mahomedan Province. The rest were generally upstarts. The peace which they established, and the policy of unconcern outside the ring-fence of their own territories which they deliberately followed at first, furnished them with two illustrations of the Native method. In Central India each State carried on unceasing warfare with its neighbours, and the Marathas would have wiped the Rajput States out of the map, if Lord Hastings had not amended his treaties with Gwalior and Indore, and asserted his rights of negotiation. In the Punjab Ranjit Singh annexed every principality outside the Company's ring-fence, which was fortunately set back to the Sutlej. In the South of India, the Kolhapur State still includes some feudatory States, but they exist because of the British guarantee, and because, by the Treaty of Kolhapur, dated the 20th of October 1862, the residuary jurisdiction was removed from the suzerain state and taken into the safe-keeping of the British. In short, it must be confessed that, amongst other forces, tending to the conclusion that the preservation of Native rule was an impracticable aim, was the failure of other nations and other times to supply a precedent for success in such an effort."

Here follows a sermon, with, for text, "the lesson taught by Rome's failure was not thrown away on the East India Company." And *ab ovo usque ad mala*, Mr. Lee-Warner's excursus continues to be a model of propriety and dulness.

Witnesses to the Unseen and other Essays. By WILFRID WARD, Author of "William George Ward and the Oxford Movement" and "William George Ward and the Catholic Revival. London : Macmillan & Co., and New York, 1893.

FRESH from the memories of such of our readers as interest themselves in nineteenth century metamorphoses of religious creeds and cults will be Mr. Wilfrid Ward's essay, treating of his father's connection with the Oxford movement and its leaders, and a sequel to it (if we may be allowed so to style it) entitled *William George Ward and the Catholic Revival*. He has now put forth in book form

Witnesses to the Unseen, a collocation under one cover of essays contributed at different times to the *19th Century*, *National* and *Contemporary* Reviews, albeit "considerable additions" have, we are told, been made in some of them. We are also advised that the essay adopted as a title for the book was in part suggested by a conversation with Lord Tennyson, and that he approved of the views put forward in it. Illustratively we give a short quotation :—

"With Kant * * * the sense of law is foremost. For Tennyson the depths, revealed in the power of the human heart to love, occupy a large space, while Newman,—combining in his nature the philosopher and the poet—finds at once the sense of law and of deepest personal love, in conscience ; and appeals to both as testifying to a personal lawgiver and a God of love."

The problem with which Mr. Ward concerns himself in the essay before us is this—What is, and what ought to be, the influence of the public opinion of our time, as represented by its intellectual leaders—of what Germans call the *Zeitgeist*—in determining our own convictions? Mr. Ward holds that it is and ought to be large, but that it is far larger than it ought to be. He protests against the prevalent tyranny, conscious or unconscious, of majorities, rendered possible by the supineness of their victims. And he propounds that when a lazily assimilating modern, a man of sensitive and receptive mind, begins to be alive to the problems of the hour, and to associate with his contemporaries, he accepts, often enough without question, the conclusions which are placed before him in the name of "exact thought," or as the discoveries of an age of scientific progress. He cites Free Trade, Darwinism, the results of modern Old Testament criticism, as examples in widely different fields of enquiry, of dogmas that have been accepted by many as a faith, long before they had weighed accurately the reasons alleged in their behalf, or even before they had any full and exact knowledge as to the conclusions to which the faith committed them.

He goes on to say :—

"And the *Zeitgeist* affects us all in another way. Mr. Lecky has pointed out that arguments which quite fail to appeal to one age, seem absolutely convincing to the succeeding age. The assumption that this change follows an absolute law of intellectual progress does not appear to be borne out by the facts of the case, as I shall endeavour to show ; but it is undoubtedly a testimony to the subtle and impalpable means whereby the *Zeitgeist* influences us ; to the numerous minute preconceptions and axioms which have passed into the mind of the age, and which affect us all imperceptibly, sometimes beyond our power of analysing the why and wherefore. To one age metaphysical argument appeals powerfully. Another age, weary of the unsolved questions metaphysic has left, and of the unpractical and unreal problems which have been mooted in its name, refuses to be affected by any metaphysical argument at all. One age is sensitive to complete and coherent logical polemic, and is severe in its criticism of any logical flaw in the form of an argument. Another is alive to the narrowness of the field which logic covers, and to the comparative force of massive, though unsymmetrical proofs. It is affected rather by wide and suggestive views, and refuses, perhaps, in the end, to

regard the most urgent logical dilemmas as having a claim on its decision. To one age, as Mr. Lecky himself points out, the manifold phenomena of the Universe suggest most obviously the direct action of supernatural agencies; while an age which has realised the extent of the underlying uniformities of natural law, may be unaffected by the strongest evidence for a miraculous occurrence. It is obvious how far-reaching is the effect of such opposite tempers of mind on our estimate of arguments, and ultimately on our opinions on many subjects."

Inevitably, both these forms of the influence of the *Zeitgeist* have specially great effect on the attitude adopted with respect to the supreme problems of religious faith. Is there a God? Is the soul immortal? Is the Christian revelation credible? To the last query, which includes the two that precede it, Mr. Ward, to all intents and purposes, replies with St. Augustine, *credo quia incredibile*. If man has imbibed from his surroundings a distrust of metaphysics, a whole chapter in Natural Theology loses its effect on him. If he regards miracles as impossible, the invocation of their testimony will discredit rather than support the claims of Christianity. If the age in which he lives distrusts mere logic, as invoked to decide such far-reaching issues, Paley's Evidences will provoke rather than help him. "On the other hand, he may find at such a time in the unspoken and unanalysed suggestion of his own moral nature and experience—a value which was unknown to an age which postulated logical form as essential, and dwelt in an atmosphere of abstract philosophy." As to how far the influence of the *Zeitgeist* ought to affect us our essayist remarks:

"Setting aside for the moment the consideration that the law of progress may not work for an indefinite time, that declension may ultimately follow ascension, I endeavour to point out that the guidance of the *Zeitgeist*, even in an age of progress, is not necessarily trustworthy. Allowing even that the age is, on the whole, progressing towards further knowledge, the cultivated public opinion of the hour does not represent its fresh knowledge unalloyed. Public opinion tends to extremes. A given age tends to exaggerate the significance of its own discoveries, and to fill in their details prematurely and inaccurately. And it tends to carry too far its criticisms and revisions of the thoughts proper to an earlier time. The age which found such excessive intellectual satisfaction in the Thomistic adaptation of the Aristotelian metaphysic, which fed on the categories, whose deepest passions were aroused by the contest between Realism and Nominalism, was succeeded by an age which quite failed to do justice to the value of the *Summa contra gentiles*,—which would not even read it. The reaction from the mediæval readiness to believe in the miraculous led to an extreme of incredulity of the subject, which ultimately found voice in the celebrated argument of Hume. The suspicion of logical controversy which characterises our own time goes hand in hand with a tendency to excessive indefiniteness of thought, and revives in a very different spirit the attempt of the 'Moderates' of the Oxford Movement to 'steer between the Scylla and Charybdis of Aye and No.' When Free Trade was one of the cries of the *Zeitgeist* in our own country, it took an extreme form, which we are now learning to discount. Darwinism and the Tübingen criticism, when they were most dogmatically and definitely pressed upon general belief, were still more noteworthy instances of the exaggerated form in which the new truths to which progress may lead, are held by the public opinion of the hour."

The moral is obvious, the warning plain. It is held that

the characteristic tenets of any age need balancing and correcting by the knowledge acquired in other ages, and, correlatively, that an individual will do well not to throw himself unreservedly and without question into the current of thought specially characteristic of his time, but to keep his head ; to learn from the discoveries and advances of the time, but to avoid its excesses, remembering that public opinion tends usually to extremes, at one time towards credulity, at another towards scepticism, or panic.

The scheme of the concluding essay is set out as follows :—

" In the *Wish to Believe*, one common axiom of an age of doubt is discussed—the axiom that the desire for belief in the supernatural is, normally, a distraction, blinding the mind in its view of the evidence attainable in favour of such belief. The view indicated in the Essay is that this axiom partakes of the one-sided character so common in the maxims of an age. The *Zeitgeist* is inclined to dismiss the *Wish to Believe*—regarded as a factor in religious inquiry—indiscriminately and as an element characteristic of a credulous age. I endeavour, on the other hand, to discriminate between the 'wish to believe' which is the foe to due impartiality, and the 'wish to believe' which is the necessary antidote to apathy. And while admitting that the phrase 'passion for knowledge' more truly expresses the essence and aim of the second wish, I try to illustrate the fact that such a passion necessarily becomes, in its concrete activity, the wish to find a true religion which appears to offer wide spiritual knowledge. And this passion for knowledge is not only, as Pascal has so urgently insisted, absolutely demanded by right reason, but is essential to a due appreciation of the strength of the Christian position. As the passion for the knowledge made Newton wish to be assured himself, and in the end actually led him to assure himself, that the law of gravitation was certainly true—and thus to gain finally the key to so much which was else chaotic—so in many minds the wish to confirm their belief in Christianity arises from their passion for their religious knowledge which gives the key to man's life and destiny. The apparent paradox in this analogy—as an analogy between discovery and the mere estimate of existing and long-discovered evidences—seems to disappear, if we accept the view set forth elsewhere in the essay as to the necessarily personal nature of the inquiry into Christianity by each individual ; the full apprehension of its proofs being such as in great measure to depend on individual experience and personal realisation."

The Conversion of India. From Partænus to the present time,

A.D. 193—1893, being the Graves Lectures in America, 1893.

By GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D. London : John Murray.

SYMPATHISERS with Protestant Missions in India, awaited with interest the publication of this course of Graves Lectures delivered last October by Dr. George Smith in America. As one of the greatest living authorities on Protestant Missions ; as the biographer of such renowned Indian missionaries as Carey, Hislop, Martyn, Duff, and Wilson ; as one, who by 20 years' residence in the country, gained a personal knowledge of the field, and an intimate acquaintance with the modern leaders of the missionary propaganda, it was felt that no one was better fitted, from the Protestant Evangelical point of view, to gather up the historical fragments of the past, gauge the present state and influence, and predict the probable future progress of Christian missions in India.

The volume before us in no way detracts from the already high reputation of its author. It is characterised by the same literary acceptance that made his biographies so popular, is filled with a countless array of facts and figures, evidencing a wide acquaintance with the extensive library, both ancient and modern, of European missionary literature, and is scrupulously fair in giving honour where honour is due. As an authoritative book of reference, containing the latest information and statistics on every conceivable branch of Indian missionary topics, Dr. Smith's lectures are invaluable.

The first three of them deal with what Dr. Smith terms the attempt of the Greek, Roman, and Dutch Churches successively, to convert India. The history of Missions during the first century is confessedly based on tradition, and the earliest efforts for the evangelization of the Empire gather round the somewhat hazy personality of Pantænus, a stoic philosopher of Alexandria, who, at the request of ambassadors from India, was sent into that country by Demetrius, the Bishop of that famous city. "How long he was there, how far inland he travelled, and when he returned, is unknown." Following him about a century later, Nestorian missionaries arrived and commenced work in the south. The fruit of their labours is still manifest in the 300,000 Nestorian Christians of the last census, but their teaching was based on a heterodox view of the Person of Christ, which led to an eventual compromise with heathenism, and a sapping of all missionary effort. They failed to create self-propagating churches, and, Dr. Smith writes, "because their faith was weak, their message mutilated, their intellect darkened, and their life selfish," they were unsuccessful in bringing India to the feet of Christ.

Dr. Smith gives a very interesting account of the historical evidence of Nestorian missionary enterprise, from Cape Comorin to far Cathay, and a statement of its missionary teaching during the seventh and eighth centuries, furnished by the inscriptions on the well-known Nestorian tablet of Si-ngna-fai, and the three Persian crosses of St. Thomas' Mount, Madras.

Following the Greek attempt comes the Roman. "The first half of the 14th century was, alike in India and Cathay, a time of Franciscan and Dominican missionary enterprise, and Latin commercial activity. John of Monte Corvino was the first of a band of preachers eager to win "Buddhist, Mahomedan, and Nestorian alike, to the allegiance of the Pope." Following him, came Friar Jordanus, whose estimate of the work already accomplished is summed up in his curious book, *Mirabilia Descripta*, or the Wonders of the East. "In this India there is a scattered people, one here, and another there, who call themselves Christians, but are not so, nor have they bap-

tism, nor do they know anything else about the faith, nay, they believe St. Thomas the Great to be Christ." Jordanus was followed by many other Latin-preaching friars, and they, by the greatest of the Jesuit Fathers, St. Francis Xavier. Dr. Smith gives a faithful, clear and graphic synopsis of the life and labours of this prince of Catholic missionaries. He sums up his character thus :—"In zeal approaching to fanaticism which would have used the sword ; in self-denial not far removed from a sublime asceticism ; in courage which reproved Viceroy's, advised Kings and faced all obstacles ; in humility, sympathy with his brethren and love for the erring convert, like his Masters ; in all that wins personal affection, and devoted admiration Francis Xavier is without a superior in the history of missions." And yet so great a man left no abiding work behind him, failed, by his own confession, to found a self-propagating Church in India, because, "his whole principles and mode of action were based on the Romish and idolatrous sacramentarian theory."

The Dutch Reformed Church followed the Roman in its ineffectual attempt to plant Christianity in India. The principle on which it laboured was "the policy of securing the nominal profession of Christianity at the price of office and worldly advantage." In passing judgment on these earlier attempts to Christianize India, Dr. Smith fails to lay sufficient stress on one all important factor which differentiates them from the Protestant Evangelical attempt—for not one of them was carried on under the same outward favourable circumstances of modern times. Their partial success may of itself have been one of the grounds of their failure. We note also that Dr. Smith is very strong against those who, like the Romanists, permitted caste distinctions to be kept up in the communities they gathered. Can he be up to date in his acquaintance with the caste question so deeply agitating some of the Evangelical Churches of South India to-day ? Readers of the *India Church Quarterly Review* and other papers hailing from the South, have seen that caste prejudice is not blotted out, and, though the majority of Protestant Christians may be said to repudiate caste, there is a small yet prominent section in South India, still retaining and advocating its customs.

And then, as to the question of self-propagating Christian Churches—which Dr. Smith rightly regards as the true sign of a successful mission, and the one great hope for the ultimate conversion of India—have Protestant Evangelicals been any more successful than their predecessors ? We do not find among all the figures which this volume contains, any representing the gifts of the purely native Church towards its own support, and we very much fear that, if the lakhs of rupees spent by Evangelical Christendom on the support of its six

and-a-half thousand native agents, its evangelical, educational, medical, and zenana work, were withdrawn, both the funds and the agents for the further propagation of the work would not be forthcoming from self-supporting Indian churches.

The fifth lecture traces the rise of the East India Company, and its part in the conversion of India. Though hostile to Christian Missions from the beginning almost to the end of its 257 years of existence, we are reminded that "it was used by the Sovereign ruler of the human race to prepare the way and open wide the door for the first hopeful, and ultimately assuredly successful attempt since the Apostolic Church swept away paganism, to destroy the idolatrous and Mussalman cults of Asia." Native opinion of East Indian Company Christianity is given as follows:—"Christian religion, devil religion; Christian much drunk, Christian much do wrong, much beat, much abuse others." Yet, strange as it may appear, and as Dr. Smith shows, modern missions owe all the outer elements of their success to those principles of religious toleration, truth, and justice, inaugurated under the regime of the East India Company.

The attempt of Great Britain, and the co-operation of the United States of America are next reviewed. The Queen's proclamation of 1858, "completely recognizing the principle of toleration in matters of faith and worship and the right of private judgment," was, as the *Friend of India* wrote, "a graceful commencement of a new regime. The revolution is one the vastness of which only the next generation will appreciate." Dr. Smith, now that a generation has passed, writes:—"From the day which put Christianity, though the avowed faith of the ruling race, on the same equal platform as Hinduism, Parsecism, Buddhism, Mahomedanism, Animism, and all other purely human modes of propitiating God, as Christ himself put it before his Roman Judge, the conversion of India to the one true and living God became an assured certainty. In the co-operative departments of State legislation and State administration Dr. Smith traces the permeating influence of this great principle.

The rise and progress of the great Missionary Societies and the work accomplished by Carey, Duff, Wilson, Judson and others, are briefly described. The great principle on which Protestant Evangelical Missions have been conducted, is held to have been "vigilant avoidance of every appearance of compromise with Hinduism in life, doctrine, and ritual, and the consistently teaching of the people, all things whatsoever Christ commanded." To this end the vernacular Bible, vernacular preaching, daily teaching, the conversion of the individual, and the setting him to work for the aggressive propagation of the new faith are the methods universally adopted.

The concluding and most interesting lectures treat of the results of Christian Missions in India and the prospects of its conversion. Dr. Smith sees success stamped large on every form of Missionary agency. The increase, during the past fifty years of the Native Christian community, has been phenomenal; sufficiently so at its present rate, to absorb the whole population of India about a century and a half hence. No statistics, says he, can show the growth of Native Christians in wealth, social position, in official and professional influence. "They have wives educated up to their own level, while polygamy and the hideous sexual customs, which legislation can hardly ameliorate from the outside, continue to depress the Hindu and Mussalman communities." The quality of many of these Native Christians was manifested in the 1,500 of them martyred for their faith during the Mutiny. In the benighted province of Madras, they lead the van in number, position and education, and the statistical table on page 218, showing 40 years' progress of Evangelical Christianity in South India, is suggestive enough to make the most sceptical pause and ponder. Thus Dr. Smith, with a faith equalling that of some of the greatest missionaries themselves, is assured of the speedy conversion of India. We cannot be quite so optimistic. A century of labour has resulted in 648,843 Native Protestant Christians, insufficient by two lacs to equal the inhabitants of Calcutta! How has this, on Dr. Smith's own showing, affected the 287 millions of the Empire? Speaking of the 57 million Mahomedans, he writes: "Even in tolerant and neutral British India the Mahomedans are still the forlorn hope of the missionary campaign" (page 202). Of the Hindus we read:—"The hundred and fifty millions of caste-Hindus still present to Christendom an unbroken front, or very little broken, apparently" (page 219). Christianity has so far won its numerical successes from among the pre-Aryan people of India, the casteless 50 millions. We so far agree with Dr. Smith that, with a friendly government, a general and growing alienation from the ancient faiths, a Bible translated into the vernaculars, an open door to the zenanas, a growing influence on childhood, and a Native Christian population of more than two millions, the belief in a future Christian India is no longer an idle fancy, or a forlorn hope. It is a reasonable faith. But, in passing an opinion as to how soon faith shall be turned to sight, we think he has erred on the side of a too bright optimism.

We leave the perusal of this book, with the feeling that the Christian Church owes a deep debt of gratitude to its author for this, his latest contribution, to the cause of Protestant Missions in India.

Trübner's Oriental Series.—Lays of Ancient India: Selections from Indian Poetry rendered into English Verse. By ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E., Barrister-at-Law, and of the Indian Civil Service; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Author of "A History of Civilization in Ancient India," etc. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., Paternoster House Charing Cross Road. 1894.

VERSE is as congenial an element to scions of the Dutt clan as water is to ducks. And so it need surprise no one to find Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., after winning literary honours in prose as author of *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, turning his attention now to prose verse in a volume of translations from the Sanscrit, which he has entitled *Lays of Ancient India*.

Following the family tradition of fondness for rhyme, Mr. Dutt has transfigured prose into that medium in his renderings of the Upanishads and some of Asoka's Edicts, unpromising materials. The Book of Job is the most poetical in the Bible; but there has never yet lived a man who thought he could improve on it by converting it into hexameters, or, blank verse. Sterndale and Hopkins' murder of the stately music of the psalms has proved sufficient warning to other poetists not to interfere with their word setting. Martin, the Englishman, Bayard Taylor, the American, both of them diligent students of Goethe's style and method, have both, in their different styles, essayed translations of *Faust*. A fairly well-read man, even if unable to collate with the German text, is able, after half an hour's study of their work, to pronounce judgment adverse to it. George Eliot said wisely: "The right word" is a power." No other power can compensate for its failure to interpret *directly*, not merely word for word, but also thought for thought, elegance of expression for correspondent eloquence, and its inherent vitalities.

It is creditable to a foreigner that he should have obtained such mastery over an alien tongue as to be able to avoid grammatical mistakes and tautologies. Mr. Dutt has avoided this Scylla: in the Charybdis of English rhyme and rhythm he has not been so fortunate. He makes (page 138) "speaks" rhyme with "wakes," "stream" rhyme with "frankle," and (page 139) refers to a mind sinking into error "Like a tusker in the mire." Rhyme and rhythm are alike outraged in the lines (page 217).

"Mercy moves the heart of Sambhu great,
For pious Arjun holds him by the feet!"

Over and above the exigencies of rhyme and rhythm, there is a painful suspicion of bathos in these lines.

Mr. Dutt has not given his whole heart to his verses, uses them rather as magic lantern illustrations to his *History of Civilization in Ancient India*. Believing the *Mahabharat* and *Ramayana* to have been exhaustively exploited by previous investigators, he concentrates his attention on the *Upanishads*, as showing mankind how the nature-worship of the Rig Veda developed itself into the worship of Nature's God—"The Universal Soul, from Whom the whole universe has emanated, and into Whom the whole universe will resolve itself." This, Mr. Dutt declares to be the essence of Hindu religion and Hindu thought in its purest and best form—i.e., in the *Upanishads*. Wherefore he has conveyed eight passages from them from Sanskrit prose, instinct with the vitality of old world poetry, into English rhyme, as in

THE LEGEND OF NACHIKETAS

1.

Nachiketas, righteous boy,—
By his father sent below,—
From the mighty king of Death, "
His great secret feign would know !
"There is doubt,"—so spake the boy—
"When an earthly mortal dies,
Is that death his final end?—
Or does he live in earth or skies?"

2.

Unto him thus answered Yama,
"Nachiketas! you speak well,
Mortals often ask that question,
Gods that question often feel !
Nachiketas ! 'tis my secret,—
"Secret unto all unknown,—
Ask for every other favour,
Death's great secret leave alone !

3.

"Ask for sons and happy grandsons—
They a hundred years will live,—
Ask for gold and cars and horses,—
Every blessing mortals crave !
Ask for broad and spacious acres,
Ask for harvests rich and rare,
Many autumns,—as thou willest,—
Live without a pang or fear !

4.

"Nachiketas ! other objects
If thy anxious heart desire,
Ask for them,—for wealth or glory,—
Dread refusal nor my ire !
Be a king of mighty kingdoms,
Be a lord upon the earth,
Happy in thy life's fruition,
Be the foremost in thy worth !

5.

"Every wish thy heart can fathom,
Ask for joys on earth so rare ;
With their cars and heavenly music
Take these heavenly damsels fair !
Be attended by these maidens,—
Such as they men do not see,—
Ask for these and other favours,
Leave my secret unto me !"

6.

"These are," Nachiketas answered,
"Objects that will fade away,
What will please us in the present,
Fade to-morrow and decay !
Keep thy dance and keep thy music,
For great objects let me pray,
Teach me thy great secret, Yama,—
Secret of the after-day !"

7.

Pressed by pious Nachiketas,
Death his secret thus revealed,
"To the man of contemplation
Life and Death their secret yield.
And he sees the ancient Soul,
Hid in dark from mortal eyes,
Sees the great and mighty Self,—
God pervading earth and skies !"

8.

"And the man who knows this secret,
Comprehends and grasps it all,—
Casteth off his mortal body,
Mingles in the mighty Soul !
This, O mortal ! is my secret,
Brahman is the mighty Breath !
Brahman's house is ever open,
Life existeth after death !"

Essays on Questions of the Day : Political and Social. BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L., Author of "the United States : an Outline of Political History," and "Canada and the Canadian Question." New York : Macmillan and Co., and London. 1893.

WE have Sir Thomas Wotton's authority for the statement that ambassadors are deputed to foreign parts to lie for their country's benefit. The worthy man lived in, was indoctrinated with, an Elizabethan time, on which the Queen imperiously imposed her personality ; and regard for truth in the abstract she did not consider a virtue proper, or pertinent, to the Royal Prerogative and its representatives over seas. In a word, she put to sovereign uses the current coin of the morality fashionable in her time. Queen Victoria's *ex-officio* ambassadors fiddle to the same tune, only in a very minor key.

Lord Salisbury, some years ago, informed the few English politicians able to abstract themselves from petty vestry politics,

and the devising of catch nets for parochial votes, that big maps are essential to the study of political situations. It is the fate of prophets to meet with no honour in their own country. In God's good time, unexpected rescue comes from the most unlikely quarters. Only the other day, Mr. W. T. Stead, stalwartest of stalwart Radicals, betook himself to the World's Fair at Chicago, U.S.A., and returned thence, Balaam-like, cursing the democratic idealities, and their practically proved ineptitudes for a counsel of perfection that he had gone forth to bless. We are far from putting Mr. W. T. Stead on the same plane with a man of Mr. Goldwin Smith's culture; yet the parallel is instructively suggestive, for both men travelled over seas with assured conviction that democracy is the only saving grace for the nations, and both of them, after their forty days in the desert, inclined to modification of their preconceptions.

In his preface to a collocation of essays regathered from English and American Reviews and Periodicals, Mr. Goldwin Smith avows himself "a Liberal of the old school," as yet unconverted to State socialism, looking for, hardly expecting regeneration, whatever that may be held to mean, not so much from "steady, calm, and harmonious effort," not so much from violence or revolution, as from the influence on the age of moral teaching. It is in its way good preaching; ordains that the moralist of the future is to look for improvement rather than regeneration, to "hope much from steady, calm, and harmonious effort, little from violence or revolution." The following extract from an article that appeared originally in the *Contemporary Review* for May 1892 will convey better than any words of ours Mr. Goldwin Smith's method and manner of revolt from usage:—

"We have given up the fancy that the Jew is accursed. We must cease to believe that he is sacred. Israel was the favourite people of Jehovah, as every tribe was the favourite of its own God. The belief that the Father of all and the God of justice had a favourite race, made with it a covenant sealed with the barbarous rite of circumcision, pledged himself to promote its interest against those of other races, destroyed all the innocent first-born of Egypt to force Pharaoh to let it go, licensed its aggrandisement by conquest, stopped the sun in heaven to give it time to slaughter people, whose lands it had invaded without a cause, and gratified its malignity by enjoining it when it took one of the cities which were given it for its inheritance to save alive nothing that breathed, ought now to be laid aside, with all its collaries and consequences, including the passionate, and, to the Hebrew, somewhat offensive effort to convert this particular race to Christianity. We have been told from the pulpit that at the last day the world will be judged by a Jew, and a religious lady once suggested to a Jew, who had been converted to Christianity, that he should go on circumcising his sons. We shall have little right to complain of the tribal arrogance of the Jew, so long as the Old Testament continues to be indiscriminately read in our Churches, and while we persist, by talking of a chosen people, in ascribing favouritism to the Almighty. The belief that "God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth," is the foundation of a religion of humanity, and Judaism is its practical denial. Jesus called himself the Son of Man. He was a Galilean, that is, in high

Jewish estimation, an inferior Jew, setting aside the "endless" or "profitless" genealogies which the writer of the First Epistle to Timothy classes with fables and bids us not to heed. Born into Judaism, he accepted it and "fulfilled" all its "righteousness," while he must have known, as his antagonists did, that his principles would subvert it. Because he did this, we have taken upon our understandings and hearts a belief in the divine authority of the Old Testament, that is, of the whole mass of Hebrew literature; we have bound ourselves to see inspiration, not only in its more elevated, spiritual, and moral parts, but in those which are not elevated, spiritual, or even moral. We torture our consciences into approval of the spoiling of the Egyptians by a fraud, the slaughter of the Canaanites, the slaying of Sisera, the hewing of Agag in pieces before the Lord, and David's legacy of vengeance; our intellects into the acceptance of the Book of Chronicles as authentic history, and of such miracles as the stopping of the sun, the conversion of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, the speaking ass of Balaam, the destruction of the children who mocked Elisha by a bear, and the sojourn of Jonah in the belly of a whale. In Church we read, with psalms of universal beauty, psalms of Oriental vindictiveness. We constrain ourselves to see divine meaning, not only in the sublime passages of Isaiah, but in the obscurest and most incoherent utterances of his brother prophets. We read theological mysteries into a love-song, because it is a part of the sacred volume. Till this superstition is cast out we shall ill appreciate what is really divine in the Old Testament. Not in the darker side of the Puritan character alone are the evil effects of this idolatry to be traced.

There was much that was infinitely memorable, but recent criticism forbids us to believe that there was anything miraculous in the history of Israel. Whatever may have been the local origin of the Jews, the race, we may be sure, was cast in the same primeval mould as the kindred races. The story of the Patriarchs and the Exodus being in all its parts—the primitive theophanies in the tents of Patriarchs, the supernatural birth of Isaac, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the transformation of Lot's wife, the wrestling of Jacob with Jehovah, the marvellous story of Joseph, the miraculous multiplication of the Israelites, the competition between the envoys of Jehovah and the Egyptian magicians, the plague of Egypt, the drying up of the Red Sea, the forty years' wandering in the barren Sinaitic desert, the prodigies which there took place, the giants of Canaan, and the stopping of the sun—manifestly poetical, it would seem that the narrative, as a whole, must, in accordance with a well-known canon of criticism, be dismissed from history and relegated to another domain.*

The Principles and Practice of School Hygiene. By ALFRED CARPENTER, M.D. (Lond.), C.S.S. (Camb.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.), one of the Examiners in State Medicine for the Universities of London and Cambridge: Late Lecturer on State Medicine at St. Thomas's Hospital; and Vice-President of the British Medical Association. With Illustrations. Fourth Edition. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S.W. 1894.

DR. CARPENTER'S book comes before the Anglo-Indian public labouring under the weighty disadvantage of having been written altogether with a view to the needs and desiderata of England-abiding scholars and old country school

* It seems not unlikely from analogy that the story of the Exodus may be in part an explanation of the institution of the Passover and other Jewish rites and customs, of which the origin was lost. The figures of Jewish captives on Egyptian monuments may be accounted for by Egyptian conquest. Nothing can be less satisfactory than Renan's attempt to rationalise the story of the Patriarchs and the Exodus.

premises. It is hopeless to expect that, yet a while, Dr. Carpenter's sound observations *re* ventilation, conservancy arrangements, household sanitation will meet with acceptance at the hands of a Hinduism that concerns itself only with ceremonial cleanliness.

In a word, England is not India. Nevertheless, some of Dr. Carpenter's remarks apply equally to both countries.

Re drainage, he says, for instance :—

"It should be an established rule that no sewer pipe should be allowed to penetrate within the main walls of any school building on any pretence whatever. There should be a most perfect interception; the sewer should carry off the sewage by means of communications which should be indirect only. Sewers are necessary evils in large towns and among great congregations of people. They have their dangers. It is not necessary to admit them within the precincts of the building, and if kept outside it is certain that they cannot act as channels for the conveyance within of unsuspected mischief. All premises, therefore, which have direct communication with the sewer should be *in annexes*, and kept outside the main walls. It may be convenient for the school staff to have W.C.'s close at hand, but the convenience is small compared with the danger. The danger is small when they are properly constructed outside the building; it is enormous if they are brought within the fabric itself, and their use must at all times be attended more or less with offensive smell immediately after use."

Dr. Carpenter's advice *re* the ventilation of House Drains stand in the same category. He says :—

"Traps, to say the least of them, are broken reeds to lean upon, when alone trusted to, to keep products of sewage decomposition outside the house. In dry weather, the water, upon which their efficiency depends, evaporates, and at the very time when they might possibly be of service, *viz.*, when putrefaction is taking place in consequence of the heat and dryness of the season, and foul gases are being evolved, the water which was in the trap has disappeared. Taken, as a whole, a system of drainage which depends upon traps for its efficiency is a bad system. When sewers are dependent upon water-traps alone for protection against the invasion of sewer air, the protected buildings will sooner or later suffer for the confidence which has been placed in them. Sometimes, however, it is wise to choose the least of two evils, and to have a trap placed in some position, notwithstanding its defects, when it is employed as the only protector. Thus, when it is necessary for the rain-water pipe to discharge itself into a badly-laid sewer, the junction should be trapped. It is safer to trust to a trap at this point than to leave the rain-water pipe untrapped, or to make it loose upon a trapped grating at the level of the soil in the play-ground, that is, the gully into which it discharges is connected with a closed sewer; if, however, it can be made to discharge upon a disconnected outside opening, . . . it is better still, but the trap in that air chamber must be protected by a ventilating pipe."

Dr. Carpenter, we note, sets down school requirements for water closet purposes at not less than eight gallons per head per day. As to drinking water his deliverance is :—

"There should be a water-supply easy of access in every play-ground, and yet so placed as not to be capable of being made into a means of

mischievous play. It should be inculcated as a moral duty by the school managers that water must be kept pure, and that to pollute the water, or to play with it, will be considered as a serious offence. If there is no public water-supply, there will be much difficulty in meeting this want; but it is really important that children should be provided, in some way or other with pure water, and that thus the risk should be diminished which arises from their being tempted to quench their thirst at some pond or road-side ditch. A school without a supply of water for drinking purposes fails in a part of its work. A thirsty child is not in the best condition to receive instruction, and a draught of pure water before going into school may make all the difference as regards the completion of the work, and between the exhibition of temper or of amiability. I urge all managers of schools to take care that a water-supply is easy of access for the scholars, and that they have time and opportunity to take advantage of it. If possible let it be a constantly running fountain in the play-ground, and when this is not possible, there should be a pump to supply a proper cistern."

We cannot too much applaud the idea of a pump.

When we were at school, and happened to contract that popular schoolboy disease—a black eye—the Master would say as sternly as he could manage to: "Jones, how came you by that black eye?" "Please, Sir, the pump," was our stereotyped answer. It sufficed; no further questions were asked; we went our play-ground way rejoicing in the consciousness of innocence, and the dignities appertaining to the boast *Romanus ego*. Dr. Carpenter puts an inordinate amount of bread before his audience for consumption with the modicum of sack allowed. He is throughout his book well meaning; and didactic enough to have satisfied Arnold's view of what ought to have been Rugbeian standard. Being so, he is prolix and tiresome.

His book had in it all the makings of a good and acceptable aid to social science, if he could only have imported into it some faculty for condensation, some ability to refuse consideration to the trifles that so fatally weaken a good argument when "conveyed" into it.

All in a Man's Keeping. By MEG DYAN. Volumes I and II. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, '13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1894.

IN the interests of the reading public, it is necessary to say that the novel, *All in a Man's Keeping*, is a compound of crude thought and cruder conclusions, a Simla view of men and manners wholly inapplicable to Anglo-Indian life there or elsewhere. Mrs. Dyan's crudities may be pardoned; her vulgarities ought not to be.

"The young sub had crossed over to him now, and was sitting hooked on to a corner of the table by one leg, with the foot swinging.

'By Jove!' he ejaculated, 'has anything gone wrong, Urquhart? You look as if you had seen a ghost.'

'So I have, Mackenzie, the ghost of the future. And it was ugly—damned ugly!'

'Gad, you have! There's only one cure for that.' The subaltern swung off his perch and walked across to a small cupboard. He fidgeted about there for a minute, then there was heard the sound of pouring, a pop, and then, a fizz. Mackenzie returned with a tall tumbler in his hand, 'Here, swallow this on the homœopathic principle, you know, like curing like dodge. It's pretty stiffish—warranted to drive spirits, ghosts, and blue devils away, I reckon.' His eyes had lighted by now on the scattered papers, the look of some of which he recognised. Such sort often came to him too, and he gave vent to a low whistle. Those were 'blue devils' with a vengeance!

On page 24 we are introduced to a woman who "cantered across" somebody's "mental horizon." Women can canter across many obstacles that men and angels fear to encounter.

The Divided Irish; An Historical Sketch. By THE HON. ALBERT S. G. CANNING. Author of "Words on Existing Religions," etc., etc. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1894.

PROBABLY no other country has been so much influenced as Ireland" by its religious history. These words with which he commences his third chapter, are the text of Mr. Canning's would-be unemotional attempt to arbitrate between the differences of the divided Irish. Are we to infer from his dogmatism that he has never studied the history of Spain, of Italy, of Brazil, of the many variant nationalities embraced in the geographical term Hindusthan? Or, must we conclude that, the fervour of Mr. Canning's Saxon presumptions has betrayed him, imposed on his dialectic faculty, a fallacy which his unadulterated common-sense would be quick to repudiate? Bar the Andaman Islands, and Australia, before it was converted into an English Penal Settlement, there has never been—we will go further and say that there never could have been—a coherent and stable nationality independent of the credulity, the innate desire in man for idolatry, the hero worship—whatever name it may suit philosophies and theosophies to label their cults withal. In primitive history, Indian, Hellenic, Roman, Scandinavian, in all the folk-lore whence primitive history is derived, heroes, by an instinctive magnetism of the popular imagination resolve themselves into gods; their godhead is accepted without cavil or enquiry by the vulgar herd. General Nicholson, of Mutiny renown, has his shrine, and is worshipped to this day by descendants, of the men he helped to slay. Religious beliefs have always been as prevalent in all parts of the cosmos as they are, to-day, in Ireland, have always been made use of by prudent Governments, either as buttresses to their good intentions, or cloaks for their malpractices—are

no more peculiar to Ireland than they are to Timbuctoo, or the most lately filched Russian occupation on our North-West Frontier.

Mr. Canning, in his fervour for equity, drags Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott into his controversy, though what they have to do with the real Irish Question it would probably puzzle him to say. But, he shall speak for himself:—

“Usually after the excitement of conflict is over, the public mind through the influence of peace and reflection, is able to recognise some merit in the most inveterate opponents. This fairness of judgment Shakspeare and Scott alike display. The former in historical plays describes Henry the Fourth's rebellion against his cousin, Richard the Second, the subsequent wars of the Roses, and part of Henry the Eighth's reign, without bitterness against any party. Even his description of the French wars in “King John” and “Henry the Fifth” would offend neither English nor French. The champions of York and Lancaster, in his dramatic picture of the English civil war, show the same combined heroism and cruelty, the same devotion to ideas of political duty, and the same ferocity which really distinguished both parties in their terrible contest. In Scott's subsequent historical novels, describing the British civil wars and Jacobite rebellions of 1715-45, he, like his poetical predecessor, conveys historic truth with remarkable impartiality, while involving it with imaginary characters and incidents. If these works are compared with the histories of Hodingshed, Clarendon, Hume, Hallam, Macaulay, and Green, their resemblance in most events and characters is undeniable, and acknowledged by literary men of the present century.”*

Can Mr. Canning really think that, with the exception of Green, any of these writers knew anything of the real, the true history of Ireland?

Mr. Canning, himself does not seem to be aware of the fact that Ulster is not Irish at all, save in its geographical position, that it is a conquered country as much under Scotch Presbyterian dominion as India is under catholically-minded English dominion—only much more aggressively so—

“When the British Parliament made a grant to Maynooth College (1845) for educating Catholic priests, the measure, like its predecessor, Catholic Emancipation, alarmed most Irish Protestants. Legislation, which British Protestants thought just, and not only safe but beneficial to the community, seemed to most of their Irish co-religionists unjust to themselves and dangerous to the empire. Even many Irish Catholics viewed these measures more as gratifying signs of Protestant weakness than merely as acts of political justice. In this idea they were to some extent confirmed by the evident apprehensions of Irish non-Catholics. In Ulster, the Presbyterians made an indignant protest, in which the liberal spirit they usually advocated seemed overcome by those religious prejudices for which their own history in

* See Staunton and Hallam on Shakspeare's Historical Plays: “Illustrated Shakspeare” and “Literary History of Europe,” also, Alison and Macaulay on Scott's Historical Novels.—“History of Europe” and “Essay on History.”

Ireland had certainly given some reason.* O'Connell, whose persevering energy had done much to obtain this measure, declined in health and even in popularity after it was passed.† His exhortations to obey British rule were gradually less regarded by his former admirers. A new race of Irish politicians, Protestant and Catholic, more resembling the '98 leaders, began to speak, to write, and to declaim. Among these were Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Thomas Meagher, and John Mitchel—Presbyterian, Catholic, and Unitarian. These men, though differing slightly in some political views, regarded British rule with a hostility which O'Connell always discouraged. He, in common with most Catholic priests, had a horror of actual revolution. He detested the reviving republicanism which again threatened European Governments, and especially the Catholic ones. He dreaded lest, 'as in '98, its spirit should be conveyed to Ireland under pretence of liberating her from British authority. He, therefore, warmly, even bitterly denounced the rising Young Irelanders, as they called themselves, who in his last days, were beginning, as it were, to usurp his former influence over the Irish people.‡ But he had no longer the strength to oppose them. He left Ireland, and died on his way to Rome, where he longed to see the venerable head of that Church to whose political interests in Ireland he had devoted the labours of his energetic life.§

It seems to us that the Irish are so sufficiently divided against themselves as to be independent of extraneous Saxon attempts at fusion of the infusible. No man's salvation can be worked out by any other than himself; no nation's either. In his treatment of this phase of the bother Mr. Canning delivers unbiassed judgment:—

"It is stated by the Nationalists or Home Rulers that, if British rule were withdrawn, Irishmen of all religions would become politically united without doctrinal change, and form a contented, peaceful nation. The fact of Mr. Parnell being a Protestant some declared a sufficient proof that no anti-Protestant legislation by an Irish Parliament would have his sanction. The few non-Catholics, however, who followed him, have hitherto not influenced many co-religionists. With rare exceptions, Irish Protestants wish to retain legislative union with Great Britain. In this desire nearly all the Irish Catholic gentry, and men

* "The Irish Presbyterian Church is desirous that they [Irish Roman Catholics] should enjoy every liberty which her own members possess, but believing that Popery is most injurious to the true interests with regard to time and eternity of all its adherents, she protests against all endowment for the encouragement of that system granted by a Protestant government." — Protest of the Irish Presbyterian Assembly in Belfast. — Reid's "History of the Presbyterian Church," Vol. III.

† See Sullivan's "New Ireland."

‡ "O'Connell became aware that there was growing up around him a new generation, who chafed under the benevolent despotism of his leadership, and who objected to his canon of implicit obedience unless they had first reasoned out the matter. He was now an old man, no longer the dashing young Kerry man of Emancipation days. He trembled for the possible indiscretions of these fiery orators and seditious patriotic poets, who were now rapidly infusing their bold spirit into the multitude." — Sullivan's "New Ireland," Vol. I.

§ See M'Carthy's "Ireland since the Union."

of property, cordially agree. But they have even less influence over co-religionists than Protestant landlords retain over theirs. Ulster is in this and some other respects unlike the rest of Ireland. In it Protestant landowners and occupiers are often united both in politics and religion. Between them the rent question is the only cause of dispute, although this is occasionally sufficient to array them against each other at elections. The temptation of rent reduction sometimes, though rarely, unites Ulster, Protestant, and Catholic tenants, who differ on almost all other subjects. Yet, during this alliance, the wish for "Ireland for the Irish," so often expressed by the disaffected, usually reminds Protestant tenants that they have more in common with fellow-Protestant landlords than with Catholic fellow-tenants. Ulster Catholics are naturally agreed with their co-religionists throughout Ireland, but they are more irritated than the latter by constant collision with the Orangemen. In the frequent riots occurring between them, all other considerations vanish at the religious war-cries which recall historical enmity. The Catholic clergy, especially in Ulster, are often in a difficult position. They are accused by many Protestants of rather increasing discontent among tenants, and exciting them against landlords. On the other hand, they have to sometimes guard their people not only from Protestant encroachment, but from infidel allies. While accepting democratic sympathy, they have to be on the watch against the scornful enmity which most European and American democrats express towards clerical influence. They have to endure not only attacks on their faith by some Irish Protestants, but to resist the dangerous alliance of an irreligious philosophy."

* See Carnegie's "Triumphant Democracy." •

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Phuljāni. By Baboo Shrish Chandra Mazumdār. Printed by Jajneshvar Ghosh, at 12, Rām Krishna Dās's Lane. Published by Guru Dās Chatterji, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

SINCE the death of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the great novelist of Bengal, we have been watching 'with great interest the progress of works of fiction in Bengali. The record of the last four months is almost a blank. In the beginning of this month, however, we received a very good work from the pen of Babu Shrish Chandra Mazumdār, whose *Shakti Kānan* was so 'favourably received some years ago. As in his old, so in his new work the *Phuljāni*, the author has attempted with marked success to paint the Bengali character as it was in the eighteenth century. He has given a faithful picture of the domestic life of the Hindus, and has described the influence of Muhammadan civilization, Muhammadan rule, and Muhammadan culture on it. He has shown clearly that, though wealthy Hindus formed their courts on the model of those of the Muhammadan Nawabs, the Muhammadans absolutely failed to make any deep impression on the domestic economy and profound religious convictions of the higher class of Hindus. The story of *Phuljāni*, we are afraid, is not a historical one, but it is an old, old story. The Burtala people have been selling for the last fifty years a wretched metrical composition of that name, and the story is that of the abduction of a beautiful Hindu girl for the Zenana of a Muhammadan grandee. It is on the basis of that story that Babu Shrish Chandra has created a whole host of characters, high and low, Hindu and Muhammadan, master and servant, teacher and pupil, zemindar and tenant. The characters are distinctly drawn, and some of them, namely, the Naib Mahāsaya, his son Pyrandar, and *Phuljāni*, are, we believe, in high relief. As a shrewd observer of human nature—the chief characteristic of a rising novelist—Babu Shrish Chandra has given one, at least, of the typical characters, of every class of men composing the Hindu society of those days. The character of the Brahman priest, the Tol Pundit, Shiromāni Bhattāchāryya and his pupil Brajanāth are faithful and life-like. Though Babu Shrish Chandra lacks the brilliancy, the wit, and the grandeur of Bankim Chandra, he is much more likely to be appreciated by those who prefer quiet scenes, tender feelings, and unpretending devotion. The style of the book is very simple; it is far from being vulgar or indelicate; it rarely rises to eloquence, but never loses its dignified perspicuity.

• Babu Shrísh Chandra is a young man with exquisite literary tastes ; he has much greater opportunities of observing Mufassal life than any of the other novelists of Bengal. He received his training at the feet of Babu Bankim Chandra, who, at one time, thought of making over the *Banga Darshan* to him. As a collaborateur of Babu Rabíndra Náth in editing a volume of ancient songs in Bengali, he has done valuable service to Bengali literature ; but the bent of his mind is for realistic novels—a field which affords much scope for distinction to young aspirants for fame, and we are glad to see that Babu Shrísh Chandra is giving a promise. We shall watch his literary career with interest, and should like to see him take the place of Babu Sanjib Chandra Chatterji, or Tárak Náth Gánguli, the only realistic writers of distinction in Bengal.

Shyāmāvatí. By Babu Dharmarāj Baruah. Printed at Mohan Press, 49, Phear's Lane, Calcutta, and Published by Kripāsharan Bhikshu and Sambhunáth Baruah, 21/16, Bow Bazar Lane, Calcutta.

THERE is a small Buddhist community in a remote and out-of-the-way corner of India, namely, Chittagong. The number of Buddhists in that district does not exceed a lac, but it is a community in the midst of a vast Hindu and Muhammadan population. Its members live by humble trade and agriculture. Many of them serve as cooks to European gentlemen ; and they are preferred, because, unlike Hindus and Muhammadans, they do not object to cook anything their masters may bid them. Though they speak a very corrupt dialect of the Bengali, they are not pure Bengalis. Like the *Kuch* they call themselves Rajvanshis, and their women dress in a peculiar manner with a striped home made cloth called *Thami*. Indeed, they are a mixture of the aboriginal Bengali with a hill tribe, called the *Chakmas*; they received their Buddhism from Burmese priests, at a time when the Arracanese were very powerful in that part of the country. English education has done something to improve the condition of these humble people. One of them is a *Peshkár* in one of the Munsiff's Courts in Chittagong. He is trying his best to ameliorate the condition of his co-religionists. Another is Babu Dharmarāj Baruah, who has done much to enrich Bengali literature by translating Páli works into Bengali, and by his attempt to bring Buddhism home to his fellow-countrymen by his various publications. His latest work is "*Shyāmāvatí*," in beautiful prose, giving one of the ancient Buddhist Jātak stories. The work reads like a novel, and has a greater moral elevation than ordinary novels. The Jātak stories have one advantage over ordinary works of fiction. They are not circumscribed by space or time. They are

supposed to be the stories of the previous existences, through infinite space and time, of their great preacher Buddha. They have one aim; they show the good works, the acts of self-sacrifice, benevolent deeds, &c., performed in innumerable existences, which resulted in the attainment of the supreme felicity of Buddha-hood. These Jātak stories are said to be the origin of moral stories all over the world! The stories of cats and dogs in the Panchatantra and the Hitopadesha in India, Æsop's fables in Greece, and even the parables of Christ, are said to have their origin in these stories. Whether this statement is correct or not, there cannot be a shadow of doubt that they are more ancient than the others. These stories were put in sculpture all round the Sanchi, Vilsa and Barhat topes on the railings round them. The devoted followers of Buddha used to imbibe much stronger impressions from these pictures than from the teaching of their Bhikshus. The moral of the present story is "watchfulness brings immortality, heedlessness leads men to death, watchful men do not die like the heedless who are dead." In this volume is given the history of four or five existences of Shyāmavati, who, on account of her unfailing attention to Buddhas in every existence, attained perfection, though dying in a great fire. It also describes the sad fate of a reviler of Buddha, who comes in the person of Magandhiyā, a co-wife of Shyāmavati, who is the cause of the fire. In the last two chapters the writer gives the moral of the story, and discusses some of the most abstruse points in connection with the Buddhist religion.

Mr. Baruah is a very modest man. In the preface of Shyāmavati he makes an apology for attempting to write in Bengali, and to write in prose, his previous works being all metrical; but one who reads his work will see that no apology was needed. His language is at once chaste, simple and dignified. The subject has a charm of its own, but the charm of the language is all Mr. Baruah's. It will not be out of place to mention some of the previous works of this unpretending author, who has contributed so much to our knowledge of Buddhism, and done such signal service to Bengali literature. His *Sutta Nipats*, in ordinary *payār* verse, is a beautiful translation of one of the most important Pali works. His *Tha-Thu-Thung* is the metrical translation of a Burmese work of very great interest and his *Hasta-sār*, is a Buddhist handbook in Pāli, with a Bengali translation. Every one of these is well written; every one of these is useful; and every one of these shows the deep faith of the author in the doctrines of his own religion, and his wonderful enthusiasm in preaching what he thinks to be true. The author is a young man, and deserves every encouragement from an appreciative public.

Tantra-tattva. By Shiva Chandra Vidyárnab. Printed at the New Town Press, Bhawanipur, Published by Pramatha Náth Bágchi. Price Four Rupees.

PUNDIT Shiva Chandra Vidyárnab has of late years made himself famous by his staunch adherence to Hindu rites and eloquent defence of Hinduism. He has delivered over two hundred long speeches during the course of the last two years. He has already made himself a popular and a revered preacher.

His work, the *Tantra-tattva*, is a grand work for Bengali literature. It extends over seven hundred and sixty-two royal octavo pages. There are few Bengali books so large as this. It is an elaborate vindication of Tantrik rites. The Hindu Shastras may be classed under four different heads: the Veda, the Smriti, the Purán, and the Tantra. Of these the last named is absolutely at a discount with educated people, though the older class of men regard it as very important. In order, therefore, to convince Young Bengal of the real nature and spiritual importance of the Tantras, Pundit Shiva Chandra has written this work. He has used all the stock arguments of the older class of Pundits. But he has marshalled his arguments with consummate skill and great force of language. Whether his arguments will convince Young Bengal, is extremely doubtful; but Young Bengal will, certainly, admire the grandeur of his style and the dignity of his language. The march of his sentences is solemn and imposing. He uses words of Sanskrit origin and words of Sanskrit origin only. His style is free from that Anglicism and vulgarism which disfigure the style even of the best Bengali authors of the present day. It is, in fact, the long neglected style of conversation which was in vogue amongst the learned Pundits of Bengal, re-asserting itself in print after the lapse of nearly half a century.

The history of the various styles of Bengali writing, especially the prose section of it, is exceedingly curious. Before the advent of the English three different styles were in vogue amongst three distinct classes of men in Bengal, namely a highly Sanskritised style, used by learned Pundits; an intensely Persianised style, used by the Court-going people; and a moderately Sanskritised and moderately Persianised style, used by respectable people. But with the spread of English education all these various styles disappeared, and a mongrel style, half Anglicised and half curiously Sanskritised, came into vogue. At a time when Anglicists and Orientalists were fighting the cause of their favorite languages before Lord William Bentinck, there was a small but influential body of men who took up the cause of the vernaculars, and partially succeeded in their attempt. These men, however, thought that the vernacular languages of India were a sort of *carte blanche*, on which any impression could be made. They took no heed of the previous

history of these languages and their literature, and began straightway to create a vernacular literature. Two classes of native scholars undertook to coin words and to create a style of writing. One class was composed of the students of the Sanskrit College, and the other of those of the Hindu College. The knowledge of these gentlemen, as regards their own language, was almost nothing. They knew of no other Bengali works than Kirttibás's *Rámáyana* and Káshí Dás's *Mahábhārata*. From a hasty perusal of these, they concluded that the Bengali language was worthless, and began to coin strange words and make absurd combinations of these, and to call it Bengali style. The students of the Sanskrit College did more than this: They never read any Sanskrit works current in Bengal,—works from which the Tol Pundits of Bengal used to draw their fund of words. They studied works brought by H. H. Wilson from Benares and other parts of India, and wrote their Bengali simply by removing the *bibhaktis*—case-endings—from the words used in these works. Genuine Tol Pundits of Bengal would regard the style of Pundit Ishvara Chandra Vidyáságar and that of Babu Akshay Kumár Datta as equally outlandish. They were not, however, a people fond of demonstration. They quietly looked on the march of events till at last the good sense of the people at large became almost outraged at the absurdity of the so-called 'Bengali styles of writing. Twenty years ago the late lamented Babu Bhūdev Mukherji attempted to revive the old Tol Pundits' style in his *Pushpánjali*. But he was saturated with English ideas, and so he failed. In his later works he never attempted it again. The conservative section of the Hindu revival was expected to revive the old and vigorous style, but it was a sham altogether, and the style of writing that it created was simply worthless.

Pundit Shiva Chandra Vidyárab is a genuine Tol Pundit. Western education, western ideas, and western civilization have had no influence upon him. He speaks in the style of his ancestors. He has studied the works studied by them. His mind is formed after their model, and here we have, after the lapse of half a century, a man coming forward not only to vindicate the religion of his forefathers, but to uphold their vigorous and eloquent style. We will conclude this review by giving a random specimen of his style, and ask our readers to study and analyse it carefully:—

যাঁহার উগ্রতপস্যাপ্রভাবে মহিষাসুরঘাৎ দেবী "আগ্নির
শুক্র। ষষ্ঠীতে সাংকালে বিশ্বমূলে স্বয়ং তেজোময়ী কুমারী মূর্তি
অলম্বনে আবিভূতা হইয়াছিলেন, সেই হইতে মহিষমর্দিনী (কাত্যায়ন-
কুমারী বলিয়) কাত্যায়নী নামে শরৎকালে ত্রিভুগংপূজিতা। এই
কাত্যায়ন ঋষিই যজুর্বেদের গৃহকর্ত্তা। এই রূপে সৃষ্টি প্রপঞ্চের আদি

পুরুষ হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া মহাপ্রলয়ের উপাস্তকাল পর্যন্ত সাধনা রাজ্যে নিখিল বিশ্ব চরাচর, যে তন্ত্রশাস্ত্রের ভূজছায়ায় জীবিত এবং রক্ষিত, আজ সেই তন্ত্রের প্রামাণ্য বিষয়ে শাস্ত্রাস্তরের মতামতের অপেক্ষা আছে; ইহা মনে করিও যেন মহাপাতকের পরিণাম বলিয়া বোধ হয়। স্মৃতি, সংহিতা, পুরাণ দর্শনকারণ যুগযুগান্ত কঠোর তপস্যা করিয়াও যাহার তত্ত্বনিরূপণে ভীত প্রবৃত্ত ধাতালে লুপ্ত হইয়া বলিয়াছেন “তথা তে মৌন্দর্য্যং পরমশিবদৃশ্যত্রবিষয়ঃ কথংকারং ক্রমঃ সকলং নিগম্যাগোচরশ্চণে”। যিনি এইরূপে জীবজগতে অবাস্তবগোচর, ত্রিভুবন যাহার করুণাকটাক্ষের ভিখারী, যোগী ঋষি, মুনি, সিদ্ধ সাধু সাধুকণ যাহার দাসানুদাস বলিয়া জগৎপূজিত, আজ, সেই শিবশক্তির বাক্য তন্ত্রশাস্ত্র প্রমাণ কি না, ইহা প্রতিপন্ন করিবার জন্য আবার সেই সকল ঋষিবাক্যের মতামতের অপেক্ষা করিতে হইবে, নগরপালের মত লইয়া সম্রাটের শাসন পরীক্ষা করিতে হইবে? এ বড়ই বিষম পাণ্ডিত্য! পণ্ডিত! তোমার এ পাণ্ডিত্য রাখিয়া দাও, ইহাতে অপমান হইবে না, আমরা মুক্তকণ্ঠে স্বীকার করিতেছি, পণ্ডা বুদ্ধি লইয়া জগতে যদি কেহ আসিয়া থাকে, তবে তুমিই তাহার অগ্রগণ্য!!!

Śhrīmat Raghunāth Dās Gosvāmīr Jībancharita : by Aghornāth Chattopādhyāya. Printed at 17, Raghunāth Chatterji's Street, Calcutta, by Natabar Ghosh, and published by Adhar Chandra Basu.

The same : by Achyuta Charan Chaudhūri. Printed at 17; Srināth Dās's Lane, and published by Aniruddha Charan Chaudhūri at Mainā in Sylhet.

ABOUT three quarters of a mile south-west-west from the roadside station, of Trishbigha, above Hugli, there is a beautiful spot on the eastern bank of the dried-up Sarasvati, containing a mango tope, twenty-nine bighās in extent, with a small building containing the images of Chaitanya and Krishna-Rādhikā. The building borders on the river and there is a flight of steps leading to the water. The building has a compound with rows of rooms on the north, west and southern sides. In that building is kept a piece of black stone sacred to the memory of Raghunāth Dās, one of the most devoted followers of Chaitanya. It was on this piece of stone that he used to sit, to rinse his teeth and to wash his face; and the building marks the spot where once stood the gigantic palace of Hīranya and Gobardhan, Raghunāth's father and uncle—the lords of Satgaon—, two mighty Bengalis who played an

important part in the history of their times, and brought about, or helped by the influence of their wealth and power, that revival of Sanskrit literature in Bengal which led to the establishment of the Nadia School of law and philosophy and the Chaitanyaite reformation. True, the palace was razed to the ground by the Muhammadan Chief who succeeded in wresting the Satgaon Raj. But the devoted Vaishnavs always knew where their great saint Raghunāth lived in his early days. Two hundred years after the renunciation of the world by Raghunāth, his followers applied to Nawab Ali Varli Khan to grant them the site for erecting a temple; and that liberal prince gave them half the village of Chandanpur for the purpose. Chandanpur was once a part and parcel of the mighty city of Satgaon. The half so granted was named Krishnapur and belonged to the temple, but the revolution which made the English the rulers of Bengal, the regulations for the resumption of Lakheraj lands, and the rapacity of the neighbouring land-owners have combined to leave only twenty-nine bighas of land for the temple and to deprive it of the rest. A *melā* is held at Krishnapur on the last day of the month of *Pous*, which lasts for three days. It is held to commemorate some great event in connection with Raghunāth's life, which no one can tell for certain, as it was instituted two hundred years after his death.

Now, what made Raghunāth so famous and so dear to the Vaishnavs of Bengal? Simply the fact that he renounced a kingdom worth 20 lakhs of rupees a year, and a position second only to that of the Sultān of Gaur. The sacrifice made by him was greater, perhaps, than that made by the great Śākya Muni; and how did Raghunāth live after the great renunciation? He would not beg; he would not accept anything given by a householder; he used to pick up bits of broken victuals from the leaves on which *Sanyāsīs* ate, and then threw on the street. He used to collect this refuse and eat it. What a contrast with his former position as the sole heir of a mighty principality! Yet with this he survived Chaitanya for over 50 years. As long as Chaitanya lived he remained in Puri, but after his death he removed to Brindāban, and he is still regarded as one of the six great Gosśains of the Chaitanya faith.

The work by Babu Aghornāth is a very small one. It gives in 28 pages, a bare narrative of the events of the life of Raghunāth Dās. But Babu Achyuta Charan does more; he gives an account of the literary compositions of the great Gosśain. He wrote three Sanskrit works and a number of exquisite Bengali songs, bearing either on the loves of Rādhā and Krishna at Brindāban, or on the pious acts of Chaitanya's life. He was a contemporary of Chaitanya, but his songs are written in pure Bengali, without any admixture of Hindi or Persian words; nor Sanskritised, though the words used are of purely Sans-

kṛit origin. Vidyapati seems to have made some impression on the Raghunāth, for he occasionally uses Maithili expressions, and this is very natural, because both these great writers were devoted Vaishnavs, and the bent of their minds led them in the same direction. Raghunāth was known at Puri as Svarūpa Raghunāth, because Svarūpa was something like a godfather to him. At Brindāban he was known as Dās Gosvāmī. He survived Chaitanya for more than half a century.

Śikṣamāṁ Murallī Bīdā : by Rāj Ballabh Gosvāmī, edited by Nīlkānta Gosvāmī. Published by Surendranāth Banerji, B.A., Baghnápará. Price Rupees 2 only.

THIS is an old Bengali metrical work. Thanks to the zeal of the modern followers of Chaitanya, we have now got quite a library of works on Vaishnavism written about three hundred years ago : all these have been published, sometimes with remarkably lucid notes, within the last decade. The three biographies of Chaitanya and biographies of Shrinibās, Narottam and a whole host of Vaishnav teachers have been published. All these are metrical works, and written in the very best idiom of those days. Young aspirants for literary fame in Bengali would do well to study these works, in order that they may acquire that musical, lucid and elegant style which has made Vaishnav works and *Kīrtan* songs so popular and so charming in Bengal.

The present work is the family history of its author Rāj Ballabh Gosvāmī, who was a great-grandson of one of the most favourite of Chaitanya's early disciples at Nadia. His house was close to that of Chaitanya, and he had a sonorous voice and a loving and affectionate heart. In the estimation of the followers of Chaitanya, Chaitanya was an incarnation of Krishna ; and Bānshī Badan Chatterji, for such is the name of the grandfather of our author, was regarded as the incarnation of Krishna's *Bānshī*, or flute. Chaitanya taught him the doctrines of the religion of love. Bānshī Badan is said to have been re-born as one of his own grandsons, Ramāī. The author was Ramāī's brother's son. Ramāī was a remarkable man. Early in life he determined not to marry or enter the world. He devoted himself to the service of his co-religionists, travelled over all the places made sacred by the presence of Chaitanya, saw all the living Vaishnav teachers, who received their knowledge directly from the great founder of their religion, made himself master of the most abstruse and deepest doctrines of Chaitanya's faith, and was sent from Brindāban to preach Vaishnavism in the Gaura country. On his way to Khardaha, the second capital of Vaishnavism, he entered a dense forest on the Ganges above Kālāna. The forest was infested with

ferocious man-eating tigers. It is said that by his miraculous power he tamed one of the fiercest of them and made him a devoted follower of Vishnu ; and the place is said to have got its name from this fact. It is called Baghnápārā, that is, the place where a tiger was made no-tiger. Within a short time the forest was cleared, and there arose a small town with a temple, of which the author's father became the first Sebait.

The place and the temple still exist and are in charge of the same family, though the family has increased and multiplied and its branches have settled elsewhere.

This is a short account of the book. The author, in the usual style of Vaishnav works, dwells very often on his own insignificance, ignorance and incapacity for recording the mighty and miraculous deeds of his ancestors. But no such apology is needed. The book very well repays perusal, not from a philological, historical, or antiquarian point of view only, but also as a piece of ancient Bengali poetry. It really reveals to us a new world of thought, in which the material world has been lost sight of altogether. Spiritual training, love, and devotion to God, wonderful self-sacrifice in the interest of suffering humanity, are the prominent characteristics of the Vaishnavism of this period. We are grateful to Babu Surendra Náth Banerji, for publishing a beautiful work, which was wholly lost sight of for some generations.

Poetical Miscellanies :—*Arya Gāthā* : by Dijendra Lāl Ray, M.A., M.R.A.C., M.R.A.S.I. Printed and published by K. C. Dutt, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Souār Tarī : by Rabīndra Náth Tagore. Printed by Jaj-neshvar Ghosh, 22, Rām Krishna Dās's Lane, and published by Kālī Dās Chakravartī, 6, Dwarka Náth Tagore's Lane, Calcutta.

Pradīp : by Akshay Kumār Barai. Published by Guru Dās Chatterji, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

IT was at an evil moment in which Babu Hem Chandra Banerji published his *Kavīāvalī*, or Poetical Miscellany. Since that time the market has been flooded with hundreds of similar works. Every unknown poetaster, every precocious school boy who lisps in numbers, and every literary pretender who can string a number of words together, hurls his Poetical Miscellany at the devoted head of the Bengali public. Poets who are gifted with a little of the power divine, put together their hasty compositions into a volume and send them to the bazar. Very few ever attempt to write seriously and to write well. Long pieces we do get, but, like angels' visits, they are few and far between. One would really like to have one good poem in exchange for a cart-load of these Miscellanies. These gentlemen should be roundly told not to inflict upon the public their hasty, ill-digested, and worthless productions. If they are meant to be mere

exercises, they should be destroyed as soon as written ; and the example of Grey should be followed by all aspiring poets in the matter of revising and re-revising their productions before publication. The world would be no loser if 99 per cent., nay, the whole of such trash, were destroyed.

Though we cannot well conceal our displeasure at these Miscellanies, we are far from depreciating real merit in them. The three Miscellanies named at the top are above the average. Of these Mr. D. L. Ray's work, the *Arya Gāthā*, depicts his heart in the fulness of love. Within the ten years that have elapsed between the publication of his first and his second part, a change has come over the spirit of his whole existence. He has begun to love, to feel a divine fire within. The world never looked more fascinating. Everything is bright. Everything is soul-inspiring, and everything is glorious to him. That he is really in a poetic vein, is apparent from the very names which he has applied to the two sections of his book, *Kuhu* and *Pin*, in imitation of the thrilling and fascinating voices of two of the most glorious birds of an Indian spring. Mr. Ray's love is rapturous and enthusiastic, but he lacks one thing, namely, exercise in Bengali composition and versification. His lines often halt, and his idioms are not always of the best.

Quite the opposite is the fault of Babu Rabīndra Nāth Tagore. His diction and versification are excellent. They are elegant, musical, and often fascinating, but what does he write of ? He gives the dates of these pieces, and from these we see that in the Bengali year 1299 and in the middle of the month of Jaishtha, when the days were very cloudy, when the world around him wore a sorry aspect, he wrote one piece almost every day, and on the 17th Jaishtha, he wrote two pieces. Few men will be disposed to regard these as artistic productions of any value. We will give one quotation from his productions of this prolific period :—

রাজধানী কলিকাতা ; তেতলার ছাতে,
কাঠের কঠুরি এক ধারে,
আলো আসে পূর্ব দিকে প্রথম প্রভাতে,
বায়ু আসে দক্ষিণের ধারে ।
মেঝেতে বিছানা পাতা, ভুয়ারে রাখিয়া মাথা,
বাহিরে আঁখিরে দিই ছুটি,
মৌধ ছাদ শত শত, ঢাকিয়া এইমাত্ত,
আকাশেরে করিছে জুকুটি ।
নিকটে জানালা গায়, এক কোনে আলিশায়,
একটুকু সবুজের খেলা,

শিশু অশথের গাছ, আপন ছায়ার নাচ,
সারাদিন দেখিছে একেলা ।
দিগন্তে চারি পাশে, আষাঢ়-নামিয়া/আসে;
বুঁধী আসে হইয়া বোরালা,
সমস্ত আকাশি ঘোড়', গবজ ইন্দ্রে বঁধোড়',
চিকমিকে বিছাতের আলো ।
চারি দিকে অবিরল, বর বর রুষ্টি জল,
এই ছোট প্রান্ত' বরটিরে
দেয় নিরাসিত করি', দুগ্ধদিক অপহরি',
সমুদায় বিধের বাহিরে ।

Is this not too heavy a tax on the patience of an indulgent public, even for a gifted and popular poet like Babu Rabīndra Nāth Tagore ?

There is yet another good Poetical Miscellany published during the quarter. It is *Pradīp*, by Babu Akshaya Kumār Barāl. The printing, paper and general get-up of the work are very creditable for a native press. Babu Akshaya Kumār Barāl is a well known poet, but he has written nothing but short pieces. His language is flowing ; his versification easy, natural, and sometimes elevating. Some of his pieces, such as *Kāme-Preme*, are in an excellent vein. Though these are short pieces, the poet has, following the example of Browning, attempted to show the development of his poetic art by their arrangement. That some of the pieces show superior poetic power, there is no doubt ; but many will not admit that the pieces have been so arranged as to give the framework of a poem. Some of the pieces, again, are, to say the least of it, obscure. Obscurity is a fault which young poets should try their best to avoid, but unfortunately, some of our young friends consider it to be a sign of superior, or at least, deep philosophical poetic speculation. This is unfortunate; but there is no remedy for it.

Chhota Galpa. By Rabīndra Nāth Tagore. Printed and published by Kālī Dās Chakravartī, 55, Chitpore Road, Calcutta. Price one Rupee.

THIS is a collection of short stories by Babu Rabīndra Nāth Tagore. Though the stories are short, they are replete with human interest, each story exhibiting some remarkable trait of human character. The story of Mini and her friend, a Kabliwālā, is exceedingly pretty. There is scarcely a father who can help the moistening of his eyes on reading this pathetic little story. Even within the hard and rough exterior of an Afghan, there are the tenderest sentiments of paternal affection.

Many of the stories are written in a satiric vein, and the satire is directed mostly against antiquated Hindu customs. In the matter of satire, the conservative and the orthodox have always an advantage over the liberal and the go-ahead people, but Babu Rabindra Nath seems to have turned the tables against them. The quiet humour of some of the pieces will be greatly enjoyed by the educated classes, and they may do some good in the way of reforming society. The oddities and eccentricities of certain classes of men have received a full share of the attention of the author. The opponents of the female education movement have been very well ridiculed in a little story entitled *Khata*. The little heroine of the story knows how to read and write, but her husband, Peary Mohan, has a dread of modern civilization, though he is a popular writer. His notions about female education are so queer, and have been so cleverly put, that we can scarcely resist the temptation of quoting the whole passage :-

প্যারিমোহন এই সংবাদ অবগত হইয়া বিশেষ চিন্তিত হইল। পড়া শুনা আরম্ভ হইলেই নভেল নাটকের আমদানী হইবে এবং গৃহধর্ম রক্ষা করা দায় হইয়া উঠিবে। তাছাড়া বিশেষ চিন্তা দ্বারা এবিষয়ে সে একটি অতি সুস্থতর নির্ণয় করিয়াছিল। সে বলিত, স্ত্রীশক্তি এবং পুংশক্তি উভয় শক্তির সম্মিলনে পবিত্র দাম্পত্য শক্তির উদ্ভব হয়; কিন্তু লেখা পড়া শিক্ষার দ্বারা যদি স্ত্রীশক্তি পরাভূত হইল একান্ত পুংশক্তির প্রাচুর্য্য হইবে, তবে পুংশক্তির সহিত পুংশক্তির প্রতিবাদের এমন একটি প্রলয় শক্তির উৎপত্তি হয় যদ্বারা দাম্পত্য শক্তি বিনাশ শক্তির মধ্যে 'বিলীমসত্তা' লাভ করে, সুতরাং রমণী বিধবা হয়। এ পর্য্যন্ত এ তত্ত্বের কেহ প্রতিবাদ করিতে পারে নাই।

He commands his little wife not to read or write any more. But, after the lapse of six months, she transgresses his command, as she could not resist the temptation of writing down a beautiful song. The husband becomes furious, and snatches away her note-book, or *Khata*, and thus makes her a woman after his own heart.

We have read all the stories with delight and consider some of the pieces to be the best written by the author. There is nothing laboured in these pieces. The language, the diction, the plot, the characters, the pathos and the humour all seem to have a spontaneous flow, and have such a pleasant and cheerful air about them, that none can read them without admiring.

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